KASHMIRI PANDITS
A
CULTURAL HERITAGE

This book provides some leading essays and reflections on the cultural heritage of Kashmiri Pandits. This heritage represents some eminent features of India's cultural heritage. Members of this community have spread to many parts of the globe. The scientific and mystical traditions of this great society is attracting world-wide interest. This book should be of international interest therefore.

Part I deals with the spiritual aspects of Kashmiri Pandits. It contains a vivid description of lives of some great saints and sages of Kashmir. These include Rupa Bhawani, Swami Lakhmanjoo, Bhagwan Gopinath, Swami Shankar Razdan, Swami Nandlal, Vidyadhar, Ramji, Abhinagupta. These sages practised, were brought up and illumined, the deep philosophy of eastern mysticism for which India was known in ancient times.

Part II concerns some eminent Kashmiri Pandits and their rich contribution to national and international society. Jawaharlal Nehru, Hardayanath Kunzru, Prof. Kailash Nath Kaul, Prof. J.L. Kaul are some examples of great sons of Kashmir and India who imparted a touch of harmony, joy and creativity to the national and global society. There are many other great persons not covered in this book for want of space. The book may inspire others to bring forth more scholarly works in this direction.

Part III relates to Kashmiri language, literature and philosophical traditions. These aspects once again represent the great elements of India's cultural heritage.

Part IV deals with the social organisation of Kashmiri Pandits and problems associated with their future well-being. Recent history has brought forth problems of survival of this great community and their sufferings at the hands of fundamental forces operating from across the border in Kashmir. There is hope that harmony will prevail. This book makes an attempt to rekindle the aspirations of common brotherhood and common spirituality of mankind in Kashmir, in the rest of India and in the world at large.

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PREFACE

This project on cultural heritage of Kashmiri Pandits was started a few years ago before the recent turbulent history of past few years. The aim was to collect and represent in one volume various facets of Kashmiri Pandits' culture, history, spiritual life, and social aspects in an expanded global society.

During the past five years Kashmiri Pandits have been forced to move to many parts of India and the world by militant and fundamentalist forces from outside the border. The essays collected in this volume attempt to recollect the collective life of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir Valley in particular. This book therefore serves to remind the younger generation especially of their ancestors and the rich cultural and spiritual heritage of Kashmiri Pandits. Some chapters are included out of the writings in the past. A few are written for this book. Most of the works to this volume have however been written before Kashmiri Pandits faced persecution during past five years in Kashmir.

This book may not be the ultimate effort in the endeavour to describe the great spiritual and cultural heritage of Kashmiri Pandits. It however would inspire many young scholars to produce more extensive and scholarly efforts in future. The essays written here by some of the very eminent Kashmiri Pandits provide torchlight for future generations to remember our eternal values of creativity, love and human brotherhood which characterises the life and ethos of Kashmiri Pandits. People in Kashmir have a duty to preserve this heritage of harmony and love. Great poets like Lalleshwari, Mahjoor and great Kings such as Avantiverman and Zain-ul-abadin also known as Bud Shah, have shown us the great path of eternal love and peace.

The world needs to know the essence of Kashmiri Pandits heritage. In a recent address in USA by the Czechoslovakia President,

Vaclav Havel, received with great attention in many parts of the world, the speaker said: "Only a new spiritual vision - cosmic in its dimensions and global in scope, can rescue civilization".[1]

Towards this goal, our synthetic view and spiritual philosophy contained in this book should provide new ideas. Havel calls for a combination of post-modern science philosophy and ancient religious philosophy, to solve and understand problems of mankind. According to Havel, "we are not here alone nor for ourselves alone, but that we are an integrated part of higher, mysterious entities against whom it is not advisable to blaspheme".[2]

Here in this book we seek light on some deepest issues of our civilisation, issues which concern peace and happiness of mankind, harmony among different religions, and common brotherhood of mankind. Kashmiri Pandit's heritage in particular, and Kashmiri history in general, gives us hope for future. The present will pass and harmony will prevail again. Arnold Toynbee, the philosopher historian says that periods of human conflicts in history are short and peace and harmony prevail for very long periods. Therefore, there is scope for optimism. We need to strive for harmony between different people. Our heritage will give us strength to stand up to current temporary period of unrest. Kashmiri Pandits have suffered immensely during past five years at the hands of militants. They have been killed in large numbers and their homes burnt. A large number is living in refugee camps outside the valley. We are hopeful that their sufferings will end and they will continue to live with dignity and honour along with their dear Muslim friends in Kashmir as they have lived all along.

We are grateful to the authors who wrote for this book. Many essays may not meet great scholarly standards. Some authors in this book may not be established writers. But they have ventured to write on our social and cultural issues. We appreciate their views. Moreover some essays reproduced here have been written in different period and context. Yet these provide us a glimpse of our life and times.

Above all these essays will help our creative scientists working in many parts of the world to combine modern science philosophy and the spirit of our ancient religious philosophy. Saivism, Vedanta and Sufism *et al* may be interpreted with a new creative vision which will make the world more peaceful, harmonious and scientific. This synthesis will help grasp Reality and the mysteries of science. The dialogue between Rabindra Nath Tagore and Albert Einstein is an

example which should evoke new thinking.

The twenty first century will be based on new scientific ethos, new creativity and new brotherhood of mankind. It is hoped that this book will stimulate more interest towards these goals.

The editor would like to thank the distinguished members of the panel of editors for their writings and for their learned views. Mr. T.N. Kaul, a diplomat, former Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and a scholar of great distinction was kind to respond to our request and wrote the foreword to this book with his great foresight. We also thank Dr. (Mrs) Gita Bamezai for her help in editing and Mr. V. Balakista Reddy Mr. Luther M. Rangreji and Mr. Brij Nath Kaul for their help in proof-reading work. We also thank Mr. S. Kumar for publishing this book promptly. We thank him for donating the royalty of this book to Kashmiri Education, Culture and Science Society, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi after the sale of 300 copies of this book which would meet his production cost and marginal profit. The general editor and the editorial panel have taken all care to see that manuscripts sent by authors are reproduced carefully. They are not responsible for any errors and omissions. The authors alone are responsible for their views.

Professor S. Bhatt
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New Delhi

Notes and References

1. See K.L. Woodward, "More than Ourselves", in *Newsweek*, July 18, 1994.
2. *Ibid.*

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1. **Colonel Bakaya, D.N.,** has served and retired from the Army. He was formerly, President of All India Kashmiri Samaj.

2. **Mr. Bazaz, Prem Nath,** was a prominant social leader in Kashmir. He was also a writer and authoured a number of books on Kashmir's history, social and cultural life. His book *Daughters of Vitasta* is about the history of Kashmiri women from ancient times to present day. He lived in 8, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi.

3. **Dr Bhan, R.K.,** is an eminent educationalist from Kashmir. He presently resides at G-16, South Extension Part II, New Delhi-110049. He was formerly the Principal, Amar Singh College, Srinagar, Kashmir. He also served as the Educational Adviser to the Government of India. He edits a journal on population studies.

4. **Mr Bhan, Vimal,** is a young writer.

5. **Mr Bhatt, Chander Mohan,** writes on history and spiritual life of Kashmiris.

6. **Justice, Bhat, J.N.,** retired as a Judge of Kashmir High Court. He has held many important positions in society. He is also keenly interested in Kashmiri Pandit's educational and social progress.

7. **Mr Bhatt, Ramesh Chander,** is a writer and a social worker.

8. **Dr Bhatt, S.,** is an Honorary Professor of International Law, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He was formerly Professor of Space Law, in above University, Adviser to the United Nations and Editor-in-Chief,

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9. **Mrs. Dhar, Asha,** writes on Kashmiri culture and heritage. She is among our few women writers with a keen interest in Kashmiri history and folk lore. She has travelled abroad with her husband, Professor Som Nath Dhar, who served in the foreign service.

10. **Professor Dhar, B.B.,** is the Director of National Mining Research Institute, Dhanbad. He was formerly Professor and Head, Department of Mining Engineering, Banaras Hindu University. He is a distinguished academician.

11. **Professor Dhar, K.N.,** is a retired Professor from Kashmir University and a erudite scholar in Kashmiri history and literature.

12. **Major Dhar, S.L.,** retired as the Registrar of Banaras Hindu University. He was a distinguished scholar who lived in Varanasi.

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14. **Mr Dorfer, Philips Simpfen,** is an Australian devotee of Bhagwan Gopi Nath.

15. **Professor Ganhar, J.N.,** is among our brilliant scholars on Kashmiri literature and history. He was a Professor in Kashmir University.

16. **Dr Ganju, S.N.,** lives in United Kingdom. His address -- 36 Guilford St, Luton, Beds, LU 12 NR U.K. He has been the President of Kashmiri Association in U.K. and Europe. He has organised many cultural shows in London and rendered exceptional service to the cause of Kashmiri culture and society.

17. **Pandit Gopi Krishna,** was an eminent saint of Kashmir whose works on "Kundalini" research evoked wide attention. He has written a few books on this subject. He visited Canada and left behind a large number of devotees.

18. **Mr Gurtu, G.K.,** is a keen social worker interested in Kashmiri culture and heritage. He lives in Agra and comes from a well known Kashmiri family.

19. **Professor Handoo, J.L.,** served in educational service and was Principal of G.G.S.D. College, Roppur (Palampur), H.P. He was also Chief Editor of *Sunderwani,* Journal of Kashmiri Society at Chandigarh. His address -- Kothi No. 160, Sector 15A, Chandigarh-160015.

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21. **Dr. Jetley Nancy, nee Ambardar,** is an Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She writes on international relations and Chinese affairs.

22. **Mr Kachroo, N.L.,** is a writer and scholar.

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24. **Mr Kachru, D.K.,** retired from I.A.S., resides at -- C-47 Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi-110048. He has been the President of Kashmiri Education, Science and Culture Society, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi, and has deep insight about Kashmiri cultural heritage.

25. **Colonel P.N. Kak** (retired), present address SF 12, Dukes Mansion, 100 Spencer Road, Fraser Town, Bangalore 560005, India. One of our most eminent person Col. Kak has rendered pioneering service to Kashmiri Pandits and to the country in general. He was President All India Kashmiri Samaj. He wrote Chapter 111 at the request of Prof. S. Bhatt. At his age of 87 he has given the benefit of his life's experiences to the younger generation.

26. **Justice Katju, Shiv Nath,** is a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court and a renowned scholar of Kashmiri Pandit's culture and history. His address, 25 Edmonston Road, Allahabad, UP.

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29. **Dr Khoshoo, T.N.,** is currently Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow. He is a leading scientist and was formerly the President of the Indian Science Congress. He was also the Secretary, Department of Environment, Government of India, where he made poineering efforts for developing environment infrastructure and policies for the country. (Address -- 7 Jor Bagh, New Delhi-110003).

30. **Major General, Kaul, A.,** retired from the army some years ago. He has been a distinguished officer in the Indian Army and was a brilliant student in his college days. His address -- G-22, Salunke Vihar, Kondhwa Khurd, Pune - 411022 (Maharashtra) India. He is the son of late Professor J.L. Kaul.

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34. **Dr Jankinath, Kaul 'Kamal'** is among our foremost scholars on Kashmiri Pandit's culture and heritage. He retired as Professor from D.A.V. Institute, Srinagar, Kashmir, after nearly 36 years of service. His special field is Indology with reference to Monistic Vedanta and Kashmir Shaivism. He has published a number of books on Kashmiri spiritual life listed in this volume

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35. **Professor Kaul J.L.,** was a leading scholar of Kashmir in the modern period. He has made manifold contributions to Kashmiri literature, poetry and culture. He passed away in December 1986 after a distinguished life-long service to academic life. He wrote several books, including those referred to in the bibliography given at the end.

36. **Dr Kaul, O.N.,** is the Principal, Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala-147002, Punjab. He is a promising young scholar on Kashmiri culture and language.

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39. **Mr Kaul, T.N.,** was formerly Foreign Secretary, Government of India. He is a scholar of international repute. A thinker and a prolific writer, he also writes on Kashmir affairs.

40. **Mr Kaul, Z.L.,** served in the foreign service of the Government of India. He was also a journalist and a writer, and a widely travelled scholar.

41. **Swami Lakshmanjoo,** was an international authority on Kashmir Shaivism. He has a big following in India. His ashram in Kashmir attracted devotees from far and wide. He was one of our leading spiritual lights from Kashmir. He passed away only a few years ago.

42. **Professor Madan, T.N.,** is the Director of Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi University. He is an internationally known scholar on anthropology and has publications on Kashmiri cultural heritage.

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48. **Dr Parimoo, B.N.,** was formerly a Professor in Kashmir University, and is a well-known scholar of history and culture of Kashmir.

49. **Professor Pushp, P.N.,** retired as the Professor of Sanskrit in Kashmir University. He is an eminent scholar on Kashmiri heritage, and writes extensively on the subject.

50. **Professor Qazi, P.N.,** was among our outstanding intellectuals of the recent past. He taught in S.P. College, Srinagar, and was the Principal of this College. He was a widely respected educationist.

51. **Dr Raina, A.N.,** was distinguished scholar of Kashmiri literature and poetry. He retired as Professor in Kashmir University. After retirement, he stayed in Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi, where he passed away a few years ago.

52. **Dr (Ms) Raina, Krishna,** Ph.D., D. Litt, is the Chairperson, Department of Hindi, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla-5. She is among our distinguished academicians.

53. **Mr Raina, Kumar Jee,** is a writer and scholar.

54. **Mr Raina, L.N.,** is a verstile writer and a distinguished journalist with deep knowledge about Kashmiri literature and mysticism.

55. **Mr Raina, Laxmi Narayan,** was a highly endowed person on Kashmiri thought and culture. He lived in Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi.

56. **Dr Raina, M.K.,** retired recently as Vice-Chairman, Thapars Ltd. He was formerly President, Kashmir Education, Science and Culture Society, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi. He has deep interest in social educational and cultural life of Kashmiri Pandits and has been associated with above programmes. His address -- S-535, Greater Kailash-II, New Delhi-110048.

57. **Professor Sadhu, S.L.,** retired as Professor of English, Kashmir University. He is an eminent educationist and writer, having contributed extensively in the field of literature and Kashmiri culture.

58. **Professor Sapru, C.L.,** is a distinguished academician from Kashmir. He has written on Kashmiri culture and history. He was also a Professor in Kashmir University.

59. **Mr Saqi, M.L.,** is a brilliant writer and scholar of great promise. He is Assistant Director, Kashmir Cultural Academy, Srinagar. He is a well-known poet and a historian of Kashmiri.

60. **Mr Shali, S.L.,** comes from a well-known family of Srinagar. He was the Librarian in Kashmir University where he did basic research on Kashmir archaeology. He has published an authoritative book on this subject.

Note: Footnotes and references wherever given in chapters are produced at the end of each part.

FOREWORD

I am glad that Dr. S. Bhatt, Honorary Professor of International Law in the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, is editing a book entitled: "Essays on Cultural Heritage of Kashmiri Pandit Community". Judging by the list of eminent personalities who have contributed articles to this volume, the book should command wide circulation from the reading public both in India and abroad.

Kashmir has hit the headlines in the international media because of the current unfortunate situation there. The present unrest in Kashmir cannot but be a temporary episode in its long history. The situation is bound to return to normal in view of the great spiritual, social and cultural heritage of Kashmir and its long history of harmony and synthesis of various religions and cultures. From ancient times, Kashmir was at the crossroads of Central Asia and a bridge of cultural interflow and exchange of philosophies, religions, languages and literature from Central to South Asia and from East to West Asia. Kalhan's Raj Tarangni gives a vivid description of the rich cultural heritage of Kashmir.

Among the contributors to this volume are eminent professors and scholars from India and abroad. Most of them are sons of the soil and write with first hand knowledge and inspiration, with genuine feeling of both concern and pride - pride in the past and concern about the present. I do not wish to mention any particular names because that would be invidious. In fact, I am so impressed with the list of contributors that I wish to praise one and all of them for their contributions to this volume.

The current situation in Kashmir does cause concern because it represents the onslaught of religious fundamentalism and fanaticism against the secular democratic concept of the whole of India. It also represents a threat to the peace, harmony, progress and tranquility of

the sub-continent and the whole South Asia region because of State terrorism and international terrorism which is trying to change the course of history through force and violence. Unfortunately the Government and the people of India, including Kashmiris, have not adequately highlighted the threats and dangers posed by the present trends which are encouraged from across the border by our neighbour Pakistan. It is time the Government and the people of India raise their voice and take some concrete action to redress this situation peacefully, if possible, otherwise by force, if necessary. The Simla Agreement of 1972 was an attempt to settle differences between India and Pakistan bilaterally, peacefully and without outside intervention. Indira Gandhi, as Prime Minister of India, made several gestures of friendship in this Agreement to the people of Pakistan in order to emphasise the common problems both countries face and to find common solutions to them through friendly co-operation and not through violence. Unfortunately the military leadership of Pakistan did not allow President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to implement the Simla Agreement and the promises he made to Mrs Gandhi. Instead they launched a virulent campaign of subversion, sabotage through infiltration of violent elements with weapons, trained and guided by the Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). The havoc they have caused in the beautiful valley of Kashmir, both against the Kashmiri Pandit community in particular and Muslims, Sikhs and others in general is a blatant violation of international law and fundamental human rights.

It is ironic that some countries who pose to be the champion of human rights are tilting towards Pakistan and its trained militants, the so-called Mujahideen in spite of their crimes of arson, loot, murder, rape, extortion and pedaling of dope and drugs. They are raising loud noises about the violation of human rights by India. India's record in respect of human rights is second to no other countries. Our Constituation guarantees equality of rights of all its citizens and the fundamental freedoms, without discrimination on the grounds of caste, creed, sex, language or region. Kashmir's accession to India was voluntary, unconditional and done with the consent of the main political elements there becuase Kashmiris as secular minded people felt closer to secular democratic India than to a dictatorial theocratic Pakistan. No matter who says what, the accession of Kashmir to India is final and no government worth its salt can exist if separation of Kashmir from the rest of India is agreed

to. It is time the Government and people of India tell Pakistan and its friends and allies "thus far and no further". We must, however, inform and educate world public opinion about the justness and rightness of our cause and not merely rest on our oars. It is the duty of the Government of India to protect the safety, honour and the rights of its citizens and its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity against threats that may arise from within or outside the country.

Kashmir is a symbol of our secular democracy. It has been the seat of learning and culture, a harmonious synthesis of various cultures and currents and cross-currents of philosophical thought throughout the world. The threat to Kashmir is a threat not only to the whole of India but to peace and harmony of the whole subcontinent and the region. We cannot and must not allow the forces of disruption, religious fanaticism and fundamentalism, State terrorism, dope and drug pedaling, to infect or infest our culture, peace and democracy.

We respect the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan which we accepted in 1947. We wish them well. But friendship and respect are a two-way street and Pakistan must likewise respect India's sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom and independence. They are welcome to call themselves an Islamic State, if they so wish, but they cannot force this ideology on secular India. India's secular democracy represents the best way to synthesise various religions, cultures, languages and regions on a peaceful and cooperative basis. Secular democracy is the only way in which a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic country can safeguard its peace, progress and harmonious development. If religion is exploited for politics and used as a means for so-called self-determination, the map of the whole world will have to be redrawn and many countries throughout the world including the Americas, Western and Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia will have to be redrawn. This would cause a tumultous upheaval and lead to mass migration of hundreds of millions of people, of a character and magnitude unprecedented in history. The powers that be throughout the world must realise the implications of the danger of religious fanaticism and fundamentalism being exploited for political purposes. India is determined to resist this threat and hopes that other powers who claim to be secular and democratic will raise their voice in favour of India's struggle against these threats and dangers and not side with forces that are supporting religious fundamentalism, fanaticism and State terrorism.

I would like to congratulate Prof. Bhatt for the efforts he has made in bringing out this book. I wish him every success in this great task and hope that the readers will find this book of abiding interest, both at the present time and in relation to the glorious past of Kashmir. Its future is assured within a democratic, secular India and no power on earth, can be allowed to separate Kashmir from India or vice versa. We are proud of our past, concerned about the present, but have faith in our future destiny.

27 March 1994

T.N. Kaul
Formerly Foreign Secretary
to the Government of India

INTRODUCTION

By Prof. S. Bhatt

In this volume entitled "Essays on Kashmiri Pandits Cultural Heritage", a modest attempt has been made to provide an array of selective writings about the rich and expansive dimensions of cultural heritage of Kashmiri Pandits.

The cultural heritage of India is rich and diverse in an overall national life of unity. Indeed, this diversity imparts variety to our life and culture.

Culture is moulded by individuals of a community. It reflects certain elements relating to language, customs, the spiritual and contemplative life.

Kashmiri Pandits have shown through history that they carry deeply India's traditions of harmony and mysticism. In an age which is witnessing a global environment movement, a new hope has emerged the world over for man to seek harmony with nature. To this philosophy of nature, the cultural background of Kashmiri Pandits provides a fertile ground to combine modern science and eastern mysticism.

Talking about the cultural heritage of India, Rabindranath Tagore says that in ancient India man had constant contact with the living growth of nature.[1] He says: "To realise this great harmony between man's spirit and the spirit of the world was the endeavour of the forest-dwelling sages of ancient India".[2] Tagore has stressed the power of union with others, and says that "our highest joy is in the losing of our egoistic self and in uniting with others".[3]

Like Tagore, we have in this volume some scholars among Kashmiri Pandits who have enjoined to speak about the historical wisdom of Kashmir and of love, harmony and brotherhood of man. Indeed these values need to be reiterated in contemporary period for promoting harmony and progress of modern civilisation.

It may be of great interest to the world at large that members of our community some working outside India have been exposed to highest wisdom of modern science. And, in the years to come, these scientists will combine the creativity of science philosophy and Kashmiri mysticism to open up new frontiers of science and knowledge.

Therefore, the purpose of this volume is basically to put together aspects of Kashmiri Pandit's cultural heritage. The subject being so vast, ours is not a very comprehensive attempt to present this subject to our members and scholars at large. There are some essays on our life and times, not all of them very erudite though.

Many scholars who have participated and provided their wisdom are known the world over. Swami Lakshmanjoo is a world-renowned authority on Kashmir Shavism. Pandit Gopi Krishna is another scholar who invited world-wide attention on Kundalini research. Lalleswari is a seer of great stature and belongs to world at large.

The aim of this project is also to illustrate the contributions made by many eminent scholars to Kashmiri culture. Some of them may not be living now and cannot be available to the younger generation any more. As most readers of older generation will agree, our cultural heritage has been enriched from time to time by our gifted seers and thinkers. In this context we may refer to the creative roles of scholars such as Professor J.L. Kaul, an architect of modern intellectual life in Kashmir, Professor Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal' who to this day conducts largely attended discourses on our heritage in Jammu, Dr. B.N. Pandit, the eminent Sanskrit scholar, Mr M.L. Saqi, the poet and writer, Dr. Raghunath Safaya, Professor B.N. Parimoo, Professor S.L. Pandit, Professor T.N. Madan, Dr R.K. Bhan, formerly the Principal of Amar Singh College, Srinagar, Professor C.L. Sapru, Professor S.L. Sadhu, Professor P.N. Kaula, Professor J.N. Ganhar, Justice Shiv Nath Katju, Professor K.N. Dhar and many other scholars.

Professor Braj Kachru has contributed substantially to Kashmiri literature while working as Chairman, Department of Linguistics, Illinois University, USA.

Many other distinguished persons have contributed to Kashmiri thought and literature outside the valley of Kashmir. Among them we have some most eminent scholars who have made contributions in this book and added to the glory of Kashmiri culture. Among

these we have Shri P.N. Haksar, a great scholar and thinker and presently the Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Shri T.N. Kaul, formerly the Foreign Secretary in the Government of India and an eminent thinker and writer, and Dr T.N. Khoshoo, formerly President, Indian Science Congress and Secretary, Department of Environment, Government of India.

In this volume we have attempted to provide the views on our heritage from the scholarly writers as also frorm those who are activists and work for our society and promote our culture. Their views on our social customs and way of life is equally important and of general interest.

The project has five parts.

Part I provides some important essays on our spiritual life. In this part, we have writings on historical seers such as Lalded, Abhinavagupta, Nund Rishi, Swami Shanker Razdan, Bhagwan Gopinath, Swami Nandlal, Swami Vidyadhar, and Swami Lakshman Joo. Some eternal spiritual themes from Kashmir have been analysed which include Rishi cult, Tantrick worship, Sufism, Swastika, Shavism and Vedanta. There are essays on some of our spiritual places, though this list is not exhaustive. There is need to produce a separate project on our religious places, festivals *et al.* We have provided as an appendix a list of spiritual publications prepared by Professor Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'. This may help our members to order these publications for personal reading.

Part II is about some of our eminent Kashmiri Pandits. This list is by no means extensive. A separate volume on this subject is very much needed.

Part III deals with Kashmiri language, literature, and philosophical traditions.

Part IV relates to historical, social and cultural life of Kashmiri Pandits. These chapters should be of general interest to all our members spread in various parts of the world.

Part V deals with future perspectives on Kashmiri Pandits and role of our social organisations. This part also provides some views on the future life of our community. Some writers have given us a view of their social life in places outside India. Dr S.N. Ganju from U.K., who has done a great deal for our community in London, writes about social life of Kashmiri Pandits in Europe. To those who have settled abroad, we in India wish them very well and hope they maintain contact with our cultural heritage.

The editors would like to thank all participants in this volume. An attempt has been made to recall some aspects of our traditions and heritage. This presentation may not be complete and to the satisfaction of all. But we hope that more attempts may be made by other scholars to research on our cultural heritage. An international group or a national group comprising of various writers and scholars need to continue work in this area. Perhaps some of our social and educational organisations may give lead in this direction.

As mentioned earlier, our heritage and the intuitive philosophy of mysticism is of great interest, and to maintain a continuity, it has to be combined with modern scientific civilisation. Shaivism, and other forms of our mystic philosophy need to be extensively analysed. An international research centre can be created in Kashmir as also in New Delhi where in Pamposh Enclave there is already located in its premises the Kashmir Education, Science and Culture Society. An international conference held in New Delhi in December 1993 called for setting up of a University, namely, Sharda Peeth, as a seat of learning and research for Kashmiri Pandits' heritage and philosophical traditions. Some such great creative effort is worth it for creation of a new world order. In the process, we shall also pay homage to our great ancestors by working on the history of Kashmiri Pandits' cultural heritage. There will be an overall gain to the world society as well.

Kashmiri Pandits have upheld values of truth, beauty and harmony throughtout history. As Tagore has said: "Through our sense of truth we realise law in creation, and through our sense of beauty we realise harmony in the universe".[4] Kashmiri heritage augurs well for the evolving world order of harmony and common brotherhood of mankind.

We have no doubt that, with the rational sense of man and the bonds of common brotherhood, the future will hold peace and harmony for Kashmir and for the world at large. India's composite culture and secular ideals are reflected in the philosophical traditions of Kashmir which is an inalienable part of India for centuries.

Notes and References

1. See Rabindranath Tagore, *Sadhana : The Realisation of Life,* First Edition, 1913, MacMillan Pocket Tagore Edition, Delhi, 1979, p. 4.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
4. See Tagore, n. 1, p. 120.

PART I

(Chapters 1 to 30)

REFLECTIONS BY KASHMIRI PANDIT SEERS AND SCHOLARS ON SPIRITUALITY

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Prof. Jayalal Kaul

Chapter - 2
KUNDALINI VIJNANARAHASYA
Swami Lakshmanjoo

Chapter - 3
AN ESTIMATE OF SAIVISM IN KASHMIR
Jankinath Kaul Kamal

Chapter - 4
EXPOSITION OF TRIKA
Laxmi Narayan Raina

Chapter - 5
TANTRIK WORSHIP
Mr. Justice Kailash Nath Katju

Chapter - 6
THE SWASTIKA OR THE FYLFOT
Prof. P.N. Qazi

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SHAIVISM AND VEDANTA
Prof. Jankinath Kaul Kamal

Chapter - 8
PANCHASTAVI : THE SONG CELESTIAL
Pandit Gopi Krishan

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BUDDHISM AND KASHMIR
Prof. J.N. Ganhar

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Dr. Jialal Handoo

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THE SPLENDOUR - THAT IS AMARNATH
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MARTAND-AN EDIFICE OF GLORY
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ABHINAVAGUPTA - THE SHIVA INCARNATE
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UTPALADEVA AND HIS PRATYABHIJNYA PHILOSOPHY
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Chapter - 17
MYSTICISM IN KASHMIR
Dr. A. N. Raina

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LALLESHWARI : AN APOSTLE OF HUMAN VALUES
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LALLESHWARI THE PHILOSOPHER - LITTERATUR
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SAHIB KAULA'S FLASH OF SELF-REALIZATION
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PARMANAND AND HIS 'KRISHNA LEELA'
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SWAMI VIDYADHAR : AN EMBODIMENT OF INTENSE SADHANA
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SWAMI RAMJI —THE MAHAMAHESHWARACHARYA
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Chapter - 25
SWAMI NANDLAL - THE CLAIRVOYANT
Justice J. N. Bhat

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SWAMI SHANKAR RAZDAN
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BHAGWAN GOPI NATH — THE GREAT AGHORESHWAR
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BHAGWAN GOPI NATH — A JAGAT GURU
Philips Simpfen Dorfer

Chapter - 29
LAKSHMAN JOO
Kapil Kaul, Linz, Austria

Chapter - 30
RUPA BHAVANI
Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

Chapter - 1

LAL DED : HER LIFE, PHILOSOPHY AND POETRY*

Prof. Jayalal Kaul

I

Little is known of Lal Ded's life, and what little is known is, like the lives of saints everywhere, shrouded in myth, miracle and legend. There is no contemporary or near contemporary record of Lal Ded in any chronicle or elsewhere. The earliest recorded mention that we have of her is in Baba Dawud Mishkati's *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (The Secrets of the Pious) written in A.D. 1654 which, as its name indicates, is a hagiographical document rather than a historical chronicle. It writes of her in glowing words:

"In the cradle of the earth, absorbed in God, was she, Lalla Arifa, constantly aware [of God] . . . she was one of those, who wander in the wilderness of love wailing and lamenting [for the beloved]; and she was a knower of the path of Valley of *Haqq* (Truth)".

This tone of reverence is maintained throughout in those Persian chronicles that make a mention of her. The first such historical chronicle that does mention her is *Waqi-ati-Kashmir* (A.D. 1746) by Khwaja Muhammad Azam Dedammari, one of the most reliable Persian chroniclers.

"Lalla Arifa, a saintly mystic of the highest order, devoted to God, became known during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din (1344-55) . . . she became God-intoxicated, and having given herself up to a life of detachment and retirement, she passed sometime in seclusion away from the people . . . She passed away during the reign of Sultan Shihau-ud-Din (1355-73).

The two last chroniclers viz; Pir Ghulam Hasan, in his *Tarikhi Hasan* (1835) and Haji Mahi-id-Din, in his *Tarikhi Kabir* (1909-10) — both write almost in the same vein as follows:

"The saintly lady Lalla Arifa, a mystic of the highest order, was

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* Paper first presented at Sahitya Akademi National Seminar on Lal Led in Srinagar, Kashmiri, on 28 October, 1980.

a second Rabi 'a of Basra. She was born (*tavallud shud*) in the year 700 A.H./A.D. 1300-01". On an over-all consideration of these and other relevant facts, it is reasonable to say that most probably Lal Ded was born in the first decade of the fourteenth century and died sometime in the late seventies or early eighties of that century.

The legend as well as the chronicles are generally agreed on the other main facts of her life which may be succinctly put *seriatim* thus:

1. Lalded was born in a brahmin family. Some sources place her birthplace at Sempor, but according to some others it was near Srinagar at Pandrenthan, the ancient capital Puranadhisthana, four miles south-east of Srinagar. Early in the childhood she imbibed the values of piety and religion. She came early under the influence of Siddha Mol (venerable Siddha Shrikantha) and was initiated into spiritual *sadhanas* (disciplines).
2. There is a unanimous agreement that she was married into a brahmin family of Pampor, the old Padamapora City founded in A.D. 812-849 by Padma, the Minister of King Ajatapida; and that here a proverbially harsh treatment was meted out to her which she suffered with equanimity and without complaint. She did not give birth to a child nor lay in confinement.
3. During the forties her fame spread far and wide and crowds of visitors came to have her *darshan*. Decided on leaving her husband's home Lalded resolved to lead an ascetic life. She paid little regard to her personal appearance, decorum of dress or brahmin respectability. Legend has woven miracles into this event, but confirmation of it is available in her *vaakh* (Sans. *Vakyani*, verse-sayings).

> One and only word my guru gave me:
> From without withdraw your gaze within:
> I, Lalla, took to heart this word. It clicked.
> And thus I roamed naked wherever I pleased.

4. This verse has made the devout give a somewhat fanciful account of how the lower part of her belly (*lal* in Kashmiri) increased its flabbiness and size to hang loose and cover her pubic region. This is also used to explain how she came to be known as Lal or Lalla or Lal Ded (Granny Lal). It seems, however, that Lalla, her maiden name, was a common name in use in Kashmir (vide, Rajatarangini VI.74).

5. From legends as well as her own verse-sayings, it is obvious that Lal Ded denounced the need for the performance of rites and rituals, and *puja* of icons or idols. She upbraided those who wasted their effort in these externalities of religion and spoke against animal sacrifice, pilgrimages to shrines and even observance of fasts. Displaying rare courage and integrity, Lal Ded followed boldly in letter and in spirit, what the scriptures prescribed, namely, that the yogi performs his daily prayers, his meditation, and his *Yajna* without any *mantra* and *japa* (incantation and telling of beads), *homa* (sacrificial fire), flowers and other accessories of worship. Ritualistic incantations are indeed worship of a lower kind, and for men of little intelligence; *japastutih syadadhama homapujadhamadh ama. . . pratimasu alpabudhinam* (Kularnava Tantra, Ullasa IX). This is seen in her own vaakh:

Fie on your fasts and religious rites;
Do good: therein your duty lies.

or

The idol is but stone,
The temple is but stone,
From top to bottom all is stone.

or

The pilgrim sannyasi goes from shrine to shrine
Expecting to meet Him who abides within his ownself.

With time anecdotes and legends grew in number, some of the earlier anecdotes were retold with further additions, variations or embellishments to suit the times or the beliefs and tastes of the narrators. "It is", says Ibn Khaldun, "of the nature of tradition to incorporate false statements"; and we have persisted in believing them though research has proved them wrong. For instance:

(a) The persistent legend that Lalded met Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, reverently known amongst us as Shah-i-Hamadan, who with 700 Sayyid followers, (refugees from Timur's persecution), first time came to Kashmir in 1372. Earlier Persian chronicles do not make a mention of this meeting at all, nor the miracle of the Oven. And the chronicler Dedammari is explicit: "After much inquiry and research, the story of her being present before His Holiness Sayyid Ali Hamadani, the Second Ali, a Pillar of Divinity . . . has not been held as proved: *nazdi arbab-i tahqiq sabit na shud*".

(b) So also Sir Richard Temple's rash statement (*The Word of Lala*, CUP. 1924) : "It was during a tour of Shankaracharya among the Saivas that his teaching attained that influence which is reflected in the *Lalla Vakyani*. After that, the Saiva doctors began to teach monistic *advaita* in place of their orthodox *dvaita* doctrines". There is no credible evidence of Shankaracharya's influence "reflected" in the *vaakh* of Lal Ded. And Trika Darsana, unlike Saiva Siddhanta of the South, has been *advaita* throughout.

7. There is no divergence of opinion regarding the fact that Lal Ded lived as a wandering ascetic, sometimes away from habitation aloof and alone, but always absorbed in God - consciousness, seeking and seeing God everywhere. *Shiv tshorum thali thale*. She was unmindful of Hindu caste taboos regarding food and drink: *anas khyanas kyah chum dvesh*. She abhorred meat, unlike the brahmins of Kashmir who have been fond of it; and unlike both Hindus and Muslims, she spoke vehemently against the killing of innocent sheep even as a sacrifical offering to the Deity. There could be no exclusiveness and discrimination between man and man : *mav zan Hyond ta Musalman*.

She stood for the eternal verities of the spirit, of human goodness and purity of conscience, loving-kindness and service to all:

Who slays the highway robbers three,
    Greed, Lust and Pride,
And yet, in utter humility, serves
    his fellow-man —
It is he that truly seeks out the Lord.

Then came the end, (some say) behind the wall of Juma Masjid at Vejibror, 28 miles south-east of Srinagar, on the highway to Jammu. "A flame of sharp light shot forth from her body and vanished from sight". There are other related accounts associated with this event. But one thing is clear : she passed away, leaving not a trail behind. Surprisingly, neither a *samadhi* (temple) nor a *maqbara* (tomb) mark the spot where she was cremated or where her body was laid to rest:

mari kus ta maran kas
who dies? Who is slain?
    and
mara nech ta lasa nech
Happy to live, happy to die,
Alike for me is life and death.

II

We may not have a complete record of the facts and events of Lal Ded's life but we have a body of her verse-sayings (*vaakh*) which, interpolations and changes in diction effected by time notwithstanding, are indubitably Lal Ded's. From the beginning they have been enshrined in the loving memory of generation after generation of Kashmiris and thus faithfully preserved. "Such fleshly tablets", says Sir George Grierson, "are often more trustworthy than birchbark or paper manuscripts". He had every reason to say so, as regards the manuscript that was prepared for him in 1914. The Jammu and Kashmir Academy brought out in 1975 the second revised and definitive edition of these *vaakh*, 258 in all, out of which 140 have been accepted as Lal Ded's. It is these 140 *vaakh* that have been rendered into English as 138 and included in *Lal Ded* (Sahitya Akademi, 1973). In the absence of any external evidence, their authenticity could be determined only by the evidence of particular diction and prosody, the quality and the cast of thought, the way they are organised in the process of expression in the characteristic style of Lal Ded.

We can piece together her biography from these *vaakh*. This biography of saint is significant since it recounts the growth and attainment of spiritual realisation. This process, may help us to understand Lal Ded's outlook on life, her message and philosophy, and their relevance today.

Lalded did not compose her *vaakh* as a deliberate contribution to literature or philosophy; she did not sing them nor write them for *kirtan*, devotional recitation and group singing as the Bhakta saint-poets did. Nor was she an evangelist or a preacher. Her verses are mainly the outpourings of her soul, her *anubhava*, her inner-perception and sometimes self-questioning and self-expostulation. Therefore her *vaakh* have not come down to us arranged on any clear-cut basis. This notwithstanding, they have been so re-arranged in the J & K Academy and Sahitya Akademi editions as to facilitate a discerning reader's understanding of her progressive spiritual ascent.

So arranged, we discern in the *vaakh* a sense of her desolation and an oppressive sense of emptiness in the world around her. It is not the usual sad generalities about the world being a *dar-ul-mehan*, a *dukhalaya*, a house of pain and a vale of tears that we find in her *vaakh*. On the contrary, we have a direct impact of her misery her earnest expostulation with herself.

I will weep and weep for you, my soul . . .
Though you cling to them with the anchor of steel,
Not even the shadow of things you love,
Will go with you when you are dead.
or
I find me still midway on the bank,
And the day is done, the light has failed.
I search my pockets, not a cowrie is there,
What shall I pay for the ferry fee?
or
The sling of my candy load has come loose,
[it galls my back];
My body is bent double [under its weight],
How shall I carry the load, ah me!
Guru's word has been a loss-blister to me,
[I suffer extreme pain]
I am become a shepherdless flock, ah me!

She is confused, bewildered and her thoughts are in a whirl, like a shepherdless flock. This makes her reason with herself and obstinately question "the burthen and mystery and the weary weight of this unintelligible world". Yet, she seems to argue with herself:

For ever we come, for ever we go,
For ever in a round of birth and death,
From nothingness to nothingness . . .
There is a mystery here abides,
A something there is for us to know.

And so, with an unswerving determination she embarked on, what some mystics call, the Way of Purification. What was the discipline she practised? First, the ethical or moral life. She took the middle path of moderation in food and drink; patience with herself, and politeness of behaviour and tolerance with others; not hankering after miraculous powers or *siddhi*-s, which she condemned as fraud and jugglery (*kapat tsarith*); equanimity, come ill come well, and indifference to praise and blame, joy and sorrow. All this may be summed up in her words as non-attachment, desireless action dedicated to God (the Self). (*laagiro'st pushrun svaatmas*). Lal Ded does not recommend withdrawal from the World:

a) If while alive you do not see Him,
How will you see Him after death?
and

b) In this very body seek
the Supreme Self that dwells within . . .
This very body has splendour and light,
(*tiz tay sor prakash*).

Secondly, the technique of psychological transformation is necessary to bring about the mutation of mind from the ordinary everyday mental consciousness to the higher God-consciousness. The mind is to be still and undisturbed by *vrittis* (movements) so that the lamp of truth can shine steady and bright "as in a windless place". This she called the constant "counting" of her breath, intently watching her *prana* (vital airs), the palpable vehicle of which in us is the breath we inhale and exhale every moment of our life.

Some leave their home, some their hermitage,
But the restless mind does know no rest.
Then count your breath, both day and night,
And stay where you are.
or
Whom will you worship, O stubborn Pandit?
Unite your mind with your life-breath.

Of her yogic discipline, Lal Ded says that, "guiding the chariot aright on the wheels of *prana* and *apana*", she observed that her inner self, *antahakarana* (*manas, buddhi* and *ahamkara*) was purified and she developed equability (*samatvam*) and non-attachment (*laagi rost advya man*). She found that the mind itself had ceased to be (*tsyath gol*), its disturbances and movements had come to an end. Henceforth her ascent was quick. Spontaneously, her Kundalini, cutting through of Six Forests (*Cakras*), awoke the Digit of the Moon, and nectar suffused her whole being and "Lalla merged in Cit-Jyoti". Thus she was ushered in the higher mystic state of the Way of Illumination, of Universal Consciousness.

This illumination is the central fact of Lal Ded's life, her great achievement. But she does not rest here. From the ordinary desire-nature to the Transcendent is a remarkable ascent. But according to Trika Darsana this is not all. The eternal Unmanifest (*aksaram, avyaktam*) is not the Ultimate. The world and, indeed, the whole

creation, the manifest, is not an illusion, nor is the Supreme Unmanifest, the *Cit*, non-active, as Brahmavada, Vedantic doctrine of Brahman, expounded by Shankara, holds it to be. According to Trika Saiva, the Supreme Paramasiva is both transcendent and immanent (*visvottirnam visvamayamca*). He is not only *Prakasa* (Light, Illumination) but also dynamic *Parasakti* (*aham vimarsa, svantantrya*). And the two are an undivided Unity.

> *Vuchim Sivas Sakt milith ta vah*
> (I saw Siva and Sakti sealed in One).

And Lal Ded ascended to, what Trika calls, the *Anuttara*, the Highest, the Supreme, the God who mounts upon:

> Siva the horse
> whose saddle Vishnu holds
> And Brahma the stirrups.

Sir George Grierson and D.R. Barnett have rightly said that Lalded was a devout follower of "the Kashmir branch of the Saiva religion", and Sir Richard Carnac Temple also admits that "Lalla's *Wakh* show her as a Shaiva of the Kashmir Trika School". A study of her *vaakh* undeniably proves that she was a Saiva Yogini. The World was not an illusion (*maya*) to her nor a cosmic joke, and her God was not merely the unmanifested, inactive, impersonal Being of the Advaita Vedanta. Nor did she believe in self-hypnosis and ascetic withdrawal from life as the way to the highest spiritual realisation.

III

Lal Ded has the chronological distinction of being placed first in the order of *modern* Kashmiri poets. More significantly, she is the maker of modern Kashmiri language and literature. As a poet, in her own genre, *vaakh* and also generally she remains unsurpassed. She made Kashmiri an adequate vehicle for expressing profound philosophical thought. By her use of Kashmiri words she gave a much wider connotation to them. She modified the Sanskrit form of words and adapted them to Kashmiri morphology and semantics so that they can be understood today with little effort. For instance: *loh-langer* (iron anchor) expresses the inescapable grip of worldly

affairs; *seki lavar vuthun* (twisting a rope of sand) denotes, a fruitless occupation; and others, which are too many to quote, all betoken a rich nuance of meaning and freshness of metaphor. This is also true for the imagery drawn from the familiar countryside viz; the ferry, the creaky causeway, the process from a cotton flower to cloth in the hands of a tailor, the kailyard ("*jnan marg* is a kailyard"), the mulling of *puttoo* tweed with fuller's earth, shepherds and their flock, the tawny bullock, etc.

Nothing is worn out or stale and, indeed, many of her *vaakh* have become current coin and yet retain their impressiveness. They are no stock phrases and there is no obviousness or tameness which are the common faults of religious poetry. Nor is in them the familiar wisdom, the moralizing or the didactic exhortation of the religious preachers. There is in Lal Ded's *vaakh* the stamp of intensity, of the excruciation of her experience that she herself went through. And there is cerebration, brain-work:

Having cut the hide, you have
pegged yourself down,
What seed had you sown to expect
an abundant harvest?

or

By *abhyasa*, the *savikas* lifted to absorption,
In the *gagan* merged the *saguna, tsratta*.
The *Shunya* dissolved, and the *anamay* remained . . .

Here is metaphysical audacity, direct *anubhava* powerfully perceived, not mere abstraction of philosophy, remote and vague. Here is profound direct perception transmuted into a felt sensation. Reading her *vaakh* again and again, one senses a feeling of reverence growing within oneself, and a silent process of deepening of self-awareness taking place. That is the alchemy of her verse, its transforming power. Her 'poesy', in Sir Richard Temple's words, 'is aflame',

"With the red fire of a thought that burns".

Her *vaakh* embody rare spiritual perception, they are more aphoristic, even cryptic at times, not like the devotional songs of the medieval saint-singers, as the late Dr. V. Raghavan would have us believe. Her contribution is to the corpus of spiritual attainment, God-realisation, rather than to the poetry of *bhakti*. A modern psychologist would classify her as the cerebrotonic type, austerely

supersensuous. She is not a *kirtan-bhakta*, nor a bride of Krishna like Andal of the South or Mira of the North. She has *seen*. She *saw* the Lord in her ownself (*ghati ro 'tum*) and the light winnowed forth into the outer world, for all that too is pervaded by Siva —

Sivamay tsaratsar zag pashya

The vaakh is a 4-line stanza and except in rare cases, each vaakh is complete in itself a sententious gnomic verse. Moreover, each line completes the sense and does not overflow into the line that follows. This gives her verse compactness and one-pointedness, the edge of a memorable saying or proverb. The incidence of *rhyme, abab, abac, abcb*, or no rhyme at all, does not seem to be deliberate. As noticed by Grierson, the metre is loose, it shows a tendency to substitute stress for quantity, four stresses to each *pada* or line. The 4-line quatrain and the length of the line seem exactly to fit the thought and lend it coherence, unity and memorability.

Lal Ded's *vaakhs* as Grierson shrewdly observed, are "an account, often in vivid and picturesque language of the actual working out in practice of a religion previously worked out in theory. As such, it is a unique contribution to the body of evidence that must necessarily form the basis of a future history of one of the most important religious systems of India". Herein too lies its distinction as a spiritual document, or testament of immense practical value to the spiritual aspirant and, at the same time, as poetry endowed in Maulvi Ram's words (Nicholson's translation)

With vision which increases the power of speech,
With inspired speech which makes vision penetrating.

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Chapter - 2

KUNDALINI VIJNANARAHASYA

Swami Lakshmanjoo

May Kundalini, the power which manifests the universe (*kauliki*) bestow on you the floods of her cosmic ecstasy (*jagadananda*), flashing up from her source, one with the vast and sublime illumination perceived in her radiance, causing the six wheels to vibrate, arousing in awareness the sweet resonance produced by her passage, imparting bliss as she attains union with the Lord in the lotus of a thousand petals, centred pervading the universe.

I take as my subject certain matters concerning the realisation of Kundalini, in accordance with my own understanding and the teaching transmitted to me by my master.

The term Kundalini refers to Siva's power of (world) emission (*visargasakti*) which, in as much as it is universal, is identical with self-hood (*ahanta*) in its fullest expansion. The revealed texts of our tradition say that it has three and a half coils. Of these the first is that mode of self-hood in which the object of cognition (*prameya*) predominates, the second that in which the act of cognition (*pramana*) predominates, the third that "I"-ness in which the agent of cognition (*pramatr*) predominates, while the remaining half-coil is that "I" whose essential form is the state of pure awareness (*prama*). Such is the esoteric analysis of Kundalini revealed in our sacred texts.

When absolute awareness (so-natured), the highest self-cognition (*vimarsa*), first shines forth within itself alone in the impulse to manifest itself as the diverse phenomenon which constitute the universe out of that autonomy which is its urge to extroversion *bahiraun-mukhya*), then this supreme power is termed in all our scriptures Saktikundalini 'Kundalini as (latent) power' representing to itself the objective diversity as one with its own identity and is compared to a (coiled) snake sunk in deep coma. Though her nature is emission (*visarga*) she does not take on (in this mode) the form of actual projectedness. This has been stated in the *Tantraloka* (3.139):

> Rather, ... bereft of the projection of all the entities which she will subsequently make manifest...

An act of blissful relish within the self alone, she is power, that power of Siva which is his initial emergence towards objectivity (*adyonmesa*).

Moreover, according to the Saiva doctrine when a yogi is established in that state of penetration (samavesa) in which he realises the entire universe as his own identity as the result of sustained awareness of the nature of Siva as identical with his self, then he attains immersion (samavesa) in this power of emission (visargasakti) so that he merges with this Sakti-Kundalini-state, relishing within himself the ultimate degree of the vibration of power. The nature of Saktikundalini is described in the Tantrasadbhavatantra as follows:

> The ultimate and subtle power termed Niracara rests introverted enveloping like a sleeping serpent the subjective centre (vindu) of awareness (*hrd*—). In that state, O glorious Uma, she is completely withdrawn; she is completely unconscious of anything (external). The goddess dissolving in the core of here being (*ksiptvodare*) the fourteen worlds with the moon, fire, sun and stars is like (a serpent) comatose in its own poison.

This same goddess Saktikundalini has been described in the *Tantraloka* (3.137c-139c) in the passage which begins:

Therefore the seventeenth phase (*kala*) whose form is the nectar of immortality ... and ends:

> Rather, when bereft of the projection of all the entities which she will subsequently make manifest, she is Saktikundalini.

In fact this is the intermediate, the germinal state of that power of emission which is otherwise called Parapara 'power uniting both its absolute (*para*) and finite (*apara*) aspects'. I shall describe this power of emission's initial and final states when I come to define Pranakundalini and Parakundalini.

The Kaula yogi also realises this Saktikundalini. He realises it as Kamatattva 'the Essence of Desire' through the contemplation of the power of desire (*kamakala*) during the secret rite (*caryakrama*) at that moment of immersion (*samavesa*) which is the compenetration (*samghatta*) of siddha and yogini. As the holy master Abhinavagupta has said (*Tantraloka* 3.146):

Therefore this phoneme 'emission' (*visarga,* h) which is the phoneme *ha* in the state of latency is termed Kamatattva in the

Kulagahvaratantra. The fullness of desire (*kama*) is realised in compenetration (*samghatta*).

The master Vatulanatha too has mentioned this Saktikundalini in the following sutra, under the term *mahamelapa*:

The supreme fusion (*mahamelapa*) arises out of the compenetration of siddha and yogini.

If a Kaula yogi establishes himself therein even for an instant he experiences through the melting away of the duality of Siva and Sakti as subject of awareness (*vedyavedakatmasiva-sakti*) and equilibrium (*sthiti*) which is the supreme fusion in identity of essence (*mahasamarasya*) of the two. Thus it should be clearly understood that only that Kaula yogi who experiences the state of Saktikundalini within the supreme fusion (*mahamelapa*) of the compenetration of siddha and yogini during the secret rite is entitled to undertake it, and nobody else. Therefore none but those of the highest spiritual development, who are fully established in the recognition of their all-inclusive identity (paripurnasvatma) are qualified for this secret rite, the source of the ultimate penetration (samavesa). As the revered Ksemaraja has said:

They are not qualified for this. Rather let this be realised by the most elevated, by those of the highest spirituality.

Now I shall explain the nature of Pranakundalini. The power of emission, its nature the blissful relish (*camatkrti* of cconsciousness, is described in our revealed texts as Pranakundalini 'Kundalini as vital energy' when it cognizes emission's emergence (*unmesadasa*) within its own identity, in accordance with Abhinavagupta's teaching as *Tantraloka* 3..141:

This state of emission is the projection (*ksepa*) of one's own identity by one's own identity in one's own identity,

and represents itself as the generic vital energy (*pranana*), in accordance with (Kallata's) axiom:

Consciousness's initial transformation is as vital energy.

Although that state in which there is the manifestation of externality is experienced within the Pranakundalini-mode of emission in as much its form is the generic vital energy, nonetheless since the *specific* energy flows, the outgoing breath and the rest have not emerged, all that is operative here is the state of an all-pervading fullness with the relish of the bliss of one's own identity. It is this

same power of consciousness, in its Pranakundalini-aspect, that is experienced by Kaula yogis flashing forth in that reality which is the first instant of ejaculation (visarga). But here I shall add something on the basis of my own understanding. *Spandakarikas* I. 24-25:

Taking their stand on that (thoughtless centre) both moon and sun (ingoing and outgoing breaths/object and cognition) dissolve into the path of Susumna and leave behind the sphere of Brahma (the objective world/the body up to the cranial aperture), rising beyond it. Then in that great void within which sun and moon have utterly dissolved, the unaware remains as if immersed in dreamless sleep; but the awareness of one who is awake remains unshrouded.

When, in the manner described in these verses by the revered Vasugupta, a Saiva yogi, not allowing his awareness to slacken even for a moment, contemplating his identity with Siva, draws near to the state of penetration (samavesa), then, by virtue of his unbroken self-awareness, both his outgoing and his in-going breaths dissolve into the path of Susumna. As soon as this happens his vital energy (pranasakti) descends to the perennial centre (muladhara). Then in radiant expansion it flows up there from through the central path and as it does so the yogi experiences the state of Pranakundalini.

There are here two possible ways for yogis. The first is as follows. For some, when the outgoing and ingoing breaths dissolve into the central channel, they first turn downwards and, having broken through the *lambika*-centre, producing a sound like the roar one hears when one blocks one's ears with one's fingers, penetrate (*vedhayatah*) the perennial centre. First the yogi experiences this centre spinning at great speed and emitting the sound I have described. Then the vital energy ascends therefrom and flowing up through the central channel pierces the second centre (*cakra*, literally ('wheel) which is located in the region of the navel, so that it too begins to revolve and resonate. At this stage the yogi experiences both centres spinning simultaneously. Then the yogi's vital energy, rising from the navel-centre darts upwards and penetrates the heart-centre. The yogi experiences it rotating in the same way. Then the vital energy, continuing to rise through the central channel and reaching the throat, penetrates in a flash both the centre in the throat and that located between the eyebrows, so that these too begin to spin at high speed. Such is the experience of yogis alone. When the yogi has pierced the centre in the abode of *bindu* (between the brows), he experiences, within the pulsation of Pranakundalini, the rapid si-

multaneous rotation of all the centres from the perennial to that between the eyebrows. As soon as this occurs the yogi attains the eight miraculous powers, atomicity (anima) and the rest. This view is confirmed by the revered master Abhinavagupta when he treats the subject of Initiation through-Penetration (of the centres) (*vedhadiksa*) at *tantraloka* 29.237-238:

Moreover *vedhadiksa* has been variously described in various scriptures. It should be performed by (a guru) whose powers are developed to the point that he can ensure that the (disciple's) experience of the piercing of the centres is firmly established, and in the order of ascending immersion (from the perennial centre to the centre between the eyebrows), so that he attains the miraculous powers, automicity and the rest.

There is, however, another sequence and it is as follows. In the case of certain yogis of lesser inspiration, when their outgoing and ingoing breaths dissolve into the central pathway their vital energy flowing therein, by reason of the low degree of the Supreme Lord's grace (manifest in them), penetrates first the centre between the brows, so that for these yogis it is this centre which is the first to vibrate and resonate, then that in the region of the throat and following it, all the rest down to the perineal. As a result the yogi experiences nothing, for the impression of transmigratory existence is still firmly established within him. As for the eight miraculous powers, atomicity etc., they are quite out of the question. Rather such a yogi, overwhelmed by this inverted 'Demonic Penetration' (pisacavesa) experiences nothing but continual impediments. As has been said in the *Kularatnatantra*:

When, O fair-faced one, (yogis) established below pass upwards, that alone is the state of release (*moksa*), that state alone is the field of enlightenment. But when established in the uppermost centre they then descend, that is Demonic Penetration, the cause of impediments.

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Chapter - 3

AN ESTIMATE OF SAIVISM IN KASHMIR

Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

Among the religions of the world Kashmir Saivism is becoming popular with Indian as well as foreign scholars at different centres of learning today. Many scholars of Indology, in the present generation, are indebted to the versatile genius of late Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj for his exposition of Kashmir Saivis. His insight to unravel the mystery and clarity of exposition drew scholars to his side at his 'abode of peace' in Varanasi till seventies of this century. Srimat Swami Lakshman Joo, the exponent of Kashmir Saivism, draws scholars from abroad. They got the benefit of his practical knowledge of *Trika Saiva* philosophy and ideal sainthood. The result is that thesis and books relating to different topics of this philosophy have appeared. Moreover, Swamiji used to hold classes in *Saiva Sastras, Satsanga Gosthis* and occasional lectures giving encouragment and solace to local disciples and devotees as well as to those coming to seek his blessings from all over the country. This provided popularity to *Kashmir Saivism* and I have attempted to delineate some aspects of it in this article.

Re-discovery of *Saiva* faith was made around the ninth century A.D. in Kashmir conspicuously by *Vasugupta. Siva-Sutras* were revealed by Lord *Siva* Himself to Vasugupta in the woodland known as *Dacchigam* near *Harvan* in Kashmir. *Vasugupta* further wrote a purport of the *Siva-Sutras* called *Spanda Karika* which his well conducted disciple, *Kallatta,* elaborated by writing a commentary on it. *Kallatta* is thus known as the first *Acarya* of the *Spanda* order of Kashmir *Saivism* which is also called *Trika Sastra,* because it evidently discusses the three modes of reality viz., *Nara,Siva* and the connecting link Sakti as an evidence of monistic character of the *Tantras.*

The second form of *Trika Sasana* was introduced by *Somananda* about the same era when he wrote *Sivadrsti,* the tenets of which were explained by his disciple *Utpaladeva* in his *Isvarapratyabhijna.* Thus *Vasugupta* and *Somananda* re-established *Trika Saiva* in Kashmir in the latter part of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. Till then the *Saivagama* had remained dormant for centuries together.

The *Saiva Agama* and expansion of the Vedas (*Nigama*) both are understood to be eternal and the one bears proximity to the other. This is held by the followers of the *Trika Sasana* also. According to their bearing and respect for the same, it will be proper to have recourse to the *Tantraloka* of *Abhinavagupta* and its commentary by *Jayaratha* for giving a brief history of the development of *Saiva* doctrine in Kashmir.

Firstly, all sacred precept (*Sastra*) remains shining forth in the most initial stage as *Para Vak*, the pre-eminent supreme perception of *Parama Siva*. Then it rises as non-different I-Consciousness at *Pasyanti* stage. Further, the sacred precept formulates as the speaking and the spoken word (vacaka-vacya) in *Madhyama*. In the fourth stage, the same precept becomes articulate to express itself clearly in the external world of subject-object relation as *Vaikhari*. In this way *Para Vak*, being identical with supreme-consciousness is present in all experients uniformly in its following three states. Accordingly, the sacred precept expands from its primary source in five streams. This is expansion of the powers of *Siva* which are : consciousness (*cit*), bliss (*iccha*), knowledge (*Jnana*) and activity (*kriya*). *Saiva Sastra* is believed to flow through these powers like streams from the five faces of *Siva* bearing appelations *Isana, Tatpurusa, Sadyojata, Vamadeva* and *Aghora*. These streams flow differently according to different levels of consciousness or different inclinations of mortal consciousness as follows:

i) For identical intellect these appeared as *Bhairava Sastras* to confirm the experience of Recognition of absolute inity — *Abheda*.
ii) For the intellect of different understanding these appeared as *Rudra Sastras* to explain the principle of unity in diversity Bheda — *bheda*.
iii) For the modified intellect these appeared as *Siva Sastras* to describe the essence of the manifold principle — *Bheda*. Other equal names of these levels are *Para, Parapara, Apara* or *Atibhava, Bhavabhava* and *Bhava* respectively.

Before the advent of the iron age (*Kaliyuga*) sages and seers imparted these principles by the word of mouth only. Disciples followed this series for spiritual elevation. But as the age of *Kali* set in, those sages and seers held themselves in dense forests and caverns near far reaching villages named *Kalapi*, perhaps to maintain

their spiritual atmosphere of tranquility and true joy. They preferred to remain untouched by injustice and confusion with which *Kalivuga* is brought. As quarrel and calamity increased, the order of *Trika* came to be in disuse.

Mankind suffered for long in this condition. Then Lord *Siva*, out of inexhaustible and immense compassion, appeared at Mount *Kailasa* in the form of *Srikanthanatha* and initiated sage *Durvasa* in the *Saiva* order and directed him to propagate *Trika Sasana* again on earth for the revival of spiritual peace to mankind. Thus sage *Durvasa*, proficient in the knowledge and practice of *Saiva* doctrine, started its propagation with his extra-ordinary mental power, assuring its continuation through his three mind-born sons, named *Tryambaka, Amardaka* and *Srinatha*. They were instructed to carry on the propagation in the three levels of consciousness as mentioned above. *Tryambaka* by his thought-power produced a girl for acquisition of the knowledge to a multitude of women. This gave rise to *Ardha-tryambhaka* branch. In this way the doctrine came in use again in the world through the three and a half branches, technically called *Mathikas*.

Trika philosophy was acknowledged as the excellent order according to *Tantraloka*. The teaching of this monistic *Saiva* was conducted by *Tryambaka* and *Ardha-tryambaka*. They transplanted it in the culturally fertile intellects of of Kashmir. The lineage continued upto the fourteenth generation. Such disciples were called *Siddhas*. No clues are available regarding the other two branches viz. *Bheda* line of *Amardaka* and *Bhedabheda* line of *Srinatha*. It is possible that these two lines were not found necessary, with the result that their propagation stopped. The teacher-disciple series of this kind broke off in the fifteenth generation, when its representative member, whose name is not known, could not produce a mind-born son. He married a Brahmin girl and from her got a son, whose name was *Sangamaditva*. He was the first son-disciple born from the womb of the mother. In this way the secret doctrine was carries down through the material lineage of father to son.

Sangamaditva, in the course of his travels, arrived in Kashmir during the reign of *Lalitaditya* (725-761 A.D.). With a desire to live in an essentially peaceful atmosphere he became a regular inhabitant of this country. His son was *Varsaditya*. Then followed *Arunaditya* whose son was *Ananda*, the father of the famous *Somananda*. Here the system of father-and-son changed and

the general course of Preceptor-disciple system followed. *Somananda* found his disciple in *Utpaladeva* whose disciple was *Laksmanagupta*, the logic-teacher of the celebrated *Abhinavaguptapada*. *Somananda* expressed *Tantric Saivism* through an advanced logical method. He appreciated the importance of Buddhistic logic. This policy of *Somananda* was followed well by his successors like *Utpaladeva* and *Abhinavagupta*.

Lalitaditya was an efficient ruler, a constituent of responsible Government and a righteous king. He was as much interested in the good of his subjects as of himself. This popular king earned the credit of being the initial cause of spreading *Saiva Sasana* in Kashmir. It was at his earnest request that *Atrigupta*, a *Saivacarya* of high order, who lived with his family in the beautiful traçt of land, *Antarvedi*, between the rivers *Ganga* and *Yamuna*, made Kashmir his homeland. The king had been deeply impressed by his sharp intellect and splendour of learning. For his dwelling he renovated the palace, formerly belonging to king *Pravarasena*, at Pampore in the south-east of Srinagar. The sage *Atrigupta* propagated the *Saiva* lore there throughout his life. In the fourth generation of this lineage *Varahagupta* was blessed with a gifted son named *Narasimhagupta* who became the venerated father of *Abhinavagupta*. Initiation of *Abhinavagupta* in the monistic *(Trika) Saiva* was brought about by *Sambhunatha*, who had been a householder. In this lineal descent *Vasugupta*, contemporary of king *Avantivarman* (855-883 A.D.), was born some generations previous to *Narasimhagupta*. When *Vasugupta* failed to refute the growing influence of Buddhism in Kashmir he started doing penence to propitiate Lord *Siva* in the forest at the foot of *Mahadeva* mountain near *Harvan* village, about 19 kms, from Srinagar. Easily appeasable *Siva* instructed *Vasugupta* in a dream to go and find *Siva-Sutras* engraved on a boulder in the nearing wood of *Dacchigam*, study those and propagate the *Saiva* lore in Kashmir. To his surprise, *Vasugupta* found the *Sutras* (aphorisms) inscribed in the bottom surface of the rock, which had turned by his mere touching it. The boulder is still existing in the forest. It was named *'Sanakara Pal'* (*Sankra-upala* in Sanskrit). *Vasugupta* succeeded in facing Buddhism on one hand while on the other he became the first exponent of *Trika Saiva* of Kashmir. His worthy disciple *Kallattacarya* followed the tenets. This system came to be known as *Spanda* Thought. *Somananda* and *Utpaladeva*, as described above, established the *Pratyabhijna* Thought. Utpala's

lyrical poems, collected under the name *Sivastotravali*, are pithy and sweet. The very recitation of the verses drowns one in an ecstasy of *Saiva-Monism*. *Utpala's* thought of Recognition (*Pratyabhijna*) is made more comprehensive with this and also with the *Pratyabhijna Hrdaya*, a later work by *Ksemaraja*.

Appearance of the two Thoughts, however, is understood to be the latter period of Kashmir *Saivism* since *Saiva* lore is said to have prevailed in Kashmir from very early times. *Kula* system, advocating the highest knowledge of about *Siva*, had been introduced sometime in the fourth century A.D. and *Krama* system, connected with *Raja Yoga* and *Kundlaini Yoga*, which stress interdependence of vital airs and mind, had existed even earlier. This Monistic *Saiva Darsana* developed in Kashmir in the four systems viz. (i) *Krama* (ii) *Kula* (iii) *Spanda* and (iv) *Pratyabhijna*.

Abhinavagupta enjoyed final authority on the theory and practice of Kashmir *Saivism*. This is evident from the commentaries on the theoretical works of *Somananda* and *Utpaladeva*, who had carried ahead the mission of *Vasugupta*. His monumental work *Tantraloka* is, in fact, a unique work on advanced theology. In this voluminous work he gave a proper system to *Saiva* Philosophy spread in different works just as *Sankaracarya* (788-820 A.D.) gave to *Upanisads* by writing an illucidated commentary on *Brahma Sutra*. *Tantraloka* throws sufficient light on the practical yoga of *Trika Saiva*, deals with fundamental tenets of monistic *Saiva* and explains in detail the whole system of ritual *sadhana* of this school. For beginners he composed *Bodha Pancadasika* and *Paramamrthasara*. He also wrote philosophical hymns (*stotras*) quite as important as the *Sivastotravali*. But some of his commentaries like *Locana* on *Sivadrsti* and that on *Kramastotra* of *Siddhnatha* are lost to us. His outstanding commented text on 36 verses from *Rudrayamala Tantra* is *Paratisika*. This is one of the most authoritative and venerated texts along with *Malinivijaya Tantra* (or *Purva Sastra*). In short, he nourished the *Saivism* of Kashmir for generations to come.

Abhinavagupta was born in the beginning of the tenth century and lived a long life upto the eleventh. He was a celibate and with his multiform bright conception spread *Saivism* till he lived. During his early life he made excellent contribution to Sanskrit literature in the fields of poetics and dramaturgy. His *Dvanyavalokalocana* and *Bharat Natyam* are well known throughout the country.

Ksemaraja, a disciple of *Abhinavagupta,* was endowed with genius. His elaboroate commentary on *Siva Sutras* became more popular than the other ones from different authors. He wrote a commentary on *Svacchanda Tantra* also. His disciple, *Yogaraja,* who received teaching from *Abhinavagupta,* wrote a commentary on his teacher's *Paramarthasara.* The work of propogation was further carried on by *Jayaratha* who wrote the comprehensive commentary of Tantraloka in the twelfth century. Thereafter the lineage seems to have slowed down till eighteenth century when *Pandit Sivopadhyaya,* learned and well-versed in the practice of *Saiva* order, completed the commentary of on the *Vijnana Bhairava* (a part from the *Rudrayamala Tantra*) which was already begum by *Ksemaraja.* He lived near Habbakadal in Srinagar on the left bank of the famous *Vitasta* river.

Saivism in Kashmir was thus built and developed by those *yogis* who possessed sharp intellect and efficiency in expressing clearly the mystery of the philosophy. They had direct experience of the philosophical principles of *Advaita Saiva* which is analogous with *Sankara Vedanta* in many respects. Having categorical basis of *Sankhya* Philosophy, Kashmir *Saivism* excels the famous Indian Philosophies. It is *Tantric* in Character.

Further, saints of the faith appeared in interrupted succession. They did not make use of the pen but imparted instruction and initiated disciples. However, *Manu Deva,* a saint of high order appeared in the nineteenth century. It was his earnest desire to revive the traditional doctrine. His disciple *Swami Rama,* a saint of extraordinary calibre, influenced Hindu-Muslim, rich-poor and educated-uneducated alike. He was a saint of accomplishments and quite adept in *Saiva* lore. He practically displayed deep meditation for four hours in one sitting. He attained *Samadhi* in the second decade of twentieth century, leaving behind a centre of activities named *Sri Rama Saiva (Trika) Ashrama* at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar. *Swami Mahtab Kak,* the chief among his disciples held charge of the *Ashrama.* He hailed from *Krandigam* village in the south-east of Srinagar and was endowed with more practical knowledge of the tradition, than theory. His disciple-brothers, most of whom were house-holders, assembled around him for routine recitations and instructions regularly. This routine was carried on by *Swami Govind Kaul, Sri Tara Chand and Sri P.N. Nehru.* The *Ashram* is active till date. Annual '*Jag*' of *Swami Rama* is celebrated. The other outstanding

disciples of *Swami Rama* were Swami *Vidyadhar* and *Swami Mahanand Joo*. The former established *Vidyadhar Ashram* at Karan Nagar and the latter *Saiva Ashram* at *Ratnipore*. Each has his own line of disciples to the present time.

Isvarasvarupa Swami Lakshman Joo was the most illustrious living exponent of Kashmir *Saivism* at present. Born in the year 1907 A.D. with signs of '*Yogabrasta*', his growing spiritual perception in early childhood, was held in hand by *Sri Rama. Laksman Joo* was seven years old when *Swami Rama* entrusted his spiritual care to his pet disciple *Swami Mahtab Kak* for traditional initiation on being mature, and himself merged in *Sivasvarupa*. Accordingly young *Laksmana* was initiated into *Trika Saiva* at the age of sixteen years. He chose to live a celibate life in solitude. He studied Sanskrit grammar and Kashmir series of *Saiva* texts with deep interest, side by side practising spiritual contemplation. Swamiji had been living in his own newly built small house at *Isber* (Nishat), disseminating spiritual knowledge by expounding Kashmir *Saiva* philosophy till 1991 A.d. He was a quite matured ecstacy now. Some of his works are:

Abhinavagupta's commentary on Srimad Bhagavadgita, edited with gloss in Sanskrit. Later translatged into Hindi.
Kramanayadipika (twelve forms of Kali from *Tantraloka).*
Sambapancasika and *Pancastavi* of *Dharmacarya* — Hindi translations and edited in grammatical order.
The Secret of Supreme Consciousness.
Lectures on Practice & Discipline in Kashmir Shaivism.

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Chapter - 4

EXPOSITION OF TRIKA

Laxmi Narayan Raina

This universe with multifarious forms, shapes and colours; this exuberance of beings; this exquisite panoramic vast Nature with its grandeur; these agitating mighty waves in the oceans; these countless solar systems in this grand expanse, the sun and the moon and such like millions of luminaries moving round the world, is the physical presence in which we live and find our sustenance. The man on this planet is gifted with capacity of direction, control and research to understand and harness Nature. He is the evolved being and has rational sense and fineness of mind and brain, having the faculty of harmonising all what he is surrounded with. The man has got wondrous power of deep contemplation and can even go beyond the realm of thought, reason and intellect. He can observe for himself the transformation of the supreme power, the absolute unity in this splendid manifested universe of varieties. In the words of Emerson, "Within the man is the soul of the whole".

The question arises how this universe came into being? What is the purpose behind it? How are the forces operating and functioning in it? What is this great movement? All such searching questions arise in sceptic minds who want to discover the depths of this great mystery.

The entire universe, this totality, consist of a number of factors (tattvas) of nature, supernatural ingredients and mystic forces which maintain and stabilise it. Then again question arises, as to what are all these factors and forces which give this diverse appearance. The answer is given by the great preceptors, saints and seers of Kashmir out of their own practical experience and realisation in their expositions and this has served as the beacon to all the seekers of truth of the world. They have discovered this truth that all that we see and what we are emanate from one single unity and is transformed into this manifestation, which is the unfoldment of the Supreme power. This is transformed on its own motion and nothing influences it from the outside.

The co-relationship of universe and divine powers is expounded in the 'Celebrated Five Hymns' (Panchastavi);

"Bhumau Nivrti udhita payai pritishta, Vidya anale maruta shanti atit shanti, Vyomiti yah kila kalla kalyanti vishvam, Tasam vidurtaram amba padam tvadiyam" IV-26. Thou art signified, O Mother! as an aspect of withdrawal (Nivriti) in the earth (element), existence (Pritishta-Kala) in the water (element), knowledge (Vidya kala) in the fire (element), peace (Santi Kala) in the air (element), supreme bliss (Atitshanti kala) in ether (element) and with these (tattavas) (as well as) aspects (Kalas) Thou evidently doth manifest the Universe, All the same) Thou Art (Thyself) far beyond these aspects (and elemental worlds)". (IV-26)

There was nothing, but the Eternal One (Sada Shiva). Question of knowing Him or finding Him or seeking Him in any state would not arise. He is undisturbed and motionless, one single unity. Kalidasa in Kumara-Sambhava (III Canto-Verse 50) says:

"Mano navadvara nisiddhavrtti hrdivyavasthapya samadhivasyam,
Yamaksaram Ksetravido vidustamatmanam atmanya valokayantam"

"Who fixing in his heart his mind which was controlled by deep concentration and, the activity through the nine gates (senses) of which was completely suspended, was seeking in himself his own self, which those versed in spiritual knowledge call Spirit Eternal".

In such a state Shiva is Nishkala (Pure-Consciousness), in Him all elements (Tattvas), aspects (Kalas) and His Shakti are merged. He is motionless, undisturbed and in a state of equilibrium (Samvit).

Shiva Shakti agamas (doctrine) elaborate the principles and sub-functionaries of that Absolute Consciousness, Param Shiva, which manifest this Universe and still are far beyond all this. These functional principles and creative movement are called 'Prakriti', the nature of the Supreme, Changeless-Principle who passes into changing one. This Purusha and his Prakriti emanate from 'Para Brahaman', the Eternal One, the unmanifested Divine. This Prakriti, expressed in different aspects, is nothing but Shiva-Shakti, Svrupa (embodiment) of that Infinite Benign. This is the great display of grand glorification of the Supreme Power called "Vibhuti".

The Principal Kalas are five and they are:

1. **Nivvrti Kala**: It is the working force and essential element in the Prithvi Tattva, the earth element.
2. **Pratishtha Kala**: It is the basis and inner framework on which the outer physical universe is laid. It is in *Apa* (water element).
3. **Vidya Kala**: It means a knowledge of limited nature and is the dominant Kala in the fire (Anila) tattva.
4. **Shanti Kala**: It is the air (Maruta) element. This is beyond *Maya.*
5. **Atita Shanti Kala**: It is the last Kala of Shakti which is above all and is in *Akasha*—ether. This is Shakti Tattva.

The sadhana (practice) to observe Kundalini moving from Muladhara (earth element) to Svadishthana, the region of water proceeds to Manipura and Anahata, the region of air and fire, until it reaches Ajna and from Ajna to Sahasrara which is an abode of supreme bliss and limitless state of Sada-Shiva.

The entire universe (prapancha) is the nature (prakriti) of Sada-Shiva and this (Prapancha) consists of Kalas and 36 Tantras which are described in several texts and works of Kashmir Shaiva Agamas.

In the book 'Kashmir Shaivism', (p. 49), the author says:

"Now, even though of an infinite variety, the things and beings, of which the Universe, thus produced by the opening out of Shakti, consists, are built up really of only a few fundamental and general factors technically called Tattvas". These Tattvas (elements or ingredients) are 36 in number. They are just mentioned below in brief.

I. Five elements, materiality of the sensible universe. They are *Prithvi* (earth), *Apa* (water); *Agni* (fire); *Vayu* (air) and *Akasha* (firmament).

II. Four principles constituting the motor-nervous system in the body. They are : *Payu* (the voiding or discarding organ; *Pada* (the feet), the power of locomotion; *Hasta* (the hand), the power of handling: *Vach* (the vocal organ), the power of expression.

III. Five Tanmatras i.e. *Gandha Tanmatra* (odour); *Tanmantra*

(the flavour), *Rupa Tanmatra* (colour formation), *Sparsha Tanmatra* (sense of feeling) and *Shabda Tanmatra* (the sound).

IV. Five powers of sense perception called *Tnanodriyas* viz. sense of smell; sense of taste; sense of sight, sense of touch and sense of hearing.

V. Three capacities of mental operation called *Antakharana*, (inner organ) viz. (a) power of imagination (b) the power of arrogation and appropriation and (c) the power which binds up the personal ego.

VI. The principles of the limited individual viz. (i) the root of all feeling and (ii) moving passion in any form degree:

VII. Six principles of subjective limitations viz., (i) limitation in regard to duration of presence of experience. This is also called Kala or time; (ii) regulation or limitation in regard to interest (iii) attachment limitation as regards simple awareness or knowledge, (iv) limitation in regard to authorship i.e. the power of limited creation; and (v) power of limited creation (Maya) and (vi) sense of limiting and self forgetting.

VIII. Five principles of the universal subject objection viz. (i) corelation in the universal existence; (ii) identification; (iii) the lordliness or mighti (iv) being (existence) called the origin of experience; (v) negation and potentialisation. Above all is *Shakti Tattva* i.e. the power of experience by itself with Pure 'I' without the experience of even 'Am'.

All such elements, Kalas, Vrittis (Conditions) or 'Kanchukas' (coverings) are the raw materials of Prakriti, *Maha Shakti*, the aspect of changing consciousness of the Changeless Super-Consciousness, the Pure-Self, to manifest this universe and experience its own projection, with all this, the Super-Consciousness exists ever Perfect and Pure with no boundaries.

Unmanifested Maha Shakti (Supreme Power) with all its manifestation of this gross world is far beyond these elementals and functions. Therefore, in Panchastavi, he says:

"Tasam vidurtaramamba: Padam Tvdiyam" "Beyond all these (tattvas) is Thy abode in Infinity". This universe is merely a great 'Vimarsha' (experience) of the diversity of the Eternal One who on its own motion is the cause and effect of its own projection and is in

its ownself the experience and the experience. In Prtyabhijnahrdayam, Khemraja says:

> "Svechaya svbhilam vishvam unamilyate" "By its own will unfolds itself on its own screen". This absolute unity passes into variety and at the same time this unity co-exists with its own diversity.

The man and the universe are just like waves in the ocean, one tossing and dashing against the other. They rise and fall in millions and agitate in commotion and are lost in this stupendous rough speedy movements. These waves and tides and the movement as well, emanate from the limitless ocean and while in a state of various and numberless movements, it is not realised, that all this is but ocean and it merely appears to us, multifarious and in numberless fragments of different sizes, forms and shapes. The man in this universe, is lost in his environmental atmosphere and takes it for granted, that there is nothing beyond this. Rabindranath Tagore, the awakened seeker, says:

> "I take pride in this great wall and I plaster it with dust and sand lest a least hole should be left in this name; and for all the care I take I lose sight of my true-being".

The awareness of all this and its reality make man free from all such toils, troubles and ignorance. He harmonizes totality and brings all fragments together and becomes the centre of the whole. Emerson expounds, "Man is a stream where source is hidden. Our being is descending into us from we know not where".

The preceptors and thinkers of Kashmir have shown us the path of enlightenment and have experienced the Divine Truth within themselves. They have discovered the unmeasured depths of the infinite ocean of Pure Consciousness (Chiti) and have taught us that any man, with attentive mind, alertness and determination, can practise and search and explore the Supreme Power which is within and outside us and all can have awareness of this Divine Truth.

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Chapter - 5

TANTRIK WORSHIP

Mr. Justice Shiv Nath Katju

It will not be readily accepted if it is said that ninety perçent of what goes by the present day Hinduism bears the fullest impress of the Tantras. In common parlance Tantra is associated with black magic and aweful rituals but that is hardly a true picture of the Tantras.

The Tantrik literature, though later in point of time, runs parallel to the stream of Vedic literature. We have the 'Shrutis', the 'Upanishads', the 'Smritis' and the commentaries thereon. The 'Shrutis' have a divine origin. They were revealed to the 'Rishis.' Similarly, the 'Agams' and the 'Nigams' were propounded by Lord Shiva himself. They are in the form of dialogues in verse. In 'Agams' queries are put by Parvati and are answered by Mahadeva. In 'Nigams' the questioner is Mahadeva and the replies are given by Parvati. The original 'Agams' are said to be between 52 and 62. Many of them are lost and in the case of several of them we have only portions of the full text. The 'Agams' and the 'Nigams' have their commentaries.

It is said that after the epic fight between the Kauravas and the Pandavas, Janmejaya performed a sacrifice 'Yagna' in which the Nagas were to be sacrified. That was an act of retaliation. The death of Janmejava's father Parikshit had been caused by Nag-raj Takshak. Those who officiated at the sacrifice did so on the condition that once the sacrifice started it would not be interrupted. The condition was accepted but when the sacrifice was going on, innumerable snakes and serpents were being drawn to the sacrificial pit, a Rishi appeared on the scene and stopped the sacrifice. That enraged 'Agni' who had been invoked and he pronounced a curse on the Brahmins that hence onwards the 'Vedas' shall be like non-poisonous snakes for them, i.e. result would not be produced by the Vedic rituals and sacrifices. That resulted in making the Vedic rituals ineffective. It was then that Lord 'Mahadeva' revealed the 'Tantras' for the benefit of mankind. This is the traditional origin of the 'Tantras'. A more rational explanation is given by the theory that due to the carnage in the Mahabarata, when millions of people were slaughtered and there was inrush of people from across the frontiers of India, it became difficult to carry on the Vedic rites and rituals. Moreover, the Vedic

sacrifices were long drawnout rituals the performance of which was difficult. There was thus a need for radical change in the spiritual and esoteric field and the 'Rishis' propounded a system of rites and rituals which were more suited to the needs of the people. it is said that the 'Tantras' are meant for the Kali Era, the Iron Age. The Mahabharat brought a close to the Dwapar Era and heralded 'Kaliyug'. The Tanrik creed which contains the substance of the Vedic rituals in a modified form was, therefore, introduced to meet the spiritual needs of the people.

There is another theory according to which the Tantras have non-Aryan origin and they were grafted on the Vedic rites and rituals. Western scholars generally subscribe to this theory. Some of the seals found in summer and Akkad bear the emblem of Shiva and the Divine Mother and similar seals have been found at Mahenjodaro. It is suggested that the cult of Shiva and Mother worship was grafted on Vedic thought by non-Aryans. The theory is, however, not acceptable to the practitioners of Tantras in India. Those who are in it know that if anywere the Vedic gods like 'Indra', 'Varuna' and 'Kuber' etc. are worshiped that is done in the course of Tantrik rituals. The Tantras introduced the worship of the five gods ('Panch Devas'), 'Vishu', 'Shiva', 'Ganesh', 'Surya' and the Divine Mother. Much of the prepsent day Hindu rituals centre round the aforesaid gods. As a matter of fact, the Hindus do not worship the Supreme God. He is beyond comprehension and no one has seen Him or known Him. The one, who is all pervading, without attributes and beyond the comprehension of man, cannot possibly by the object of ritual worship. He can only be contemplated by the 'Yogis' in their 'Samadhi'. The Hindus worship the Devas, the 'Rishis' and the 'Pitris' and the entire Hindu ritual worship revolves round them. The worship of the 'Devas' consists of the worship of the aforesaid five 'Devatas'.

The 'Agams' are also divided into five groups, i.e. 'Shaiva', 'Vaishnava', 'Saura', 'Ganapatya' and 'Shakta'. Therefore even a person who is initiated in the Mantras of 'Vishnu' 'Shiva', 'Ganesh' or Surya' is also a Tantrik. In common parlance however, the Tantrik worship is confined to the worship of 'Bhakti'.

It may be emphasized that 'Shakti' is never worshipped alone. She is always worshipped along with Shiva. She is 'Prakriti' while Shiva is 'Purush'. It is the union of the two that starts the creation. The reverse order is the close-up and brings about 'Pralaya'.

The worship of Shakti is divided into stages. The first four lead to 'Pravritti' while the last four lead to 'Nivriti'. It is in the last four stages beginning from 'Vamachar' that certain rituals are performed in which wine, meat, fish etc. are used. There is considerable popular misconception with regard to the aforesaid rituals. There is nothing wrong in it alongwith its misuse and perversion may lead to debasement. Criticism has often been levelled against the left route rituals (Vamachar) of the Tantriks.

It must be realised that it is part of 'Sadhana' which aims at spiritual uplift. Any vulgarity or practice which produces the contrary result has no place in any 'Sadhana' and 'Vamachar' is no exception. It is a stage through which the pilgrim on his quest for spiritual perfection must pass. The path is highly rugged and difficult and is not meant for all. This particular 'Sadhana' is not meant for the common man. It is prescribed only for the elite who have to pass certain rigid tests of character, sense control and integrity before they are initiated in this form of 'Sadhana'. The initiates in this path are, therefore, comparatively rare.

Tantrik 'Sadhana' which includes the worship of 'Shiv-Shakti is part of 'Mantra-Yag'. Tantra-Shastra is also called the Mantra-Shastra. The effect of Mantras is produced by sound. Mantras recited according to the prescribed manner are supposed to produce the desired result. The effectiveness of sound and the waves produced by it are explained by the laws of Physics. Sound waves when projected outwards and also when directed inside the body are effective. When turned outwards they are often used in black magic and are equally effective in bringing about the desired results. This from of 'Sadhana' is used in acquiring 'Siddhis'. Low types of 'Siddhis' are used in black magic. The well-known froms of 'Abhichar' are 'Maran', 'Moham', Uchhatan and 'Vashikaran'. The practice of such rites is avoided by the 'Sadhak' who seeks spiritual perfection. That may be one of the reasons why the preceptors (Gurus) are hesitant in initiating disciples in this form of 'Sadhana'. Weapons placed in the hands of persons who are unfit to use them are likely to be misused and may be dangerous both for the practioner and for others. A person who has control over his sense and who would not be tempted to misuse the Mantras is alone qualified to practice this form of 'Sadhana'. When directed inwards the 'Mantras' awaken the hidden subtle centres of energy within the body and raise men to the level of gods. The awakening of the 'Kundalini' in

the 'Muladhara' which lies at the base of the spine and taking it up through the others centres in the spine to the last centre beneath the top of the head (Sahasrar) makes a man master of the elements and uplifts him and frees him from bondage even in life. He becomes perfect and becomes a Kaul. Merging the duality of 'Purush' and 'Prakriti' he realises the Absolute, the One beyond all duality, all-Comprehensive, and the Supreme Architect of the entire creation.

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Chapter - 6

THE SWASTIKA OR THE FYLFOT

Prof. P. N. Qazi

Historical excavations in many countries bear witness to the fact that, in ancient times, the *Swastika* was used as a sign of people inhabiting various regions of the world. The most ancient Swastika symbols have been found in the excavations in Mohanjo-Daro, Harappa, Persia and Mesopotamia. In Turkey, there was a custom, in those old days, of placing a metal standard of the Swastika in the grave alongside the corpse. In Italy, the symbol has been found engraved on funeral urns. In Athens, the sign appears thrice on a funeral car. Probably, the symbol was used on such occasions in those countries, to ensure the well-being of the Dead.

In Greece, as in India, the sign was usually engraved on coins. In Egypt also, it was a religious symbol since early times. In Britain, it was used as a holy mark. H.E. Priestley in his book 'Britain under the Romans' writes that the *Swastika* was considered as a sacred symbol in Roman England. At a site, excavated at Lullinstone, the floor of a room in a villa in Britain has been found adorned with this symbol.

The Swastika appears on the jewels of German and Scandinavian people, and is inscribed on the altars of the Roman period. It was revived later by Hitler in Germany as a national emblem for Hitler considered it as an ancient Aryan symbol that brought happiness and good luck.

The *Swastika* was considered an auspicious sign by the original inhabitants of America. It is found in the remains of ancient Mexico and Peruvia, and also in burial mounds in the U.S.A.

It also found a place among written characters in China where it connotes abundance, long life and happiness.

Thus, it is clear that the sacred sign was at first used in India and was later adopted as a holy symbol by people of almost all countries. It is fairly certain, that the Celts who took with them other Aryan beliefs and traditions to different countries of Europe as they carried the worship of Shivlinga from the Indus Valley civilisation, made the use of the Swastika popular among other countries. They spread its use in Crete, Mesopotamia, Palestine, etc.

The Aryans, who used it as a holy sign, related it somehow to God, to good augury or benediction of God. They considered this very auspicious. The religious minded people inscribed it on the first page of the book they wrote or they put this sign on the opening page of their account books.

The sign is also marked on the chest of some statues of Buddha, or on the lower side of Buddha's feet as is found among base-lief of the well-known Stupas of Amravati. The Buddhists spread the use of this symbol in Tibet, China, Cambodia, Thailand, Japan and Korea. The Jains also used it as a sacred symbol.

It was a custom among the Christians to mark this sign on a tomb itself or to place a vase-with this symbol inside the tomb to ensure the safety and welfare of the departed soul. This custom was replaced by the use of a cross only much later.

The word *Swastika* is derived from the Sanskrit word Svasti, which itself is a combination of Su and Arti. Su means auspicious, and arti means is. The word, therefore, connotes well-being, good luck, auspiciousness. Over a very long period, now, this word has been used for a mystical cross, of which the extremities of the four arms are bent in clockwise direction. There must therefore be a reason why a sign of this pattern or form is associated with auspiciousness.

It should be noted in this connection that, in the literary tradition of India, the word, *Swastika* , refers to a cross, the four arms of which represent four directions or four paths, 'Chatnapatha'. Thus it typifies the four-armed pattern of the movement of the world-wheel or the four paths of life, or four different directions in which humanity moves. It would be worthwhile to add here that at many

places in India, Chakra also is found besides the Swastika, or the Swastika is incribed in a circle. The Chakra, it is generally accepted, represents the principle of continuous movement and life. So, the Swastika, inscribed at the centre of the circle, connotes what directons humanity takes in the cosmic wheel doing the four epochs, known as Satyaga. Tritayuga, Divapuryoga and Kaliyuga in Indian religious terminology. The Chakra also is held sacred in India and is known as 'Vishnu Chakra'. It is believed in India to be an instrument used for the destruction of demonical or evil forces. One form of the wheel is also known as Sudarshan Chakra which literally means the auspicious (knowledge of the) cosmic wheel. Putting these facts together, it means that the Swastika represents the eternal movement of the Word Life-Cycle in four different directions, in four different Ages, and enables a person to attain auspiciousness, good luck and happiness. Therefore the sign came to be used, in later times, as a symbol for well-being though people generally did not know what it signifies.

The Swastika thus symbolises the four stages of humanity as it passes through the four epochs, that is why the cross is used as a sign for four in the Bactro-Pali inscriptions. It would be interesting to know, in this connection, that in Britain the common name given to the Swastika was Fylfot, which is said to have been derived from the Anglo-Saxon 'fower fot' Four-footed.

All these facts indicate that the symbol signified the four different levels of purity, peace and prosperity in the four Ages of the World Cycle, Srishti Chakra.

Those, who have done research into the history of the symbol in various countries, have reported that the symbol was held as the emblem of God the Deity of all Deities, the Great Lord or the Creator. It was also held to symbolize light and life, Brahma, Vishnu and Shanker, and also the lotus which stands for holy life. All these beliefs, joined together point out that the sign indicates how God creates, again and again, a human society having good luck, auspiciouness and happiness after the cosmic wheel has passed through the four epochs. At the time of the confluence (Sangam) of the Iron Age and the Golden Age, God Imparts knowledge of the World-Wheel and makes the life-pattern of the people pure as a lotus. That is why sometimes dots or points are marked in the corners of the intersections of the arms of the Swastika. These points signify that when human souls pass through four different stages they are

purified by God by means of knowledge and yoga. The rice, sprinkled with saffron and placed in the four squares of the Swastika signifies this. While this symbol is very widely used in India even today an almost all sacred occasions, the real meaning is known to very few.

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Chapter - 7

SHAIVISM AND VEDANTA

Prof. Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

There are many other schools of thought in India besides the six principal systems of Indian Philosophy. But we have to realize that the basis of all these are the same and we call it the Ultimate Reality. These schools of thought rest their conclusions on several common concepts, which are:

(i) All accept the eternal cycle of Nature which consists of vast phases of creation, preservation and dissolution.
(ii) All accept that life and death are but two phases of a single cycle to which the soul is bound because of ignorance of the true nature of things.
(iii) All accept Dharma as the moral law of the Universe which accounts for these eternal cycles of Nature as well as the destiny of human soul in its evolution.
(iv) All agree that knowledge is the path to freedom and that yoga is the method to attain final liberation.

All the schools of thought are, therefore, but the fundamental interpretations of the Ultimate Reality. They are so inter-related that the hypothesis and the method of each depends on those of the other.

The Advaita Vedạnta of Shankara and the Kashmir Shaivism of Vasugupta and Somanada have great affinity with each other. The former influenced Kashmir while the latter developed on her soil. Both advocate monism. Fundamentally, they have a single conception but each develops it individually to suit particular minds. This we may attribute to the socio-historical background and geographical situation of each.

Vedanta is an enquiry into the nature of the Ultimate Reality while Shaivism discusses the nature of this ultimate Reality and explains the cause of the initial impulse in Nature. The sources of the former are the Vedas and those of the latter are the Tantras. But neither objects the postulates of either of these. Both seem to have prevailed in this beautiful valley of Kashmir since the very early times, probably the first century A.D. This is evident from a keen observation of the performances of daily and occasional rites and rituals by Kashmiri Brahmins even upto this day. Hymns from the Vedas and recitations from the Tantras are included in all kinds of such performances simultaneously.

People, in this land of Kashyapa, have from early times been accommodating, perhaps because of the gift of intelligence. They assimilated what good came their way. According to Dr. Stein, the Brahmins absorbed the Buddhist faith, and lived in harmony with their brethren who were converted to that faith in the valley. Thus, the old religion here seems to have been polytheistic, of course, with special inclination towards ritualistic Shaivism, Kula system, advocating the highest form of Shiva, had developed here in the 4th century A.D., and Krama system, connected with Raja Yoga and Kundalini Yoga which stress the inter-dependance of vital air and mind, had existed here even earlier.

Then, Shankaracharya (788-820 A.D.) visited this valley in the first quarter of the 9th century. He only re-established true faith in Upanishads and explained these in his commentary of Brahma-Sutra. He gave Vedanta Philosophy the right footing by writing his valuable and famous commentaries on the ten principal Upanishads and the Bhagwad gita. Through his numerous hymns to different deities, he gave practical instructions that all sorts of different worship lead to the same goal...the Ultimate Reality...on Realization. In his Hymn to Dakshinamurti, Shankara's conception of the Ultimate Reality is the same as that of Utpala's Pratyabhigya in Kashmir. Dr. T.M.P. Nahadevan remarks in his book, 'The hymns of Shankara' ... It is to be noted that in this hymn (of Dekshnamurti) Shankara employs some key-terms and concepts of the Pratybhigya system known popularly as Kashmir Shaivism. The illustration of the mirrored city is found in the Pratyabhigya works".

The earlier, two great Shaiva families of Sangamitra and Artigupta had migrated to Kashmir, when King Lalitaditya (725-761 A.D.) ruled here. They practised Tantric Shaiva rituals which had also

influenced the people. Later Sankara's Tantric Philosophy also influenced the Trika system of Kashmir. This leads us to think that Sankara must have had personal touch with some early writers in Kashmir. Thus the mixed faith that the people of Kashmir had professed so for, developed into a philosophical system between Vasugupta and Somananda gave Spanda (Impulse) and Pratyabhigya (Recognition) thoughts respectively during the middle and the later parts of the 9th century. In one of his lectures on Kashmir Shaivism, Sri, Swami Lakshman Joo has said... "like Vedanta, this system endeavours to remove the innate ignorance that separates the individual from the universal".

As regards their composition, the points of difference between the two philosophies are:

(i) On the basis of Sankhya Philosophy both hold that the Universe comprises of a number of tattwas (categories) twenty-three of which are common to both:

Five Elements (Pancha Bhutas)
Five organs of cognition
Five organs of Action
Five subtle elements
Three interal organs...Mind, Intellect and Ego.

In Vedanta, the twenty-fourth is Prakriti...the cosmic substance, which may be termed as the primal impulse of nature. Then there is Purusha, which we identify with Atman, the Pure Spirit, the instrumental cause of the manifest world. He is the Supreme Being, ever pure and not tainted with the stains of worldly corruption, just as no amount of dirt can ever alter the chemical purity of gold in a gold ring. Therefore. Soul of Self in Vedanta means the Universal Soul.... Paramatman, Allah, God, or Supreme Spirit. It brings all change by it mere presence as the sun brings the spring flowers.

Trika adds thirteen more categories:

Prakriti...the world of difference which has the quality of being.
Purusha...the limited individual,
Five sheaths (kanchukas)....the limiting experience of the individual, i.e., Time, Space, Desire, Limited Knowledge and Limited Power,
Maya....the power of production of Purusha and Prakriti.
Five Supreme Energies, which are : Action (Kriya), Knowledge

(Gyana), Will (Ichha), Bliss (Ananda) and Consciousness (Chit). This makes thirty-six modification in order of involution.

Kashmir Shaivism postulates the single Reality with two aspects ...one, Transcendental and the other, Immanent. In Vedanta, these are termed 'Causal Reality' and 'Effective Reality'. The first, however, is beyond manifestation and the second, pervades the universe of manifestation. But both are real as the effect cannot be different from the cause.

(ii) The Vedanta discusses the relationship of God, Matter and World (Ishwara, Jeeva and Jhgat). The central theme of the Vedanta Sutras is the philosophised teachings of the Upanishads, concerning the nature of these three principles. This includes the relation between the universal soul and the individual soul, clearly explained by Shankara.

The system of Kashmir Shaivism deals with the three-fold principle of God, Soul and Matter (Shiva, Nara and Shakti), which gives it the name Trika. Vasugupta received the Shiva-Sutra by inspiration and explained these to preserve for man the principle of monism, which had existed in the Tantras. This revived an understanding of truth in its ultimate form.

(iii) In Vedanta, Maya is a means of operation. It is not a substance. It is the force which creates the illusion of non-perception in nature. It is the dividing or finitising force which creates form into formless. The world is known as Maya because it has no reality. It is only an appearance of fleeting forms. The real is never affected by the unreal, as the ground is never made wet by a mirage. Maya is ignorance (Avidya) when it operates in the individual mind. it vanishes when the knowledge of reality dawns, just as the morning mist dissipates on rising of the sun.

In Kashmir Shaivism, Maya is the power of contraction of the five universal modes of consciousness. Its five evolutes are called 'sheaths', which function as —

- The Eternal Existence Contracts into Time,
- All-pervasiveness Contracts into Space,
- All-completeness Contracts into Desire,
- All-knowledge Contracts into limited knowledge, and
- All-powerfulness Contracts into limited power.

Maya, here, produces Purusha and Prakriti, which establish the dual world of mind and matter. Then it is termed Maya-Granthi..... the kind of illusion, which is the cause of bondage. But Maya, again, is the undivided power of Shiva. So it cannot be separate from the reality. As the gross power of consciousness, it is called Maya-Shakti, the cause of liberation.

The influence of Naya is evident in the law of Nature. Every period of action is followed by a period rest, just as sleep follows action.

(iv) In Vedanta, we have the four-fold discipline : Discrimination, Dispassion, Right Conduct and Desire for liberation. Advancing students are those who: or,

(a) act with zeal and faith,
(b) act for the good of humanity, and
(c) are immersed in meditation.

But in Kashmir Shaivism, there is no restriction of caste, creed or colour for admission to this order. That may mean that the intelligent alone can grasp the philosophy as this is the latest development over many others.

(v) Divine Grace is advocated to be unconditional in both the philosophies. In one it is generally called Anugraha and in the other Shaktipata.

(vi) Badrayana's viewpoint is the outcome of the various schools of thought of his day, as there existed Ashmaeathya, Audulomi, Kashakritsna and other who held different views of Vedanta previously. But his is the accepted classic of this system today. It was endorsed and explained by Gaudapada and Shankra through Mandukya Karikas and Prasthanatreyee respectively. Vidyaranya held the same view in his Panchaashi.

Likewise, we see that the polytheistic faith with its inclination towards Shaivism developed into Kashmir Shaivism or Trika Philosophy with the advent of Vasugupta and Somananda in Kashmir. This was further strengthened by Utpala and Kallatta, and later by Abhinavagupta. Spanda, Ishwar-Partyabhigya with Vimarshini and Tantraloka are the works worthy of mention. Tantraloka forms the encyclopaedia of Kashmir Shaivism.

To sum up, both the philosophies lay stress on their practical aspect and enable all to realize the teachings during one's life-time.

Their individual developments lead to the common goal which is realization of the Supreme Reality. The Tedas declare : "Truth is one, and the wise say it in many ways".

Although Kashmir Shaivism can hardly be fully grasped unless the six systems of Indian Philosophy are comprehended, yet no such system will be complete without it. There is no doubt, Tantras have suffered great criticism from Western and Eastern scholars due to their esoteric character. But thanks are due to Sir John Woodroffe who first defended the outraged Tantras. He made their meaning clear to understand the culture of India. Therefore, it is imperative that this line of traditional literature should be understood properly. Then it will be convincing to note that Kashmir Shaivism gives the most detailed analysis of the Ultimate Reality. Vedanta has done it in its own way.

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Chapter - 8

PANCHASTAVI : THE SONG CELESTIAL

by Pandit Gopi Krishan

Like a priceless gem, lying hidden in the cavernous interior of a mountain, Panchastavi, a peerless hymn of praise addressed to Kundalini, has lain shielded from the eyes of the world by the snow-capped high mountain peaks that surround the beautiful vale of Kashmir, once said to be a lake known by the charming name of Sati Sar. Except for one out of the five cantos, which comprise the whole book, practically nothing is known about this superb composition obviously of a Kashmiri poet, to the erudite scholars in other parts of the country.

A Mystery

How such a rare book could remain unknown and unappreciated beyond the confines of the valley, for a period of over one thousand years, presents a mystery for which we have no explanation at present. Convulsive political upheavals and the barbarous oppression, through which the Brahmins of Kashmir passed for centuries, combined with the difficulties of communication and the isoiated

position of the valley must have contributed to a large extent in relegating the work to the oblivion in which we find it at present. This is not true of Panchastavi alone. There are other matchless gems of literature relating of Shaiva doctrines, peculiar to Kashmir, and excellent Sufi compositions which still await translation into a world language to contribute their share to the literary treasures shared in common by all mankind.

Comparable Work

The only other work in the whole gamut of Shakti Shastra in India comparable to Panchastavi, is the famous work known as Saundarya Lahari, ascribed by some scholarts to the far famed mystic philosopher, Shankaracharya, who, it is said. Flourished in the 8th century A. D. The issue of authorship of the said work has not been finally settled yet and the position is contested by other writers. Saundarya Lahari is divided into two parts. The first part known as Ananda Lahari, or the Wave of Bliss, consists of 41 verses and the second which is of 62 verses is known as Saundarya Lahari proper, meaning the Wave of Beauty. The two together make a total of 103 shlokas. There is conflict of views about the number of verses also. The esteem and the importance in which this book has been held can be readily assessed from the fact that no less than thirty-six well-known commentaries hav been written on it, and almost every syllable has been made the theme of lengthy discussions by the learned commentators. This little detail has been given to show the close kinship between the philosophy of Vedanta, as expounded by Shankara, and Shri Vidya or the doctrine of Cosmic Energy which forms the basis of the Tantric tradition.

Striking Similarities

There are striking similarities between Panchastavi and Saundarya Lahari. Some of the views expressed are identical and even the expression is, at places, somewhat similar. The wealth of knowledge and the depth of observation displayed, combined with the beauty of poetic expression and the use of appropriate words and phrases, is so remarkable that it is no wonder that the authorship of Saundarya Lahari, at least, has been attributed to Lord Shiva Himself, and Shankaracharya is said to have been only the Mantra-drashta or Rishi which means the work was revealed to him.

The same revelational origin can be ascribed to Panchastavi also. Its authorship is shrouded in mystery, but there can be no doubt that it is a inspired composition of a Yogi who had reached the highest stage of realization. The work has been cited as a source book by several eminent scholars of Kashmir, but the name of the author has always remained undisclosed. Without revealing his identity the author has referred to himself in very humble terms in some of the verses and in one definitely acknowledged his unrepayable debt to the Goddess for all the blessings of this world that had enriched his life.

The cases of successful termination of the practice of Yoga, resulting in the para-normal activity of the brain, have been extremely rare. They are so at this time also. This is the reason why in India, based on tradition, the illuminati have always been held in such high esteem. This is also the reason way the inspired utterances of the illumined sages of our country, whatever the place of their birth and whatever the language in which they wrote, such as the Ramayana of Sant Tulsi Das or the Adi Granth of Guru Nanak, the Vakyas of Lalleshwari, or the songs of Bullay Shah, have been guarded from corruption and preserved from loss like most precious treasures right from the Vedic times to this day. Panchastavi belongs to the same category of inspired compositions, more concerned with the energy systems of the body that lead to transcendental experience.

Explosion in Scientific Domain

An explosion is slowly building up in the domain of science. This might not be noticeable to the casual eye but to the observant the signs are unmistakable. The whole lofty edifice of modern science is built on a material concept of the universe. For it matter is real and its basic laws inviolate. It often interprets mind in terms of the brain. Hardly any orthodox scientist is prepared to admit that the extremely complex mechanism of the brain is but an instrument in the hand of the spirit to manifest itself as embodied life on earth or that there are super-mundane intelligent energies in the universe. The acceptance of this fact by the world of science would cause a revolution in the life and thought of mankind that is impossible to imagine at present. It is in anticipation of this on-coming upheaval that I am laying so great stress on the need for a scientific study of the phenomenon of Kundalini.

The first harvest of the investigation would be that the confusion prevailing at present about what is not mystical or transcendental experience would come to an end. This is itself would be a signal achievement and provide guidelines for millions who have wrong and confused ideas about Yoga and enlightenment. But for many years to come the investigators of the phenomena of religion will have to depend on the existing literature on the subject, especially the inspired composition of the illuminati of the old rather than the writings of modern authors, for the preliminary data needed for the research. Panchastavi, can prove a virtual mine of information for this study and show the extent of knowledge available in the past about the hidden energy systems in the human body and the sublime experience to which they can lead. This experience has always displayed certain common characteristics among all those who had it, which shows that it can be the evolutionary goal of all mankind. This one single fact should be sufficient to indicate the colossal importance of the ancient time-honoured treatises on the subject for modern science.

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Chapter - 9

BUDDHISM AND KASHMIR

Prof. J. N. Ganhar

Kashmir is widely known as Sharada-peetha, or 'the seat of the Goddess of Learning'. But the great contribution that Buddhism has made in investing the celestial valley with this enviable reputation is hardly known even to its people.

Buddhism rose in India in the sixth century before the birth of Christ. Its tenets, broadcast in the language of the common people and the facts of the life of its propounder, made a tremendous impression on the Indians of his day. This faith, which in course of time was to take the whole of the then known East in its embrace, spread rapidly in the country of its origin. Despite the distance involved and the difficulties and hazards of travel in those early days, it reached Kashmir also soon after the *Pariniravana* or passing away of the Buddha.

Asoka's Contribution

The introduction of the new faith in the valley is usally credited to Ashoka, but the native historian, Kalhana, has recorded that the faith was prevalent here in the time of the indigenous ruler, Surrendra, who ruled some time before the illustrious Emperor. In the time of Ashoka, however, it received a big fillip. The emperor founded the town of Srinagari, corresponding to the present-day Badami Bagh area and both in this city and at Vethvuthur and Hukalitr build a number of monasteries and chaityas for worship and the residence of the monks.

Buddhism witnessed its Golden Age in Kashmir in the time of the Kushans. It was then that the foundation was securely laid for the valley's reputation as a seat of learning.

The Fourth Council

Like Asoka, the Kushans also covered the valley with monasteries, chaityas and stupas. But more than that, Kanishika, the greatest of the Kushans, convoked here the Fourth Great Buddhist Council. This brought to Kashmir the best scholars and monks of the time, to the lasting advantage of the people of the valley, and especially the scholars and savants among them.

The Council sat for about six months and settled once again the sacred Buddhist texts and wrote extensive commentaries on them. The celebrated Sanskrit scholar and writer, Ashvaghosha, is also believed to have visited the valley to put the fruits of the Council in suitable literary language.

The holding of the Council conferred great prestige on Kashmir as a seat of high philosophy and learning; so much so that eminent Buddhist monks and scholars from the other parts of India and the neighbouring countries would not consider their education and learning complete without a visit to the valley. Among the luminaries who came soon after was the illustrious Buddhist philosopher, Nagarjuna, the founder of the nihilistic philosophy known as *shunyavada*.

Days of Free Thinking

Those were the days of free thinking and many experiments in philosophical Shastrart-has or religious debates and discussions

were the order of the day. The people of Kashmir were completely overcome by the powerfully penetrating logic of this great philosopher from the South and opted for the new faith almost wholesale. So much so that they renounced their traditional religious rites and practices.

There, however, was a revival of the traditional mode of worship in due course of time as the nihilistic attitude of the Buddhists of the time did not accord well with the positive attitude of the Kashmiris. Even so Buddhism continued to be an honoured faith in the valley. Those that reverted to the original faith also did not completely renounce it; they had imbibed its essence. They took the Buddha into their own sacred pantheon, as one of the incarnations of Vishnu, and offered worship to him in the manner of the Buddhists.

Be that as it may, the climate of free thinking and philosophical discussion and disputation that the Buddhists had initiated, continued to prevail in this land of the Sharada or Saraswati. Accordingly, Buddhist sages and saints continued to trek to the blessed valley to exchange views with the eminent scholars and sages here. The monks and savants that came here are too numerous to be mentioned in a brief article such as this. Mention may, however, be made of Asanga and Vasubandhu, two brothers from the north west of the Indian sub-continent, who sojourned here for quite some time to study in depth the treatises composed on the *Tripitaka*, or the Buddhist scriptures at Kanishka's Council. Vasubandhu, who founded the Vijyanavada School of Buddhism was a prodigy. When the Buddhists of Kashmir refused him permission to copy out the *Abhidhar makosha*, one of the principal works drawn up at the Council, he memorised the whole text running into hundreds of pages, and wrote it down from memory on return to his native place.

Kumarajiva's Home - Coming

The most important aspirant for knowledge who visited Kashmir and brought lasting glory to the land of his forefathers was Kumarajiva. Kumarajiva who hailed from Kucha in Central Asia was the happy outcome of the marriage of an eminent Kashmiri and monk, Kumarayana, with a Kuchean princess who had fallen in love with him. Kumarayana who was working in Kucha for the propagation of the faith was persuaded by the native ruler to marry the local princess, Jiva.

Jiva renounced the shackles of marriage after the birth of her son; she became a run, and devotoed herself to bringing up her son as a devoted servant of the faith. She brought the child to the land of his father at the age of nine and he studied here under distinguished scholars for a number of years. Later, he went back to his land of birth from where he was taken to China.

Kumarajiva was the recipient of high honours in his native place. On return from Kashmir he was accorded a personal welcome by the ruler. A new convent was erected for him to stay in. From Kucha the distinguished monk was taken to China where he taught and rendered over a hundred principal Buddhist texts into Chinese.

Kumarajiva's scholarly labours in the cause of his religion won him the love and admiration of the Chinese people. They regarded him as one of the Four "suns" of Buddhism and always referred to him as Tungshoe i.e. one who though young in years is mature in the wisdom and virtues of old age.

Chinese Reaction

The commentaries drawn up at Kanishka's Council held in Kashmir were held in high esteem in China; so much so that the masters who composed them were referred to as Kashmirshi by the Chinese. Kumarajiva's pious labours in China added to this reputation of his ancestral land.

Kashmiri monks and scholars had begun their missionary activities in Council Asian territories before Kumarajiva. But after him Kashmir monks and scholars were in great demand in these territories and in China and Tibet: Not only that, some of distinguished Buddhist scholars and monks of Kashmir found their way to the Buddhist universitieis of Nalanda and Vikramshila and occupied some of the highest positions in those high seats of learning in eastern India.

Buddhism as a faith has an edge over the other great faiths in that it enjoins upon its followers to respect others' faith as their own. In particulars, the greatest Buddhist emperor, Ashoka, laid down by actual practice a glorious tradition of tolerance and secularism in Kashmir, which has been followed by the best of Kashmir's rulers, including Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, affectionately called Bud Shah or Great King by his countrymen, and before him by Lalitaditya, the greatest of Kashmir's native rulers.

Mutual Tolerance

The climate of free thinking and philosophical inquiry initiatied by Buddhisits and interaction with Hinduism in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and goodwill gave rise, in course of time, to that unique brand of Shaiva philosophy which has come to be known as Kashmir Shaivism, and which combines in itself some of the best traits of Buddhism and the various schools of Hindu philosophy. It has also contributed a lot to Islamic Sufism as practised in Kashmir. In facts, the Order of Rishis in the Valley is regarded as a direct descendant of the Buddhist Sangha or the Order of the Buddhist monk. The stamp of Buddhist ideals on the thoughts content of the sayings and verses of our two great sages, Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Sahib (Nund Rishi) is unmistakable.

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Chapter - 10

RISHI CULT IN KASHMIR

Prof. K. N. Dhar

Introduction

The intellectual genius of Kashmir has been as exuberant as its physical excellence, The incessant quest of the self for super state of mind has been the forte of Kashmiris all along. Nature at its best here in Kashmir has also given a fillip to excavate the best in man, for making his life meaningful. It may squarely be called a conscious effort to equate self and super-self, the microcosm and the macrocosm, the immanence and the transcendence. As a preamble to this self-search, suitable answers were provided to the seeming contradictions discernable in man-the crown of creation. Consequently a host of-philosophical treatises came to be written deriving sustenance from Hindu or Buddhist beliefs.

In the galaxy of such thinkers Acharya Vasu Gupta, Somananda, Utpala Deva and Abhinava Gupta shine the best. It was their cumulative mental contribution which gave birth to Monistic Shaivism of Kashmir. In the fourteenth century 'Lalla-Ded' clothed this rich heritage in home-spun Kashmiri idiom building a veritable

bridge between the old crumbling under its own weight of degeneration and the 'now' impatient to usher in most upto date thinking on this subject of mental exaltation.

However, the political and social ethos of Kashmir underwent a drastic change in 1339 A.D. when Shahmeer, a fugitive from Central Asia, by virtue of his sagacity and political acumen inducted Muslim rule here. Perhaps, this sweeping metamorphosis in the life of the people was the retribution most aptly ordained by Nature for the incompetence of later Hindu Kings who ruled Kashmir from 1155 A.D. to 1339 A.D.[1] Moreover, the actual credit for consolidating this Muslim rule and giving it truly Islamic content and flavour goes to Syed Ali Hamdani, more popularly known as Shah Hamdan.[2] His gifted son Syed Muhammad Hamdani, taking after his illustrious father, made this political conquest of Kashmir complete by his peerless erudition.[3] Now Islam had come to its own and like its predecessors Buddhists or Hindus had to add purpose from its own dimensions to this spiritual heritage of Kashmir. It might well be called an extension of this self-education from Islamic angle. The Sufis, doyen among them being Shah Hamdan himself did contribute their mite towards mental ascension, but it did not catch up with the people as voraciously as was the case with Rishi Cult. It suited the psyche of the people more than the Sufi-cult for reasons understandable. Although Dr. Mohibul Hassan in his book written rather hastly has contended that Syeds were averse to Rishis[4], yet it cannot be believed by any stretch of imagination that mastering a mammoth fund of Islamic theology, the sufis would have opted for going counter to the teachings of the Prophet who has unambiguously laid down :

> "All creatures of God are His family and he is the most beleved of God who loveth best his creatures.[5]
>
> Moreover, Prophet Muhammed's assertion that "O Prophets, ye are but of one Order"[6], could not have been wasted upon these men of letters and erudition. The most renowned interpretor of Islamic Mysticism or Sufism Mohiud Dinibni al Arabi (1165 A.D.—1240 A.D) has summed up the relation between the man and his maker in these words :-

"The world is merely outward aspect of that which in its inward aspect is God".[7] He goes on to assert further—"Man is the Micro-

cosm in which all the Divine attributes are united and in man alone does God become fully conscious of Himself"[8]

It may be inferred from this that Al-Arabis influence made Sufism not so much an affair of heart and conscience but a synonym of speculative philosophy out of touch with those intimate moral and religious feelings, that inspired the earlier mystics.[9] This very lurking fear of misrepresenting the Quranic tenets by the Reshis also might have stood between them and the Sufis.

Syed Amir Ali has unerringly referred to this lapse on the part of the Sufis when he says :-

"Many sufis have definitely erred while explaining their stand and have made a hotch-potch of many beilefs alien to Islam".[10] Some modern scholars have pointed out that the contradictions in what the Mullahs profess for personal consumption and preach for general consumption might have made them unpopular; but in this context it is to be remembered that `Sheikh-ul-Alam' was himself a Mullah.[11] So, we can safely conclude that teachings of Reshis were more in tune with the traditional thinking of Kashmiri people on those lofty subjects than those of the Sufis. Consequently, it earned an edge over Sufism in educating the man in this Happy Valley.

Rishi Order

The word 'Reshi' is actually 'Rsi' of Sanskritic origin. It has been used in Veda profusely. It means an inspired poet or a sage. In Kashmiri parlance it connotes a pious soul more concerned with the 'Spirit' than with the 'Self'. For this very reason the most predominant trait of tolerance and Godliness exhibited by Kashmiris has earned the names of 'Reshvar' "(Rshi-Vatika)" a retreat of Savants for his habitat. The very name of this cult suggests unmistakably that it comprises an order of emancipated recluses rehabilitating man on his lost glory.

The Rishi order in Muslims, has had its influence on people in the countryside. Essentially vegetarians, these saintly priests are different from professional priests. They live a detached life and practice austerity. Kashmir has many holy places known shrines where "vegetarian" atmosphere prevails. In every part of Kashmir from the Panjal Mountains in the South to the Kazinag ranges in the north there are some well-known Rishis whose abodes have become places of worship for Muslims and Hindus where festivals are held.

These are to name some of the prominent shrines:

Nund Rishi	Tsrar
Laderman Rikshi	Ariari
Khalaraman	
Yasman	Vegibror
Sojan Rishi	Akhal
Jogi Rishi	Chair
Ropa Rishi	Kohsherkot
Ganga Baba	Badrkot
Mubarik Rishi	Aish Muqam
Khwaja Baba	Badrkot
Sham Bibi	Pushkar
Shang Rishi	Anantnag
Baba Rishi	Tangmarag.

Beyond any shadow of doubt, the tallest of all the Reshis of Kashmir is Sheikh Noor-ud-din, more lovingly known as 'Nund Reshi'. His magnetic personality appeared on the Kashmir scene at an inauspicious hour of Kashmir history. Sultan Sikandar—the iconoclast-in collaboration with 'Suha Bhatta' neo-convert prime-minisiter of his, unleashed a reign of terror on a sizable section of his subjects.[12] He in his misplaced zeal for Islam tried hard to undo any remaining vestiges of yesterday, forgetting conveniently, yet erroneously, that to-day is only an improved version of yesterday. It cannot be built but of a vaccum. At this unsavoury crisis in the thinking of man, Islamic tenets needed correct and fool-proof interpretation. That is exactly what the Reshi cult of Kashmir accomplished with artless dexterity and sincerity of purpose. This healing touch of the Reshis kept the touch of humanistic values alive when the gathering clouds of disruption were bent upon besmearing the angelic posture of our social order.

After going through the entire gamut of Reshi literature, we can safely perceive three stages, distinctly pronounced, in their exercise of self-education.

The first, legibly connotes their urge to proceed from Finite to Infinite, from Immanence to Transcendence. This mental fervour is replete with agonizing trials and travails. Herein perseverance of highest order comes handy to them and so they do not get derailed, to borrow their idiom 'nursing fire on the palm of hand'. This

extraordinary mental goads them on to keep the madding crowds at a distance, to ruminate in seclusion. When the soul is on its wings, it is the experience and the erudition which counts. Again, their guideline for making this upward journey rewarding and all the more appetizing is "to live the knowledge one receives"[13]

In this context, we should make it abundantly clear that Reshis of Kashmir derive their inspiration from the word of 'Quran' and the life of Prophet Mohammed. It has been wrongly asserted that Reshi literature represents the amalgam of whole thinking on the terse subject of Divinity current in Kashmir from the dawn of civilization. While going through the 'Shruks'[14] of this originator of Reshi Cult "Nund Rishi" the emphasis on tenets of Islam, reverence for Prophet Mohammed and also the attributes of a true Mussalman are the loudest. The language employed and approach made towards divinity might have cut across the barriers of religions all times, but it is a common feature with all great religions and needs to be underwritten Assimilation and in no way rejection form have, for sooth, gained by being born into this world"[15]

Segregation is foreign to the genius of these Reshis. Their pulsating heart beats for whole of the humanity with the sweet jingle of love. To the Reshis this love meant inclusive attachment and not exclusive detachment. This signifies the expansion of soul, rediscovering the contours on which mind and heart should plant their feet in self quipoise and inner harmony.

These Reshis have fulfilled the role of ever-vigilant conscience-keepers of man, sentinels of human values and harbingers of love and amity. Their intensity of feeling and stead-fast conviction have risen above narrow loyalties and parochial confines.

I am living and high thinking was the ultimate with the Reshis. Herein they were ostensibly impressed by the simple and frugal attitude to life by Prophet Mohammed himself. They shunned publicity and ostentation; Reshis thus emunated in fullness the foot-prints left behind by the Prophet.

"Such were the lessons of self-restraint and discipline which the prophet (peace be on Him) taught not merely by word of mouth but by precept to those who were to carry the message and discharge it with great responsibilities".[16] The Reshis lived this ideal in letter and spirit donning the badge of self-suffering devoted firmly to public good. On the authority of Aini-Akbari, these savants planted trees on the roads for the convenience of the travellers and also made

arrangements for providing them water to quench their thirst. Even during the Mughal rule over Kashmir this benevolent institution of Reshi was quite kicking and active. Their message could thus be gleaned with ease and comfort. It could also dispense with persistent vocal admonitions. Their life was an open book inviting people to read any page out of it. Moreover, their approach being unsophisticated, the grass-root level of Kashmiri population felt attracted to it. The Reshis not being enamoured of philosophical jig-saw catered to the spiritual urges of the common people in a most straight manner, without any distinction of caste or creed. Their approach as man speaking to man inspire one to become the reflector as well as the reflection of subliminal prowess.

Their word was so straight, simple and effective that all the sections of Kashmiri population owned them without any reservations whatsoever. Where intellect ceases to operate, intuition steps in. Intellect wedded to arrangement and counter-argument erodes faith. The most predominant ingredient of the message popularized by Reshis is their indomitable faith in God and His messenger; so, their emphasis on faith alone divorced from the maze of intellectual conundrums, provided emotional food for the millions, otherwise feeling dazed, starved, and suffocated. Hence these mendicants had no use for dogmas, fruitless ritualism, idol-worship and other prevalent wordly bondages imprisoning the soul of man in cocoony meshes. Reshis, in this way, succeeded in attracting larger allegience; fellow-feeling thus inevitably became their motto.

Their attitude to life; without mincing words "Alamdari Kashmir[17] has proclaimed :-

"We should feel enamoured of that Prophet Mohammed who actually initiated the epoch of Godly compassion; when on doomsday we are called to the dock, we will surely be looking to him to vouchsafe for us all"[18]

And in the same breath, he has most unambiguously asserted that the Initiator of this Reshi order is Prophet Mohammed Himself and the entire ambit of knowledge is concentrated in 'Allah, Mohammed, Gabriel and Sharah.[19] This mental ferment has been most graphically depicted in this experience of 'Sheikh-Ul Alam' :-

"Self realization with unbending sinew represents kindling a lamp in the elusive wind shorn off its quivering shimmer"[20]

Second stage of this self-discipline can fairly be called the "realization-state of mind". It is self and super-self becoming co-

linear and consequently congruent. The throbs beating in harmonious melody herald the consummation of this penance :-

"The distance between Him and myself has all of a sudden evaporated. I feel calm composure in his Presence. To have sought him out of my self was an exercise in futility. Now, my benefactor is fully seized of my ownself"[21]

When rumination culminates in consumation, consequent expression of the experiences gathered moment by moment itches for serialization vocally. It may be called the third stage of this mental drill. The realized soul now elects to pay back to his flock what he owes to it in terms of self-exaltation. Whole saga of Reshi-literature is therefore an unalloyed, verbal translation of the experiences mastered by such spiritually eminent personages. Through such sermons, the Reshis have taken upon themselves voluntarily to procure unto man his lost manliness. It is a self-assigned duty to make life doubly rewarding-mundane and sublime coalescing into ones indivisible whole. This is the crux of Reshi cult of Kashmir. These ambassadors of peace, and good-will replaced friction by fraternity, strife by straightness and division by cohesion.

Reshi-cult has also derived ample sustenance from the five pillars of spiritual Ascendance as enunciated by Islam. These are Taqwa (piety), lkhlas (Doing a good deed for the sake of God), Sabr (steadfastness, patience, fortitude), Tawakful (Trust in God) and lastly 'Shukur' (sense of gratitude to God).[22] Reshis have unfolded their experiences around these guidelines ushering in a silent revolution in the mental fibre of Kashmiris. This undying activisation of mind and heart can be lulled into tranquility only through self-introspection reverting to within from without :-

"I was brought to life simply to rise above the temporal level, but my mind unbridled of course, was allured by the objects of senses. Behold! how a full baked experience of mine even got deceived? What I "Being the progeny of common parents, what will the Hindus and Muslims gain by being at logger-heads with each other? God will never shower his grace over such votaries".[23]

Reshis performed their noble mission at a time when man was in agony, crisis in his character was giving him constant prickings. These dignified personages brought man back to his inherent dignity. Their alchemic touch turned dress into gold, enriching the Kashmir heritage of tolerance, love and faith in God, echoing this exhortation contained in the Holy Quran :-

"Verily we have sent thee with the Truth, a comforter and a warner, and there is not a people but a warner hath not passed among them".[24] Their sincere effort was to make man rational in every sense of the word; Man had found no time to cool his heels, being restlessly involved in escalating between the demon and the deity; in man is mirrored the image of his lord, pure and chaste, as the gem-like dew-drops on ruby rose-petals. Reshi cult, to sum up, is an order of intense devotion, self denial are its tools, love is its passion, song its worship and ultimate identification with the Divine its ideal.

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Chapter - 11

SUFISM IN KASHMIR

Dr. Jialal Handoo

Islamic mystics are called Sufis, and Sufism or "Tasawwuf" is a term, generally used for Muslim mysticism. Their philosophy, in fact, is known as "Tasawwuf". There are various opinions about the origin of the word 'Sufi'. The most prevelant view is that it has its origin from a word 'Soof' meaning thereby wool. The Persian mystics used to put on woollen blankets and they were, therefore, called "Pashmina Posh". Today it is a term used for a muslim saint or a Faqir.

It has been said that in the beginning there was a group of Muslim Saints in Arabia and Iraq, who were living their ascetic life in a simple way. Those saints used to wear woollen clothes and were greatly honoured by the general public. In society too they got honour and had the first place, because they led a life full of simplicity, sincereity, purity and humility. Those saints were considered Sufis.

Sufism prevailed at the end of the 7th century in Arabia. From there it spread to Iran and afterwards to India. Gradually Sufism incorporated the view that a man in the world should be one with God, and it came to be greatly influenced by the Philosophic contents of India, especially, Vedantic ideas and philosophy of Buddhist views. Soon there was growth of Sufi poets in Iran who

enriched Sufism by their Gazals and Masnavis. The most prominent among these were Omar Khayam (12th Century), Sanai (12th Century), Nizami (13th Century), Attar (13th Century), Maulana Roomi (13th Century), Sheikh Saadi (13th Century), Hafiz (14th Century) and Jaami (15th Century).

It is unknown how Sufism entered India and who preached it here first. Scholars are of the opinion that Sufism was brought into India by a Muslim Saint, named, Hujweri, who and spread it here—a known author of the book "Kashf-ul-Mahjub" who lived in the 12th century. Before the advent of Sufism in India, it had spread in Persia far and wide and Sufi Scholars had given it a high flip.

Hujweri was an inhabitant of Ghazni in Afghanistan. Being the so-called first preacher of Sufism in India, he is known as a predecessor of great Sufi Saints like Khawja-Maindin-Chisti, Khawaja-Khatab-Udin, Baba Farid-ud-Din, etc. The principles on which Sufism spread in India were non-violence, love and equality. At that time, India was passing through a critical stage, so far as Indian social, religious and political conditions were concerned. Blind faith and fundamentalism had its sway everywhere. Therefore, the people saw in Sufism a ray of hope for their happiness. Thus Sufism was there to relieve Indian people of their fanaticism and rituals.

When Muslim saints and soldiers first set their foot on the soil of Kashmir, they were received in a friendly manner. The soldiers were employed by the King in their armies, whereas saints got complete freedom to preach their religion. However, in the course of time, realising the futility of opposition, they were compelled to adopt an attitude of tolerance and goodwill. Muslim mystics mixed freely with Hindu Yogis and held discussions with them.[1] It appears that already by the end of the 7th century, there was a colony of muslims in Kashmir.

Happily, the new religion found a fertile soil in Kashmir to grow and expand. The people had been groaning under the misrule, when trade languished and agriculture came to a stand still. To add to their misery, there were the crushing burden of rites and rituals imposed on the common man. Hence the people developed interest in Sufism.[2]

At the same time there was an inevitable contact of Shaiva philosophy with Sufism which was preached by the Muslim mystics. The Brahmins of Kashmir were Vedantists and Shaivites too. So the

mixture of Shaiva philosophy and sufism gave rise to a new sect of Sufis in Kashmir, called "Rishis". The first Sufi of whom there is any record and who is believed to have entered Kashmir, is Bulbul Shah. In the praise of Bulbul Shah, Daud Mashkvati in his "Israr-al-Avrar" has said that he, who is more illustrious than the moon while treading on the path of religious life, who is the Bulbul of the garden of greatness and who is an unparalled hunter - is Bulbul Shah.[3]

Bulbul Shah first visited Kashmir in the reign of King Sahdev. He belonged to Suhrawardi School of Sufism and was a disciple of Khalifa - Shah - Niyamat - Ulla Wali - Pearsi. He had an effective personality. After his death in 1327 A.D., his follower, Mulla Ahmed, preached Sufism in Kashmir. He died during the reign of Shihab-ud-din.

After Bulbul Shah, a number of other Sufi saints visited Kashmir. Syyed-Jalal-ud-din of Bhukhara and Taj-ud-din arrived there in the reign of Shihab-ud-din (1353 A.D. to 1373 A.D.) but the most prominent of the sufi saints who visited Kashmir was Amir-Kabir-Syyed-Ali-Hamdani of Iran. He studied Islamic Theology and learnt Tasawwuf under the guidance of Syyed Alla-ud-din who was his maternal uncle. The latter was the most popular among the Sufis. He was given the title of Shah Hamdan. He visited Kashmir thrice. Haji Mohi-ud-din, a sufi poet of Kashmir, has sung his glory in prominent words.

Amir Kabir Ali Hamdani was follower of Islam, but had faith in all the religions. He had a scholarly discussion with Lalla, a Kashmiri mystic poetess who was his contemporary (1379 A.D. to 1385 A.D.).

During the discussion with Lalla he gave a good account of his scholarly knowledge and firm belief in the unity of all the existing religions. So it is after that scholarly discussion that he achieved the name of Shah Hamdan. Another contemporary sufi saint was Sheikh Nur-ud-din. He was also influenced by the Shaivism of Kashmir. He also came in contact with Shah Hamdan. Later on, an exchange of ideas resulted in the prominence of Yoga in sufism. There were exchanges on spiritual topics too. "That am I" was the essence which all the sufi saints accepted.

After Amir Kabir Hamdani, his son Mir Mohd Hamdani came to Kashmir in 1394 A.D. He set his foot there with a batch of 300 Syyeds. His influence made Sultan Sikander stop demolishing Hindu temples and breakage of idols. He weilded enormous influence on the religious and philosophic benefits of the people and

moulded their mental set up towards the ideal of religious tolerance and abiding faith in the grace of God.[4] The Muslim mystics, commonly known as Rishis or Babas or Hermits, were keen to present before the people the moderate and simple way of living.

In the eyes of Lalla (Lallas wari) the great Kashmiri seer there was no Muslim or Hindu separatism. She favoured a common spirituality of mankind. Another Sufi, Sheikh Nur-ud-din or Nund Rishi was born in a village called Kaimuh. This village is two miles to the west of Bijbihara which is 28 miles of Srinagar. His father's name was Sheikh Sattar-ud-din. His mother, Sadra was called Sadra Moji. His ancestors belonged to a noble family of Kashtwar and had migrated to the Valley. Nund Rishi is known for his two works named Nur Nama and Rishi Nama. His couplets are found in the form of dialogues too. These couplets are full of mysticism and convey the message of Sufism. His couplets have also been translated into Sanskrit.

After the complete establishment of Sufism in Kashmir, there came into existence Sufi centres and Khankas. The sufi Rishis built up Ziarats and both these Khankas and Ziarats became the centre of persian learning and served as schools. Amir Kabir Syyed Hamdani had already adopted Alla-u-din - Pura as his sufi centre. He was lodged here with his followers, for instance, there was a temple which was visited both by the Sultan and his muslim subjects.[5] Here he composed odes which occupied a prominent place in sufism and became a great treasure of Persian literature. His poetry had an outlook of humility, purity and truthfulness. Another sufi centre was established at Kaimuh (Tahsil Kulgam) by Nund Rishi. Both Air Kabir Syyed Ali Hamdani and Lalla visited this centre and afterwards Syyed Mir Mohd also went to pay his respects to the Great Rishi at Kaimuh. Nund Rishi lived here with a group of disciples and his family. There was another Ziarat at Aishmukam. It was perched on the scrap of a hill 500 feet above the Pahalgam Road, built in the memory of Baba Zain-ud-din, who was one of the disciples of Nund Rishi. At that time it became a custom to establish a Ziarat in every village which afterwards became a place of worship. Nund Rishi shifted to Chrar Sharif for sometime and then to Draigam. These two places attained important position amongst sufi centres.

Walli Allah Mattoo in his Masnawi (Hiyamal) and Kabir Lone in his Masnavi "Laila Majnu" have paid great tributes to this sufi centre, Chrar Sharif. Mulla Mohsin Fani, a famous sufi saint, took

to a life of seclusion on the bank of the river at Kutub Din Pura (present Gurgari Mohalla). There he composed his work *Dabistan-e-Mazahib*. Another sufi centre came into existence at *Dallipora* (Kawdara). Here Kabir Lone composed his masnavi 'Laila Majnu'. He had opened a free kitchen to serve food to the needy. His disciple, Ahad Zargar, wrote "Gul Sanobar" and many other sufi Gazalas there.

Being influenced by Advaita and Shaivism, sufism believes in the imminense of God in all beings. It also believes that God is omnipotent and all pervading. He is the essence of every human soul. The creation is just like its creator and very real. Again like shaivism it believes that the Universe is a manifestation of God Himself brought about by His Swatantra Shakti motivating power. It was due to this concept of oneness that sufism flourished in Kashmir without any opposition.

Kashmiri Sufi literature can be divided into two main streams: Firstly, Kashmir Sufi Lyrics, and secondly, Masnavis. Kashmir Sufi Lyrics can be attributed to the period from 1379 A.D. to 1765 A.D. while Masnavis continued upto 1925 A.D. as the Persian language lingered on as a language of cultural expression and administration down to the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh (1855 A.D. - 1925 A.D.). The Kashmiri sufi poets followed the pattern of famous Persian poets in their Gazals and Masnavis. Previously too, in the Mughal and Afghan period, there existed certain famous Kashmiri poets who were well versed in Persian language. There impact on the Kashmiri sufi poets was much greater which is imminent from their compositions.

Kashmiri sufi lyrics have got the underlying philosophy of monism, love and desire for unison with God. The poets pine in seperation, because without God there is no value. They feel that their spirit is mingled with Him as water with pure wine. If anything touches Him it touches him also. In every case he feels that "Thou Art I". This feeling makes the poet sad, forlorn and impatent for being one with him. Prominent poets of this stream are - Lalla (Lalleshwari), Sheikh Nur-ud-din, Swacch Kral, Shah Gafoor, Mohd Gami, Nagma Sahib, Rehman Dar, Wahab Khar, Shamshams Faqir, Ahmad Batwari, Shah Kalandar, Asad Paray, Wazahmahmood, and Ahmad Rah.

Lalla has expressed herself in 'Vaks'. In her 'Vaks' there is a touch of Vaishnavism. She says - Shiv or Keshav, Lotus Lord or Jin,

these by thy names, Yet take thou from me all the ill that is my world within, He be thou, or He or He or He.

Her Vaks are based on humanism. She says that greed leads a man to destruction. She has full faith in Guru who dispells the darkness of a true disciple.

Sheikh Nur-ud-din in the same vein has advocated that there is one God who has assumed different names. He says that this world is a mirage and so a man should fully submit to His will after having full control over desire and anger.

Swacch Kral is a poet of pure love. He has said that the relation between the soul and God is just like the water fall and the river. The source is one and so he has maintained that God is one - the father of all. He has disregarded dualism and advocated self realisation. He has advised his fellow beings to find ways and means for being one with Him. One of the best ways to be adopted, is the path of love, he says.

Shah Gafoor has said that only an Arif (Gyani) can realise the omnipotent and omnipresent God. He too has accepted the path of love as a means to be one with Him.

Mohd Gami is of the opinion that He has many names and colours. In this Universe, He comes to see Himself. He is one but is diversified in many forms. His love lore 'Naya' (Flute) is a personification of the soul seperated from God. The flute is full of music and so is the soul. Soul is separated from God as a flute separated from wood brought from a forest downwards. The alienated soul always remembers its Creator and like a flute produces the sweet music of love. The poem has a direct influence of Jaami who has said — Vishnav as nay chuhikayat mee kunad.

Nagma Sahib is the believer of God who is omnipresent and omnipotent. He finds no difference between Him and himself. In the beginning He was one, but when he created this Universe. He assumed different forms. This creation is His manifestation. The poet is greatly influenced by Vedantic philosophy.

Rehman Dar in his mystic gazals has said that His grace is reflected in the Universe and it is an Arif (Gyani) who can realise it. Man is part of God and the soul is eternal. It is undying and ever lasting. He feels the separation and wishes to be one with Him.

Wahab Khar in his romantic sufi poems describes God as His lover and himself as His beloved. He is greatly fascinated by His grace and beauty. His innermost desire is to feel and touch Him.

Shams Faqir is greatly influenced by Shaivism. In one of his

Gazals he says His grace is everywhere, so I am myself shams and Sikander.

Ahmed Batwari is an expotent of the view that a soul and God are one, and they are inseparable. So a man should try to be one with Him. Similarly all other poets have also expressed the view that God has manifested Himself everywhere and so no person should believe in caste, creed and colour. One should always try to have unison with Him. They have advocated the path of love as a better means to reach the goal and be one with Him.

Secondly Masnavis in Kashmir were written from 1765 to 1925 A.D. The following Masnavis are of importance written during this period.

	Masnavis	*Poets*
1.	Laila Majnu	Mohd Gami
2.	Sheereen Khusro	
3.	Yusuf Zulekha	Wali Allah Mattoo
4.	Hiyamad	
5.	Wamik Azra	Saif-ud-din Tarbali
6.	Gulrez	Maqbool Shah Kralwari
7.	Sohni Mahinwal	Pir Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Miskeen
8.	Laila Majnu	
9.	Chandra Vadan	Pir Aziz Allah Hakkani
10.	Mumtaz Benazir	
11.	Yusuf Zulekha	Haji Mohi-ud-din Miskeen
12.	Gulnoor-Gulrez	

These Masnavis can be classified into four categories on the basis of subject matter.

I. *Historical or Mythological:* Masnavis with historical background are not purely historical. They are partly mythological and partly historical. Mythological episodes have been incorporated to make them objective oriented. "Mumtaz Benazir" can be placed in this category.

II. *Background or Persian Stories:* Kashmiri Sufi poets were well versed with Persian language and literature, so they adopted those stories which were already adopted by the Persian writers. Laila

Majnu, Yusuf Zulekha, Sheereen Khusro, Wamik Azra, Gulnoor-Gulrez are the stories owned by the Kashmiri Sufi Poets.

III. *Prevalent Folk Tales:* Kashmiri Sufi Poets did not lag behind in the adaptation of folk tales of Persia, Kashmir or Punjab. Kashmiri folk tale "Hiyamal" and Punjab folk tale of 'Sohni Mahiwal' was also adopted for the broader outlook of Sufism.

IV. *Imaginative Stories:* Some of the Sufi poets adopted imaginative stories to highlight the ideology of Sufism. Maqbool Kralwari wrote a Masnavi 'Gulrez' which has some similarity with 'Madhumalti' of Hindi Masnavi written by Manjhan.

Masnavis were introduced by Persian poets and those were followed by Kashmiri poets. Kashmiri poets adopted the same pattern to some extent as was previously prevalent. It had a traditional style to begin the Masnavi with the praise of God, his close friends, Guru, contemporary King, the poet's self introduction and then the year of composition of the Masnavi. The actual story with theme would begin after all these formalities. The actual story would depend on the theme and proceeded in Gazals in between. Kashmiri poets did not mention the name of the teacher or Guru.

In most cases the story weaves round a prince and a princess. The prince has a dream and sees a beautiful princess. Some times the prince sees the picture of a princess and is enamoured of her. In some cases the prince hears about the beauty of a princess by somebody or has a face to face first sight of the princess and after meeting both of them get seperated. The forlorn and sad prince leaves his home in search of the princess whose address he does not know. Now he follows the path of love and puts on the ropes of a Sadhu or a Faqir. The path is full of forests, demons, knaves and satans but he does not give up his attempt and goes farther and farther in search of the princess who is miles away from him. The princess also comes to know about the love of the prince and wants to submit but as luck would have it she is married to some other man. Still her heart is attached to her lover (prince). In the end both the lover and the beloved are likely to meet but are seperated by the cruel hands of death considering that they will meet in Heaven.

The allegorical meaning of the story shows that the prince personifies the devotee who is seperated from his gracious beloved i.e. God. Sufi poets have described God in the form of a graceful

woman full of beauty and elegance. It is his reminiscence that a devotee thinks of separation and leaves the world in search of God. Following the path of love, the devotee has to meet many odds on his way but is always unmindful of all these difficulties. He does not stop anywhere until and unless he reaches near God. At the point of meeting they get separated meaning thereby that their unison will be in Heaven. The Masnavis are based on the theory of love that a devotee can find God on the basis of love because love is God. A man full of love realises God within and outside. Such a man has been called by Sufis as a perfect man which should be the aim of life in this world. Sufi poets have denounced anger and greed and so these devotees are simple and full of love. Sufi poets have said that "Vasal" i.e. re-union with God is a must which should be followed by every individual in this world. God is a Creator of this Universe and soul is his part and when the part mingles with God and has 'Vasal' then he is free from these wordly bondage. Sufi poets believe in a man who should be perfect and these Masnavis convey the same message.

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Chapter - 12

THE SPLENDOUR - THAT IS AMARNATH

Chander Mohan Bhat

Almost every part of India is known for many a sacred shrine, but the "*Amarnath Cave*" embosomed in the snowy valley of Kashmir reveals the unique sight of natural ice-linga of Lord Siva perched on a glacial gorge which waxes and wanes with the movements of the moon. According to a common belief it reaches the maximum heigh on Purnima in the month of Shravan (July-August), when Siva is supposed to have divulged to Parvati the secret of salvation (Mukti). On this day thousands of pilgrims negotiating the most difficult ridges arrive at the holy cave for dharshan of the Lord.

The pilgrimage of thousands of devotees to the far away cave of Amarnath, nestled in a glacial gorge of the Western Himalays, through some of the most charming scenery in the world, is fascinating in the extreme. One is struck with wonder at the quiet and orderly way in which a canvas town springs up with incredible rapidity at

every halting place, with its tents of various colours and of all shapes and sizes and broad streets running through the middle, and all vanishing as quickly at the break of dawn when the whole army of gay pilgrims set out on the march again. The glow of countless cooking fires, the ashen-smeared Sadhus under the canopy of discussing or mediating before the Dhunis, the Sanyasins of all orders in their various garbs, the men and women with children, from all parts of the country in their characteristic costumes, and their devout faces, the torches shimmering at nightfall, the blowing of conch-shells and horns, the singing of hymns and prayers in chorus—all these are most impressive and convey to some extent an idea of the overmastering passion of race for religion.

Amarnath literally means the Immortal Lord. Lord Siva stands for deathlessness. He confers this boon on his devotees. Deathlessness is not trying to preserve this physical sheath but in growing so fearless as to look at death in its face! The truth of this will be evident to one who undertakes a pilgrimage to Amarnath — the hallowed pilgrimage centre of Kashmir.

The present Kashmir valley was, according to the chronicler Kalhana a lake called Satisar which the sage Kashyapa converted into a beautiful valley. Kashmir, as name Satisar indicates is believed to be the body of Parvati. The whole valley is studded with holy places associated with Siva and Parvati. It is the cradle of many philosophical systems such as Trika Saivism of the Pratyabhijna School. Even Pancharatra School is supposed to have its origin here. Pippalada rescension of Atharva Veda is also known as Kashmirian rescension as the only manuscript available was found here. This was again the centre of Sun Worship. Here was the famous Saradapitha which now lies in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The great Sankaracharya, according to his biographers, came here and ascended the Sarvajnapitha—the throne of ommiscience after having been acknowledged the philosopher by the great scholars belonging to various schools here. Even today here is an ancient hill with a Siva temple on the top named Sankaracharya. Kashmir is full of history, legend, philosophy and religion apart from being described as a paradise on earth, the truth of which has to be experienced to be believed.

In olden days the route was via Rawalpindi (Pakistan) but now a direct train is there connecting rest of India to Jammu, the winter capital of the state. The best part of journey is between Guru Purnima

and Sravana Purnima. The Government of Kashmir makes all arrangements for the comfort of the pilgrims for undertaking the ritualistic journey for visiting the shrine on Sravana Purnima. But the highly unpredictable weather of the mountains should be more obliging before the Guru Purnima as rains would not start. There is a bus service from Srinagar to Pahalgam (7,500 ft.). At Pahalgam the pilgrims arrange for coolies or ponies to carry gear of food and clothes etc. Everybody remains busy making arrangements for the Yatra. The golden glow of the sun falls on the turbulent river at Pahalgam.

The journey from Pahalgam commences towards the first halting station *Chandanwari* (8,500 ft.) which is ten miles away. With the bright sunlight reflected in silvery snow-clad peaks above, and gurgling rivers meandering through the valley below, the pilgrim already is in a different world. The trekking undoubtely is slow but not boring as the scenery alongside is most picturesque.

Early the next morning the caravan again proceeds further towards a straight 2 mile climb towards *Pisutop* (12,200 ft.). From Pisutop one has to cover 7 miles to reach *Seshnag* (13,148 ft.) next halting station. Ascent is stiff and steep, climbs are difficult to negotiate. The path is clear but at some places the glaciers become slippery. It is here where a stick carried by a pilgrims become useful and in some cases saves ones life. Before entering the small pilgrim camp one gets the enchanting sight of blue still waters of Seshnag lake. One has to walk a mile to take a refreshing bath. The lake is very deep and is fed by the melting snow of the glaciers above and water is bluish green below. It is believed that some one has seen Adisesha—the many hooded serpent streaking through these waters. Whatever may be the explanation, it is true that one experiences an invisible presence of some super power near the lake. The mountains are fully covered with snow and its peaks resemble the seven heads of the mythical snake. The quiet place looks so thickly populated then, that everybody, despite intense cold, appears in high spirits, probably feeling the proximity to the divine 'The roaring sound of gushing streams, the gigantic snow clad mountains, the moonlight beaming through foggy enclosure, the neighing horses and the dim tent-tops all around presents an indelible impression. One feels nearer to God and in such a blissful environment.

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Chapter - 13

SHANKARACHARYA TEMPLE & HILL

*P.N. Magazine**

The attention of a tourist on reaching Srinagar is drawn immediately towards the most attractive ancient and conspicuous monument on a hill top, known as the Shankaracharya temple.[1] It is about 300 meters high from the city towards the east.

This temple in Srinagar was first built by King Sandhiman, who, as per Tarikh-i-Hassan, ruled Kashmir for 65 years from 471 to 536 Laukek Era, corresponding to 2605 to 2540 B.C.[2] It was built on the top of the hill "Jet Lundrak"[3] as it was known as the Shankaracharya hill. This temple was named as "Jeshteshwara" by King Sandhiman, and was later renovated by King Gopaditya who ruled Kashmir between 369 to 390 B.C.[4] This hill came to be known as the Gopahill or Gopadri, after the name of King Gopaditya. This nomenclature continued till the 9th Century A.D..when Adi Guru Shankaracharya visited Kashmir.[5] Some authors place Shankaracharya's visit to Kashmir during Abhinav Gupta's time, some time between 993-1015 A.D. which is not tenable. As such, this temple is about 4500 years old. (See the Tarikh-i-Hassan, Volume II) It is mentioned in the Trikh-i-Hassan, Vol. II at page 50 that the entire stretch of the landed area between the villages Gupkar and Bhaksira Vatika (now known as Buchwara) in Srinagar was attached to and the property of this temple, kept for its maintainence and 'Langar' (kitchen) by King Gopaditya.[6]

A statue of Adi Guru Shankaracharya has been installed on the top of the hill just below the temple by Dharmarth Department as a befitting tribut to the Adi Gurus's visit to Kashmir.

Tradition and history indicate that Adi Guru Shankaracharya was a Vedantist who revived Hinduism in India by spreading the message of the Vedas, declaring that the Vedas were the only great scriptures of the Hindu Religion. In this way he stopped the then increasing influence of Buddhism in the country and won for himself an immortal fame. He undoubtedly deserves credit for reviving Hinduism in India.

Shankaracharya visited Kashmir with the intention of advancing Vedantic knowledge. The Kashmiris then were culturally and spiritually much advanced and believed in the greatness of both Shiva and Shakti. Shankara did not believe in the Shakti cult then.

Not much importance was attached by the Kashmiris to the visit

of the great Shankaracharya who camped outside the city of Srinagar alongwith his party. No arrangements for his board and lodging were made as previously planned.

Seeing the plight of the visitors, a virgin was later sent to meet Shankara in his camp and enquire why the party was uneasy and in frustration. The party informed the girl, that since they came to Srinagar they had remained without food for want of fire which was not made available to them by the people of Kashmir. They also complained that the Kashmiris did not extend any courtsey or co-operation to their leader.

The girl said to Shankara, "You are so great, can't you make fire even"?

He expressed his inability and helplessness then the girl picked up two thin wooden sticks (samidhas) into her hand, recited some mantrams on them and rubbed the two sticks. Fire was produced by rubbing the two sticks to the great surprise and joy of Shankara and his disciples. The party rejoiced and had their meals prepared which gave them relief.

A compromise followed then between the visitors and the Kashmiris. A Shastrarth (religious discourse) was arranged between Shankara and a Kashmiri Woman, which continued for 17 days. Shankara had to yeild before the lady in the discussion and, therefore accepted the predominance of the Shakti cult (greatness of Devi).

This was the reason why he later wrote his famous book, the Saunderya Lahri, on top of the Gopadri hill, in praise of Shakti. It is a masterpiece of Shankara's works. On his accepting the Supremacy of Shakti in Kashmir, the then Kashmiris honoured him and dedicated the temple and hill to the memory of Shankara's visit to Kashmir and in recognition of his greatness. Thereafter, both the hill and the temple came to be known as Shankaracharya.

After his stay in Srinagar, Shankaracharya went to Sharda, a famous temple and shrine of Goddess Saraswati, known as Sharda in Kashmir which was a famous university of learning glory and light then, situated about 100 kilometers to the south-west of Srinagar, now under the occupation of Pakistan, Here he was awarded a degree of the *SHARDAPEETHA*, the highest honour conferred on any dignatory of knowledge and learning visiting this great shrine of the Goddess and the Sharda University of Kashmir. It entitled Shankara for *JAYAPATRA* also. On returning from his Kashmir visit Shankara became a firm and life long believer of

Shakti and staunch worshipper of Sharda Devi (Saraswati) and Shri Chakra—the symbol of Devi (goddess)[7]

This temple was repaired by King Lalitaditya of Kashmir (700 to 760 A.D.) and various other Hindu Kings. Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin (824 to 875 Hijra) also repaired its roof, which had tumbled down during an earth-quake, as a gesture of goodwill towards the Hindus of Kashmir in 854 Hijri. Besides, Sheikh Ghulam Moni-ud-din a Governor during Sikh rule (1841 to 46 A.D.) also repaired its dome. Surprisingly enough, this temple was not broken by Sikander (Butshikan) who ruled Kashmir between 1389 and 1413 A.D.

It is very essential to make some mention of the controversial Sandiman here. In the Tarikhi Hassan vol. II a mention is made of three Sandhimans. According to the author of this book, Pirzada Ghulam Hassan the first Sandhiman ruled Kashmir for 65 years, from 471 to 536 Laukek era corresponding to 2605 to 2540 B.C. He built "Jeshteshawara" temple, known as Shankaracharya temple now, on the top of "Jet Ludrak" by which name this hill was known 4000 years back. This Sandhiman can therefore, in no way be taken as Solomon, as he (Solomon) was born about 1700 years after the construction of this temple.

The second Sandhiman of whom Ghulam Hassan makes mention at page 41 in the second volume of his history of Kashmir, is said to have visited Kashmir sometime in 1818 Laukek era which corresponds to 1258 B.C. just after King Damodara, who according to Hassan ruled Kashmir from 1786 to 1818 Laukek era, corresponding to 1290 to 1258 B.C. This Sandhiman is said to have come from the west and stayed on the top of the "Jet Ludrak" hill, known as the Shankaracharya hill now. This Sandhiman cannot be taken as Soloman because his alleged appearance in Kashmir is dated about 400 years before Solomon's actual birth. According to Mulla Ahmed, quoted by Hassan, Kashmir remained under water then, especially from Bijbihara to Srinagar and, therefore, Soloman is said to have chosen to stay on the top of the hill and alleged to have later desiccated the waters of the "Satisar" on the request of the people. This Sandiman is taken by various recent historians including Gulam Hassan and Mulla Ahmed to be Solomon who is presumed to have established his throne on this hill top and, therefore, they attribute the base of this temple to be Takth-i-i-Sulaiman (Solomon's hill), which is historically untenable. That is why the Muslims call it Koh-i-Sulaimmm (Solomon hill), which is histori-

cally untenable.

There is also no evidence available from holy books to support or substantiate that Solomon was known by the name of Sandiman also, or that he had visited Kashmir. Solomon, it seems never came to Kashmir. The question arises as to what interest or tempation did he find in coming to Kashmir to establish his throne in a place which had water around it and where there was no population, as presumed by these authors.

The third Sandiman, who later came to be known as Arya Raja, and ruled Kashmir for 47 years from 12 A.D. to 59 A.D., cannot be taken as Solomon because he was a Hindu king while Solomon lived about 900 years before the Sandiman in about 900 B.C. according to all available sources. In view of all the aforesaid evidence, it is a futile attempt on the part of those who wrongly presume Sandiman to be *Solomon*. There was absolutely no justification for Solomon to have changed his name to Sandiman on reaching Kashmir or before that. Solomon is dated about 900 B.C. and not 1296 B.C. as presumed by Hassan and other authors. This theory from the face of it is a clear myth and mere imagination and, therefore, historically unbelieveable and untenable.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin, who ruled Kashmir from 1420 to 1470 A.D. corresponding to 824 to 875 Hijri as stated earlier or as Ghulam Hassan puts it from 1423 to 1475 A.D. corresponding to 827 to 879 Hijri, repaired this temple in 854 Hijri. This date is supported by Pirzada Ghulam Haesan who says that 854 falls in the reign of Zain-ul-Abdin, which naturally comes to the year 854 Hijri as mentioned by another author also in his History of Kashmir "Baharistani Kashmir"[8] at page 169. (An unpublished manuscript in the J & K Archines library). It is quite evident from this unpublished book in Persian language on Kashmir written by the author in 1586 A.D. and completed in 1614 A.D. corresponding to 994 Hijra and 1022 Hijra respectively, which further supports the date 54 Hijra during the reign of Zaln-ul-Abdin's rule when he repaired the said temple in 854 Hijra. This date should have been fresh in the memory of the author, as Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin had died only about 144 years back when this history was written.

Historians like Mulla Nadri, Mufti Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, Mirza Saif-ud-din Beig, Narayan Kaul Aziz, Haider Mallick and others support the view that this temple was constructed by Sandiman, a Hindu king of Kashmir (2605 to 2640 B.C.). According to Dr. Stein

the temple was later renovated by king Gopaditya, who ruled Kashmir between 369-309 B.C., and not between 88-141 A.D. as presumed and fixed by Kh. Nazir Ahmed in his sbook "Jesus in Heaven on Earth. This was done, simply to suit his convenience and to make fake efforts to establish his imaginary theory of Christ having been buried in Kashmir. The year 54 or 854 Mijra is further supported by the inscriptions on the temple walls as mentioned by various writers in their respective books. These are as under :-

1. Maimareen satoon Raj Bhishti zargarsal panjah wa chahar.
   (The mason of this pillar is Bhishti Zargar-year fifty and four)
2. Een Satoon bardast Khwaja Rukum bin Murjan.
   (Khwaja Rukum son of murjan erected this pillar).

There is no trace in any ancient record to prove any Muslim names used or existing in Kashmir about two thousand years back or earlier. As Islam was born 600 years after Christ, so the Muslim names came to be known in Kashmir after the 14th century A.D., when Muslim influence started increasing there and, therefore, the aforesaid Muslim masons were employed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin to repair this temple in 854 Hijra. Besides, the aforesaid inscriptions, being in the sulus script also prove, beyond doubt, that this temple was repaired after the 14th century A.D. as this script was not known in Kashmir before this date.

If we take for granted Kh: Nazir Ahmed's assertion that Gopaditya ruled Kashmir from 3154 to 3225 Laukek era corresponding to 88-148 A.D. then also we can very safely dismiss his theory that Jesus had come to Kashmir and was buried here. This date does not fit in or adjust, in anyway, with Christ's stay in Kashmir, as he is supposed to have been crucified at the age of 33. Then he should have died in Kashmir sometime in 84 A.D. at the age of 117 which is not the date of the rule of King Gopaditya as fixed by Kh: Nazir Ahmed. It is a historical fact, beyond doubt that Sandimati or Sandiman was never a minister in Gopaditya's time but during the rule of King Jayendra who ruled Kashmir between 72 and 35 B.C. (as fixed by Dr. Stein), became the King of Kashmir.

The inspiring polygonal basement of this temple on the top of the Shankaracharya hill (Gopadri) which is a construction of massive blocks, and without mortar, is believed by the historians and archaeologists to belong to a much earlier period. General Cunnimgham has assumed and identified this temple as "Jayeshthrudra" built by King Jalauka son of Ashoka, who ruled

Kashmir sometime around 1000 B C. or so as mentioned by Dr. Stein in his translation of Kalhana's Rajtarangini at page 440/90, vol II, which is not tenable historically.

According to the Geography of Jammu & Kashmir by Pt. Anand Kaul Bamzai, page 148 there were steps of sculptured stones, which were later dismantled, from the Jhelum river leading right up to the top of the hill. With these dismantled stones of the stairs, the mosque known as Pathar masjid, near Zaina Kadal in Srinagar city, was built by Noorjahan the queen of Jahangir. The Mosque still exists in good condition.

The Buddhists still have a great reverence and faith in this temple, regard it sacred and call it Pas-Panar.

It is very regretable that a reputed epigraphist and historian like Dr. Jagan Nath Aggarwal should propound that this temple was constructed during the 4th century A.D. This is an imaginary assumption, against the available recorded evidence which the scholar has not cared to consult. His assertion is quite misleading and historically untenable.[9]

Because of reasons mentioned above, there is not an iota of evidence available to prove that the basement of this temple was built by Solomon for his throne, and, therefore, known as Takht-i-Sulaiman (Solomon's throne) or that it was built in 4th century. These assumptions are not substantiated by any ancient record, and are a recently created myth. To say so is a wishful thinking since this temple was first built between 2605 and 2540 B C. by King Sandman, a Hindu King, as per the authentic evidence available. At that time Solomon was yet to be born.

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Chapter - 14

MARTAND-AN EDIFICE OF GLORY

Moti Lal Saqi

Martand, the Parthenon of east, is the culminating point of glory in the history of Kashmir style, of architecture. This edifice of glory, now almost completely in ruins has no parallel in the whole of northern India, so far as its architectural novelty is concerned. Its imposing grandeur and fabulous structure speaks of the great skill and crafts-manship of Kashmir in the first half of 8th century A.D.,

when the great Lalitadatya the builder of Martand ruled this portion of our country from Afganistan to Karnataka.

Most of the constructions of this great king have turned into stone heaps as a result of bigoted iconoclast kings. Martand with all its grandeur and magnificence is otherwise supposed to be a small temple when we see and witness the dimensions of another temple Parihaskeshiva (smiling Vishnu) constructed by the same king at Parihaspora. The remains of this ruined temple can be seen even today in a ravine in the west of Devar-Yakhmanpora, a village near Parihaspora tableland on the southern side.

Martand represents the second phase of Doric order of architecture in Kashmir. The first phase is represented by the remains and terra-cottas unearthed at Ushkar and Hukha-Liter. Both these archaeological sites belong to Kushan period, Martand as a matter of fact, is an amalgam of Doric Pogoda (Pyramidal) and old block house type of architecture in stone. It will not be out of place to record here that Kashmiris adopted Doric style from Greeks, but they have not adhered to it in letter and spirit. They amended it and made innovations as and when they needed it. Pagoda type of roof was adopted for the temples which have been built to a large extent on the Doric pattern and Martand is not an exception to this innovation. On the basis of my personal observations, I am of the opinion that by and large all the stone temples of Kashmir had pagoda type roofs, excepting the remains of Prevreshvara temple in Srinagar. Most of the stone temples of Kashmir have been constructed after 7th century A.D., when Gandhara influence was at its full glory in this part of the country. The remains at Awantipora, Parihaspora, Pattan, Buniyar etc are a living witness to this observation.

Doric influence reached Kashmir long before the Scythians. Gandhara was a part of Kashmir in 6th centrury B.C. as recorded in the Gandhara Jataka. Gandhara, as recorded in history was a great centre of art, where east and west met and a new school of architeture was born which had its roots in Indian and Greek civilisations. Pagoda style of architecture was brought to Kashmir by Guna vermana in 4th century A.D. from Java. According to the Tibetan records, Guna Vermana was a prince scheduled to be King of Kashmir. He declined to be the king and became a Buddhist monk. He left Kashmir and went to Srilanka to preach the gospel of Buddha. He returned to his homeland after meeting the Emperor of China. It is said that king Lalita Datya adopted this (pagoda) style when he

laid the foundation of his new capital Parihaspora. Hence this style was called Parihaspora style also. This style is still a living style of architecture in the shape of Rishi Shrines of the valley and some people call it Rishi style of architecture these days. It is evident that when he owned this style for his capital he must have made its use for other constructions also. Martand being one of his novel edifice could have not been an exception to this. The constructions of this great builder did not confine to Kashmir alone. Some temples, though smaller in size in the salt range are believed to be the constructions of Lalita Datya on the basis of their architectural style. These temples speak for themselves of the the vast empire which Lalita Datya ruled. Some time back coins of Lalitadatya were recovered in Madhya Pradesh. The recovery of his coins in a far off territory makes it clear what Kalhana has recorded in Rajatarangini, is not far from the truth.

Facing east the temple of Martand is in the lap of Mattan table-land, three mills from the main town. Martand temple is dedicated to Surya the Sun God. It is derived from Martanda, which Aditi the wife of Kashapa brought forth. The construction of this temple reveals that in Kashmir, Surya was worshiped long before Lalitadatya ruled the country. The King had laid a town in the vicinity of the temple which according to Kalhana produced grape vines. The remains of old town are no more traceable but the Dogra King Pratap Singh settled a new village near the remains of temple, which is known as Pratappora. Most probably the new village is settled on the foundation of the old town.

Martand temple was the last refuge of some kings also. King Kalsha (713-750 A.D.) proceeded to Martand to wipe out the sins committed by him. He installed a gold statue of Surya in this temple. This glorious edifice was destroyed by Shahmiri King Sikandra in the 14th century.

The entrance of temple is on the Western side in the middle of a rampart. The gateway is as wide as the door of the temple which is in the middle of the rampart. There has been another entrance on the eastern side also. The main shrine of the temple is 63 feet on the western side. It is divided in three chambers called ardhamandapa, antrala and garbgriha in accordance with the rules laid down in Shilpa-Shastra. The ardhamandapa is decorated profusely. There is a lot of ornamentation in the second chamber also, but garabgriha is simple and without any ornamentation or carvings. It is closed on

three sides. It is the chamber in which the image of Surya was installed but the image is no more traceable. We come across the well carved image of Ganga on the left wall. On the western wall of the Second chamber we came across gandharvas. Most of the hands of images are broken and we are unable to see what emblems were there in the hands of Devas and Devis. The Charioteer of Surya Aruna is carved on the eastern wall of the chamber. Aruna here is holding the reins of the seven horses who are supposed to draw the chariot of Surya.

The Pillar style of Martand is the only of its kind in Kashmir. There were in all 84 pillars in the whole of peristyle, but now only a few pillars of the peristyle are erect. The fortified temple of Martand is the harbinger, rather than the predecessor of that style which latter flourished in the shape of Jamia Masjid of Srinagar. Within the premises of temple, on the right side is an inscription in Sharda. This inscription is disfigured and one fails to make any thing out of it.

There is no doubt that in the realm of carving and finish Martand is far behind the temples of Awantipora and Pattan. But so far as the grandeur and massiveness is concerned, Martand is without a parallel not only in Kashmir alone but in northern India too.

The colonnaded peristyle around the Martand temple is 220 feet long and 142 feet wide in the shape of a quardrangle. Besides being a marvel of architecture this temple is a feet of engineering also. The fluted columns of peristyle have a grace of their own. The impests of the temple were surmounted by human headed birds facing each other, which remind us that Martand has preserved for us a treasure of past in the form of sculptures, carvings, and I-cone etc. Sharda inscriptions in the courtyard of the temple is a proof of the fact that, Sharda was the living script in Kashmir during the rule of Lalitadatya.

Martand is a novel specimen of stone carving. It is my belief that the art of carving in Kashmiris is indigenous. The stone carvers who worked wonders on the hard surface of stone later took to wood carving and proved their worth. I see no foreign influence on our wood carving. So far as skill is concerned, it is easy to carve on wood than on stone. No doubt in the shape of patterns there is a grain of foreign influence.

Martand to me is the symbol of the glory that was Kashmiri.

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Chapter - 15

ABHINAVAGUPTA — THE SHIVA INCARNATE

Shaivacharya Swami Lakshmanjoo

Abhinavgupta was one of the most outstanding Acharyas of the Shaiva Philosophy. We learn from references about him in *Tantraloka* and *Paratrimshika Vivarana* that he lived in Kashmir about the end of the tenth and the beginning of eleventh century. The earliest ancestor of Abhinavagupta was a famous Brahmin, Attrigupta, who lived in Autarvedi, the ancient name of a tract of land lying between the Ganga and the Yamuna. Attrigupta, a great Shaiva teacher, was invited by King Lalitaditya, who ruled over Kashmir from 700-736 A.D. A spacious house was soon built by the orders of the king on the banks of the Jhelum (Vitasta) for Attrigupta and a big Jagir was granted to him for his maintenance. Many generations after him, one of his descendants, named Varahagupta, became a great scholar of Shaiva philosophy. His son, Narasimhagupta, alias Chukhala, fater of Abhinavagupta, was also a great Shaiva teacher.

KASHMIR SHAIVISM

Abhinavagupta was a great scholar and Shaiva teacher, who possessed knowledge in all matters relating to Kashmir Shaivism. The versatility of this genius was recognised in his own time. He was one of the best authorities on Shaiva philosophy and various branches of Sanskrit literature. The great Acharya sat at the feet of many teachers for the traditional and authoritative knowledge. Such was his humility and devotion that these teachers imparted to him all the learning they possessed. The celebrated author of *Kavya Prakash Rajanaka Mammatta* calls him the Shankaracharya of Kashmir.

YOGIC POWERS

There are eight great Yogic powers explained in Shastras as follows :

The first is the superhuman power of becoming as small as an atom (अणिमा) ;

The second is the Yogic power of increasing the size of one's own body at will (महिमा);

The third is the supernatural power of assuming excessive lightness at will (लधिमा);

The fourth is the superhuman power of obtaining anything desired (प्राप्ति);

The fifth is the Yogic power of attaining irresistible will (प्राकाम्य);

The sixth is the superhuman power of commanding the whole world (ईशित्वं);

The seventh Yogic power is to fascinate the whole universe (वशित्वं); and

The eighth is to possess unrestrained will viz. whatever he wills comes true.
All these eight Yogic powers were possessed by Acharya Abhinavagupta.
In *Malinivijayotara Shastra* six great signs of spiritual advancement are explained as follows :

THE SIX SIGNS

1. Unswerving devotional attachment to Shiva;
2. Full attainment of Mantra Siddhi;
3. Attainment of controlling power over all the five elements;
4. Capacity to accomplish the desired end;
5. Mastery over the whole science of rhetorics and poetics; and
6. The sudden dawning of the knowledge of all the Shastras.

These six great spiritual signs also were observed by discerning people in Abhinavagupta and in his time everybody looked upon him as Shiva incarnate.

Kashmir Shaivism is called Trika philosophy. Trika means threefold science of man and his world. This Trika contains the science of individual, शक्तिः (the energy) and शिव (the Universal. The purpose of Trika is to show how an individual rises to the state of universal (शिव) through energy (शक्ति). The Trika philosophy is classified by Abhinavagupta in four system which are Krama (कम) system, Spanda (स्पन्द) system, Kula (कुल) system and Pratyabijnya (प्रत्यभिजा) system.

Abhinavagupta says that Krama deals with space and time. He explains that actually there is no space. When one deals with forms, the space appears. When one is established in formless state of being, for him there is no space. In the same way when there is something to be done, then only the existence of time shines and when you have nothing to do, then time has no existence.

Explaining the Spanda system, Abhinavagupta says that it is that movement which actually is no movement. Spanda makes us realise that whatever is in movement actually is established in unmoved point. So although everything seems moving actually it is not moving at all.

SCIENCE OF TOTALITY

As for the Kula system, he says that Kula means the Science of Totality. In each and every part of the universe totality shines throughout. Take a small part of any object. In that part you will see the universal energy existing.

The Pratyabhijnya system deals with the school of recognition. Abhinavagupta, while explaining this school of recognition, says:

'प्रत्यभिज्ञा च भातभासमानानुसं वानात्मिका'

To make it clear, he explains that at the time of God-realization nothing new is realised; on the contrary, the Yogi feels that this state of God-consciousness which he was experiencing was already known to him. In this school of recognition, Abhinavagupta says, the state of God-consciousness is already there'. He comes to the conclusion that in this universe you have to see and realise the Kingdom of God-consciousness only everywhere and nothing else.

Many works have been attributed to Abhinavagupta though only a few are extant. Some of the works of his authorship' are :- (1) *Bhairavastotra;* (2) *Malinivijaya Vartika* (3) *Bharata Naytya Shastra-Tika;* (4) *Dwanmalokalochana*; (5) *Natyalochana*; (6) *Purva-Panchika*; (7) *Gitarthasangraha*; (8) *Bodha Pancha Dashika*; (9) *Paramartha Charcha*; (10) *Dhastha Devatachakrastotra*; (11) *Paratrimshika Vivarana*; (12) *Paratrimshika Lagu Vitti*; (13) *Kramastotra*; (14) *Ishwara Pratyabijnya-Vimarshiri*; (15) *Ishwar Pratyabijnya Vivriti Vimarshini*; (16) *Paramartha Sara*; (17) *Tantraloka*; (18) *Tantra Sara*, etc. Besides these, he wrote many other works. Madhuraja, a devotee of Abhinavagupta, writes that:

"श्रीकण्डेशावतार : परमकरुणया प्राप्त काश्मीरदेशः"

Lord Shree-Kantha-Nath Shiva Himself has appeared in Kashmir in the form of Abhinavagupta to enlighten the people. Madhuraja also asserts that Abhinavagupta was, in fact, the incarnation of Bhairava-Nath Shiva. In conclusion I would say that Abhinavagupta was the pride of Kashmir. He is even now the pride of Kashmir, as his works and teachings continue to deeply influence the discerning people.

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Chapter - 16

UTPALADEVA AND HIS PRATYABHIJNYA PHILOSOPHY

Prof. Jankinath Kaul "Kawal"

Very little is known about Utpala, the great mystic saint of Kashmir, except that he might have lived somewhere in Nauhatta (Navyut) in Srinagar. From some authors on Kashmir Shaivism and his contemporaries, we find that he was a Brahmin and lived a married life around the middle of 900 A.D. He was the son of Udayakar.

Utpaladeva must have been a precocious boy with a sharp intellect and a quest for learning. This becomes evident from the fact, that he was taken as a disciple by the great philosopher. Siddha Somananda, whose great work *Shivadrishti,* the Pratyabhijnya Shastra (Philosophy of Recognition), inspiried him to write the *Ishwar Pratyabhijnya Karlkas*. It is stated in the Shivadrishti that Utpala was motivated to write the *Karikas* on the request of his son, Vibhramakara. Therein he summarised the teachings of his master and this work is spoken of "the reflection of wisdom taught by Somananda". Kashmiri's Persian-knowing scholars have termed it as *Khir-e-Kamil* (wisdom of the sage).

Mass of Literature

Together with the various commentaries there grew up a mass of literature around these *Karikas* (also called Sutras) of Utpaladeva. Thus, Pratyabhijnya assumed such an important position that the whole system of the Kashmir Shaiva philosophy has come to be known, outside Kashmir also; as the Pratyabhijnya Darshana. Even at present scholars from foreign lands taking up research work in the Pratyabhijnya school of thought come to Kashmir to seek help and guidance from Shaivacharya Swami Lakashman Joo, the living Yogi and Jivanmukta (liberated while assuming body) at Ishaber, Nishat (Srinagar).

Although *Ishwar Pratyabhijnya* is heavy to study, yet it is a perfect work on philosophy. It is not only a set of philosophic doctrines but contains instructions on practical Yoga also. This is preached for the aspirants of highest calibre who have developed acute awareness. None of the means (Shambhavopaya, Shaktopaya and Anavopaya) is recognised in this philosophy. Only the five functions are to be followed पंचक त्यानुसरणमेच कर्तव्यम्. The doctrine advocates मलस्य का सत्ता, कीहक वैतस्य निरोण्धनम् ।

No Impurity

Since there is no existence of impurity, whence can there be any erosion. It is only a change in the point of view. Nothing has happened to Shiva; no Jiva-bhava has been assumed by Him.

Somananda has explained the doctrine to Utpala with the following exampel :-

A girl and a boy whose marriage has been fixed by their relatives and who have not seen each other happen to sit together

along with their friends and relatives at a fair. The girl happens to serve refreshments to the boy. As a matter of course, there is no special feeling between the two. But, when an acquaintance comes and hints at the would-be marriage of the couple, at once feelings of love run through both the boy and the girl. The girl recognizes her lover. Such is the recognition of Jiva with Shiva. This is Pratyabhijnya philosophy in the nutshell, as preached comprehensively by Utpala. He sat and wrote these abstuse aphorisms on the philosophy in calm moments. This was his self-introspection.

Tradition has it that Utpala, in the later period of his life, would often be in ecstasy. He would sing rapturous notes, intensely musical and pregnant with meaning. These, verily, reveal the heart of Utpala. His poems give expression to the philosophical doctrine of Kashmir Shaivism known as Trika system of philosophy in a devotional form. These occupy the same place in this system as the Vedanta Stotras do in the Vedanta philosophy.

Adi Sankara

Utpala's philosophy is as deep as that of Adi Sankara, though, perhaps, more devotional. He believes in self-surrender and love. He uttered his poems in ecstasy which were noted and written down by his disciples. He was so deep in divine rapture that he had no body consciousness and when he came to it once and found almond blossoms strewn on the ground, he uttered; "O Shiva, Bhaktas have adorned You with flower wreathes. Only I fall back in adoring you", and instantly went into Samadhi Again, while running in divine ecstasy, his locks would get entangled in the low-hanging branches of trees and he would feel that Shiva was catching hold of him. He would then sit there and be in meditation for long periods.

Utpala's poetic works were compiled by his disciples—Sri Rama and Adityaraja. Later a great scholar, Vishwavasta, divided these into 20 Stotras assigning a heading to each. It is also said that Utpala himself had assigned the headings *Sangrahastotra, Jayastotra* and *Bhaktistotra* to 13th, 14th and 15th Stotras.

This great work came to be known as Shivastotravali (a rosary of hymns to Shiva). Commentary in Sanskrit has been written to this work of Utpala by Kshemraja, the fourth in line of disciples. Utpala was followed by his pupsil Lakshmangupta, who was the guru of Abhinavagupta.

once you read these Shlokas, you will continue to sing and muse on them. The ringing music in your ears will make you shed tears of joy and forget yourself. Kashmir's Persian scholars have termed it as *Jnoon-e-Kamil* (divine ecstasy of the sage). A stir is experienced while singing :

संग्रहेण सुखदुःखलक्षणं मां प्रति स्थितमिदं श्रेणु प्रभो ।
सौरव्यमेप भवता समागमः स्वामिना विरह एवं दुःखिता ।

"O *Lord*'! Stand by my side and listen to the definition in brief of pleasure and pain. What is union with The is pleasure and what is separation from Thee is pain".

Isolational Joy

Here you have the feeling of isolational joy that you experience by listening to the shrill voice of a morning bird or the continuous flow of a waterfall. Utpala, for all purposes, was a loving and pure-hearted mystic. As the chief characteristic of his language is symbolism, he appeals to all sections of people. He has the power to penetrate human feelings and enraptures one with his dynamic touth. His great utterance to this effect is:-

लोकवन्द्रवतु मे विपये ।
स्फीत एव भगवन्चरितर्प : ।
केवलं तब शरीरतयैतात्
लोकयेय महमस्तविकल्प : ।।

"O Lord! I may have increased desire for the objective world like other people but with this difference that I shall look upon it as Thyself without any idea of Duality."

The available works of Utpaladevacharya are as follows:

Pratyabhijnya Karikas (or Sutras);

Shivastotravali (with Kshemaraja's Sanskrit commentary and Hindi commentary by Swami Lakshman Joo); and *Ishwara-Siddhi* and *Ajadapromatri-Siddhi.*

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Chapter - 17

MYSTICISM IN KASHMIR

Dr. A.N. Raina

Mysticism in its broad sense is as old as man. The moment the faculty of understanding began to unfold itself within the human mind, mysteries were perceived in the changing environment around. The eyes had already developed power to behold or, at least, feel the wonders of Nature. It took man time to lift himself and scan the wonders on the sky. Mental faculties took a long time to analyse and understand the process of growth in flora, fauna and human procreation. The faculty of attention, if not concentration, remained a mystery in the beginning. No wonder, therefore that the earliest wisdom or discrimination gathered around mysteries, applying elementary awareness to solve these riddles.

Sense of Fear

The vast universe with which human senses came into contact in the beginning nurtured a sense of fear for which prayer, later followed by sacrifice, was deemed necessary. It is, therefore, obvious that sacrifices formed the earliest mode of worship and were the outcome of beliefs till these formed an intricate socio-religious milieu. But where reason could not fathom or explain a phenomenon, miracles became his refuge. After all man must hold on to something! Thus the supernatural found its way in making mysteries, more mysterious and effective in a sense.

It appears that in the Vedic times all sorts of material advantages were reaped by the Brahmins who were intellectually superior to others as a class enjoying the trust of the people. As their needs multiplied, sacrificial mysticism fastened its hold on man. It did not involve moral goodness and so little attention was given to a higher order of mysticism. It had not the grasp of spiritual nature on people as it lacked reason which alone could help to know the aims and problems of life in a real and useful manner.

The Vedas

The earliest compositions are believed to be the Vedas; the original hymns numbering 1,028 composed about 6000 B.C. or still earlier. The Atharva Veda gives description of charms for curing diseases and prayers for long life and health. In such a society ritualistic conditions were bound to continue and dominate minds.

Sacrificial descriptions filled volumes treasured as sacred. A wall was being raised between man and the Sacred Supreme. Additions were made in the original hymns of the Vedas to suit and propagate sacrificial rituals. The divine origin of the Vedic hymns was exploited for material gain and the dark ignorance engulfed the minds of the people. Little attention was paid to mind and it was blasphemy to question or to analyse these sacrificial rituals dominating at that time. Reality distanced itself and knowledge appeared to be shackeled. In such an atmosphere, mystery became more mysterious and the fabric of life was too tight for free thought and research.

Earlier, during their migration from Central Asia, these pastoral immigrants depended on the vagaries of weather. Lightning, thunder, hailstorm, rain, snow, shooting stars, solar eclipse, lunar eclipse, earthquakes and other calamities assumed a form of dread in the minds of people. Later, people adjusted to a regular cycle of seasons when they settled in Hindustan. Propitiation of gods became a regular function. It was in a way ignorance with no rational analysis that took a long time to inculcate itself. Then came the sense of interpretation resulting in gaining wisdom.

First Literature

The first literature of mysticism is the Upanishads. It is termed as the cream of the milk of wisdom or knowledge contained in the Vedas. For the first time, these sacred texts aimed at thought, guidance and light. The priestly class lost its hold to a great extent and the custom of sacrificial rites could no longer continue to corrupt the people as a whole. The Vedic Age of ritualistic importance appears to wind itself up with the birth of Vedanta.

There was sufficient mud in the stream of thinking, obstructing a clear approach. Deep thinking and concentrated attention was a later pursuit resulting in the practice of dedication to the eternal spirit. Solitude was solicited in quiet forests where identification with the elements of nature was possible. Violence, wealth and dogma continued to propitiate the galaxy of self-created hierarchy of these gods (deities) till the Upanishads put a halt to the prevalent order of sacrifices. Scepticism thus born in the mind of man, opened a vista for analysis of the accepted code of religious practices. The priest along with his craft suffered a setback. A divine search began; it was an attempt to bring the mind and the senses face to face with the soul. Once these Upanishads explained mystical experiences,

moral goodness formed the basis for an understanding of a higher order of mysticism. The Upanishads caught the imagination of intellectuals and the pious whose thirst of the spirit began to be quenched and the mystical experience of the soul began to gush from within. A spiritual age had dawned, with guidance and light elevating man and, in the words of Schopenhauer, bringing solace to life and death. The human body and the spirit began to be harmonized and in the words of Adi Sankara ignorance was destroyed leading man to Brahman. Besides, in its higher form, mysticism took a definite leap at a dead halt of senses, thought and intellect. Vision widened with the study of Upanishads and sacrificial mysticism sank, giving place to spiritual longing as opposed to mundane desires for material gains. The science of Brahman divorced man from all that is mortal and made him to aspire for the eternal.

Spiritual Craving

This spiritual craving took deeproots and dominated the entire history of philosophic thought in this country. Other religions, too, were influenced by the mysticism of the Upanishads. In other lands, also, the quest for immortality gave fillip to the realisation of the inner springs of man's life. Moral purity, meditation and control of desires are common to all the eleven Upanishads. It aims at elevating man and society to a higher order of life and at the perception of Truth. Not knowledge alone, but control of one's senses can help man to realise the Great Truth.

The Age of the Upanishads was both a renaissance and a revolution for India. Not only were the gates of wisdom opened but knowledge and light spread and caught the intellect of thinkers who felt like entering a new age of reason and renunciation. This was made possible by what is termed as the Yoga system. It is not expected to believe that this spiritual system appeared all of a sudden, as if by a mental jolt. Evidences have shown that concentrating one's mind on objects imparted control on the senses when a sort of satisfaction, many even contentment, with its undisturbed happiness, caught the imagination of the common man.

Metaphysical System

The metaphysical system owes its lucidity to Patanjali, the great Yoga writer of the second century B.C. The practice of mental control was going on as early as 800 B.C., to lessen tension of the

mind and to find an escape from misery, violence and confusion. May be, that sacrifices to propitiate gods during the time of priestly hegemony bored people who found these practices nothing more than barbarism. With the Yogic system, therefore serious effort began to dissociate oneself from one's sensations, thoughts, ideas, feelings, etc., to learn that extraneous associations would not help the self. Actual practice of the liberation of the true self had begun very early and philosophy followed later like grammar to a language.

If the desire for absolute freedom is intense, interest is lost in wordly things. Then the disinclination deepens into Vairagya. Such a state of mind requires a code of conduct for a seer to toil successfully on the path of Yoga. Patanjali's system is defective in many ways. The Indian mind has now become stagnant owing to blind adherence to old, long, continued practices, which have not yet (since Patanjali) led to the elevation of man's spiritual strength, let alone forming the nation's spiritual fibre. Seekers and seers have expounded different methods for controlling the breath (Pran-Apan) to prepare mind for a complete state of breathlessness. This study is not concerned with the explanation of the Yoga system as such but only to present a brief outline for understanding the origin and growth of spiritual quest.

Rigid Discipline

A rigid discipline is to be practised till it becomes a conscious habit for purity of mind, contentment and indifference to difficulties. Such a person has compassion for all those who suffer. It is important to restrict the movements of body. For this, control over breathing is imperative.

(a) Not only feeling compassion for others but proving it by service to one and all.
(b) Ability to endure calmly and without the least feeling of anger with the world or complaint against any person.

The spread of Buddhism was due to a revolt against the Vedic violence in its broad sense. This is called the tyranny of the priestly class which became ripe in the last part of the Vedic times when Yajur Veda was born. Gautam's faith became a universal doctrine. The predecessor of Buddhism had already prepared the ground for non-violence and rigid discipline aiming at renunciation. Jainism

was a crystallized faith which was not easy to follow although it too had as its goal, the liberation of self by the performance of Yoga, not very difficult from what Patanjali had enunciated.

The Buddha

The life of Gautam is a poem of pathos, full of suffering for the good of others. Suffering, disease, old age and death engulf mankind. Eternal salvation is the only remedy. Gautam gave up his kingdom to complete his mission and in spite of temptations by Mara—the Buddhist Satan—he became the Buddha. A strict code of conduct was given by the Buddha. Not at all new. For, in later Vedic times. Varnashram was in itself a code of conduct for normal life when from the age of eight the student lived with his Guru till education was complete. During this period of formation, egoism was replaced by Universalism and learning chastened the mind to identify his own good with the good of others. With the passing of time, however, the entire moral and spiritual fabric became so weak that the essence of Varnashram was lost. Exploitation, wealth and corruption dominated the scene. In keeping with its laws Nature found a prophetic voice of compassion.

There are stories in the Puranas regarding self-sacrifice, self-mortification and self-torture but the Buddha's stress was on moral purity and pious work, depending on one's Buddhi which is real wisdom. Right conduct, in fact, includes behaviour on which depends relationship of all sorts.

In Kashmir, the Buddhist faith had complete hold on the people and the Brahmins, in particular, admired and owned the practices of the Nirvana, enunciated by Gautam. So much enamoured were these Brahmins of the new faith that they crossed the geographical borders of Kashmir and preached the Buddhist philosophy and religion in the neighbouring lands. They even enriched literature with the philosophy of Gautam.

Nirvana Concept

We may not mention here how these scholarly Brahmins gave the script to the Tibetans and who studied various dialects to make their thought and philosophy intelligible to others. In Kashmir, however, the prevalent Vedic Kriti, a system of rituals, had to be recast to include some of the rituals in the Buddhist religion. The

Buddha was included in the string of Avataras by the Brahmins. The Sanatan Dharma as the eternal tree was shown with a branch of the Buddhist faith bearing allegiance of the main root of the Vedic Dharma. The Nirvana that fascinated every one was aimed at realising the goal of extinction of desires. A careful study of the Vedic Kriti of Laugakash Rishi reveals how much has been accepted and included by the wise Brahmins from the Buddhist faith. The Kashmir Tantric rituals are prevalent even now within the Vedic system of religious performances.

Sufism came at a time when Islam required a philosophic and renunciatory movement. Violence and bloodshed for power deeply moved sensitive. Muslims who craved for seclusion and peace. In such a harmonious environment, peace of mind and contentment resulted in a study of the Quran where something higher than worldly grandeur began to be sought by the followers of the faith. Heaven and hell figured prominently in the holy book and the dread of the Judgment Day, when account was to be rendered of actions and intentions, had to be faced by a Muslim. This dread of the inevitable forced peace and morality on the minds of people. Ibu Khaldun (1406 A.D.) stated that the path to heaven was possible with a disciplined life—offering prayers (Nimaz), observing fasts (Roza) and reciting the Quran. In such a disciplined and God-fearing way of living, sin distanced itself from the minds of men.

Detachment

Steadily, therefore, detachment developed a sense of disgust for wealth and ascetiscm. Fakiri began to be adopted as a way of living, raising life to spiritual heights. Not only ordinary persons but princes like Hazrat Ibrahim (783 A.D.) of Balkh also renounced the world like Gautam. It was during this time that Khanqahs came up in Damascus, Khorasan and other neighbouring lands. A dacoit leader Khadil bin Ayad (801 A.D.) turned to be a saint and gave away his riches in the cause of peace and piety. One is reminded of the great scholar-saint, Valmiki, who, originally a dacoit, took to prayers and wrote the Sanskrit classic *Ramayana*. Khadil's prayer was "O God! whatever You bestow on me in this world, give it to my enemies. Whatever You bestow on me towards the end, give it to my friends. For me You alone are enough". It was about this time that Sufi, an Arabic word, was acquired meaning Pir, Guru. The saints of this

order put on a tunic to be identified from others. A dress of detachment in Kashmir is known as Munul, signifying a guide for spiritual knowledge. The centres of this order spread in Basra, Arabia, Iraq, Khorasan and Iran.

Buddhism had already spread in northern Iran. Contacts and discussions, a comparative study and translations, for which Arabs had talent, enabled a comparative study of religious and philosophic thought. Literature was available in Vedanta, Nirvana and Shaiva. Much mist in thought and spiritualism was removed. The fear of hell and the dread of the Judgement Day sobered down in the minds of men who depended more on the search of the Absolute.

Hazrat Mansoor

The insular outlook was given up and people aspired for something real and wider, nay, even universal. Then came Mansoor (858-909 A.D.). Hazrat Hasim Bin Mansoor travelled widely in Iran, Khorasan, Hindustan, Turkistan, and Mecca and finally settled in Baghdad where he was imprisoned for eight years. He was humuliated, made to ride a donkey through the streets and finally hanged and his corpse burnt. His fault—Analhaq (I am truth, God). His book *Kitabul Tawaseen* gave a new shape to Sufism. Said he: "Forget not God to see my plight. Trust in Him. He is with me like a friend. He gives me a cup which he took first Himself". A revolution came into religious thought of Islam and hanging of such a nature was stopped. It was Hazrat Aman Ghazali who cemented, as it were, the Sufi belief in the minds of men. Many Sufi saints became or assumed the title of Qalandar and we see most of these eminent ascetics in the early years of the eleventh century.

The progress of every sphere in thought connected with Islam had taken place by the first quarter of the thirteenth century. After 1225 A.D., dogmatic theology blocked the speedy growth and spread of Islam. Realism in Islam left nothing to create doubts for which systematic record was maintained in all branches of knowledge. Metaphysical speculation figures prominently in this consolidating process of accumulation. Muslim thought or mysticism termed Tassawuf assumed prominence. There were a dozen mystic schools in the tenth century but towards the beginning of the thirteenth century only two schools were conspicuous. One was that of Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din bin Arabi (Fussul Hikam) and the other of Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi (Awariful Maarif). India was in

the sphere of the Awarif, based on the textbook of mystics and not of Mullah orthodoxy.

Genuine Text

The authentic, genuine text of mysticism is the Fawaid-ud-Fuwad of Amir Hassan Sijzi (1307 A.D.). The eminent poet had close contacts with Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and held discussions. Summaries of the meetings were recorded and are known as Majlises. These gatherings shed light on the history of spiritual thinking of those times. Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din made available his conversations with Sheikh Farid in whose Jamat Khana Nizam-ud-Din lived for sometime. It enabled Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din to complete the text. The lacunae (*Bayaz*) left by Amir Hasan were filled thus. In 1322 A.D., the book was available with clarifications and corrections. Crities saw no futile ornamentations and other artificialities characteristic of the Persian prose of that time. Thus, for the first time, the Chistis got a manual in the form of conservations of their greatest teacher of the Middle Age. Thus came forth a new type of mystic literature known as Malfuzat. One has to depend on genuine texts for historical records of the mystics and not on fabricated texts discarded by even those who are mentioned erroneously.

Mystics in Kashmir do not differ from other mystics in basic principle of oneness that is beyond senses and reason. As a matter of fact, mystic experience is the same in all languages and with different races and religions. In Kashmiri, the poet, Parmanand, follows the path of Bhakti (devotion) by which God is known in essence. As a Bhakti mystic his main theme is the love of man for God and of God for man. Paramanand speaks of perpetual dance-play (*Ras-Leela*) in his longer poems *Radha-Svayamvara*, *Sudamacharita* and *Shiva Langa*. His verse is symbolic bound up with mystic practices. Zinda Kaul writes in his *Parmananda* Vol. II 1942 (translated and annotated by him; Page 162):

Parmanand

'Parmanand has possibly heard it recited from Goswami's *Ramayana* by some Hindustani Sadhu who came to visit Mattan and tell it in Kashmiri. It lacks the sweet pathos of the *Radha-Svayamvara* or *Sudamacharita* and has only a language interest for the reader. Krishna Das of Vanpoh has also tried his hand on it. Parmanand's

version has been given here much abridged, just to show the readers this side of the poet's versatile genius. The original consists of about 350 Shlokas, the third *Pada* of each ending in the syllable ava to rhyme with the refrain. This in itself is a very difficult achievement and has been a check to the poet's free flow of thought. The story probably points to the historical event of Shaivism decaying in South India and being revived in Kashmir.

The metre consists of seven syllables of which the six alone is short and the first four are optionally augmented by a short one. When the sixth is also lengthened the metre becomes slightly different. Whether Parmanand does it consciously to break the monotony is to me, doubtful; it seems to be a slip. The pause of voice falls after the forth 1, 2, 3, 4, 1, 5, 6, 7".

Chaste Verse

Monism and Yoga continue through his chaste verse:
He is the Lord beyond space and time
Beyond likeness to anything
Without any equal.
Sages and saints worship him
Night and day.
The thieves of senses have
Broken into my heart waiting
Taken away my freedom of innocence
The wine of Maya robbed my reason
The taste for sense objects lures me down
Burdened me with delusion.

J.L. Kaul writes: "Mysticism is a dominant theme in Kashmiri poetry as, I dare say, in the poetry of all Indian languages. Right from the fourteenth century from Shiti Kantha. Lal Ded and Noor-ud-din Vali (Nund Rishi) up to the Lila songs of Krishna Razdan (d. 1925), the Sufi songs of Samad Mir (d. 1959) and Ahad Zargar of the present day, we have had noteworthy mystic poets both Hindus and Muslims. But much of what even some of the noteworthy among them have written is unequal in merit. It is average didactive and homiletic though popular on account of pithy sayings and wise saws. It is largely imitative of passion not only of Sufi ideas and vocubulary but also the imagery symbol of conceit often stale enough while at times it is platitudinous, morbidly gloomy and even obscure. But

there are exceptions in quite a few poems written by the well known among them and certainly in the Vaakh sayings of Lal Ded. And there is Parmanand".

A poet of practical mysticism shows Upasana and Yoga created an all-round impression with his musical voice, Sitar in his hand playing on. With faith in him like Surdas:

Alone and lonely in despair
Childless with eyesight nearly lost
I am Thy blind man Lord and Thou
Alone to lead me by the hand!
For should I stumble into a pit
The pit, too, I should know is thine.

J.L.Kaul

Fundamental Principle

Age of long preparation is needed to evolve and shape a system. Philosophic thoughts take deep roots and practices involving senses and mind steadily enter the soul of man. Environment and social elements contribute their share.

History supports the view that the Indus Valley civilisation extended from the western part of India to Iraq. With these people monism was the fundamental principle of philosophy and Yȯga as a means to attain the goal of life. There were no rituals as known later in the early Vedic times. The religio-philosophic view of the Indus Valley people was monism and Yoga—two basic elements of Shaivism. The path to attain spiritual freedom was well-defined. Therefore, in this mental and spiritual approach, the Brahmin cult and sacrifical mystcism had no place.

The most ancient parts of the Rig Veda make no mention of monism in Yoga Love of God as an important aid for the attainment of salvation is not to be found.

Islam came very late. Its approach to God contains much more of awe, reverence, etc. rather than of love.

Monism and Yoga

Sufism appears similar to Shaivism in its two basic elements, i.e., monism and Yoga. There are many practices common to the Yoga of the Trika system of Kashmiri Shaivism and Sufism of Iran. These practices are different from the nature of Yoga system of Patanjali and Gorakhnath. Known as Raj-Yoga, this system has no

fetters. There is no escape from this world and it can be practised by a householder, Renunciation within the household itself actively engaged in Karma selfless and sublime like a lotus in water but untouched is possible for a Shaivite. This view is acceptable easily for renunciation of monks by going far away in forests but may not appeal to an average mind since it denotes disgust with God's creation and wordly responsibilities. Therefore, Hatha Yoga and Astanga Yoga make no appeal.

Shaivism and Sufism definitely prescribe a path of sublimation or rather transmission of emotions and instincts and not suppression and repression as in other systems. Mediation on the sound of breathing and the inner sound audible with ears shut (Nada Yoga) are practised by the Shaivite and the Sufi. Meditating on some moving phenomenon like clouds and in streams is among the practices common to both Shaivism and Sufism. Shaiva scriptures have all the practices explained in detail as in the Vijnana Bhairava. Since there is no definite record of the origin, growth and spread of Sufism in Kashmir (except poetry) it may not be possible to write about anything with exactitude beyond a sort of constant practice in objective contemplation of the exact reality about some phenomena.

Sufiana Music

Sufism influenced music in Kashmir. Music had been with the people of this beautiful land from early times—both vocal and instrumental—as early as 200 B.C. Receiving royal patronage there are references in early history when music and dance were an essential attribute of culture. Indra Prabha was a well-known dancer in the court of King Lalitaditya (700-800 A.D.). King Harshdeva, too, had patronized music in his time (100 B.C.).

Ghazal, originally from Arabic, came through Iran. Saturated with romantic thought it enriched Kashmiri language but the Sufi influence from Iran gave it a different hue and colour, making it deeper and therefore divine accompanied with Sufiana Mausiqi. Musicians two or three, if not more, come together and play the indigenous instruments of Kashmir. These had already suffered some modifications for the better, unfolding the aesthetic structure of Muqam (melody and raga) on the musical instruments used in Sufiana known as Shukul (Roop or shape) of the melody to follow. They sing in unison and harmony the verses known is Baeth, an

integral part of the whole musical structure of a Muqam. There are no praises of saints, seers and others in this music. The roots are deep in ancient Indian music. Iranian influence enriched the content of Kashmiri verse with Sufi thought called (Hama-Os) (all that is, is He) allied to Hindu mysticism known in Kashmir as Shastras. The new Muqams from Arabia, Iran, Samarkand and Tashkent were Araq, Bayat, Isphaan, Navrozisaha, Rehavi, Shah Naz, Kohi, Rast-i-Farsi—new patterns of rhythm introduced during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (Badshah). Books on music like *Sangeet Chintamani* were compiled in this very reign when fine arts flourished.

Sufiana instruments are Santoor, Sitar and Saz—all string sounds penetrating heart and soul, with the mellow beats of Dhukra steadily through. The Vedi chants (Koshur Vanavun) sung in Hindu marriages the folk song got intermingled with Kashmiri ghazal sung by Habba Khatun, Arinimal and Shah Gafoor who wrote Sufi ghazal. Sufiana music is broad based. It is grammatical both in pattern and rhyme and with the combination of notes the melodies are even sung to dance known as Hafiz Nagma. A complete circle of Muqams (classical tunes) sung at certain parts of the day covering 24 hours (54 Muqams) are same as the Indian Ragas—Bhairavi, Jhinjoti, Kalyani (voice of love) Surath (voice of the kite), Khael (voice of the parrot), lalit (voice of the crow) and Dev Gandhari (boat gliding over calm waters).

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Chapter - 18

LALLESHWARI : AN APOSTLE OF HUMAN VALUES

Prof. K.N. Dhar

The cultural heritage of a country secures sustenance from the philosophy of life nurtured by its people from the time man awoke to consciousness of self and spirit. This search for spiritual values can in no way be the last word at any stage since such pursuits are cumulative in character and content; this edifice comes into being steadily, hammered into proper shape by savants and saints from time to time. However, it calls for re-interpretation every day so that the erring human being, with all his frailties, does not descend to animality. This is the veritable theme of Lord Krishna's message in Bhagwad Gita. In our happy valley Lalleshwari projected such

human values so dear to Kashmiris from the dawn of history.

Conciliation

An attitude of conciliation, instead of confrontation, can be gleaned from the pages of *Nilamata Purana* wherein Lord Buddha has been acknowledged as an incarnation of God-Avatara.[1] 'Buddhism was essentially a revolt against Brahminism. Yet, the catholic Brahmin, with his proverbial forbearance, did not use the same language or adopt the same attitude as the Buddhists had employed with respect to Brahminism.

The healthy approach of Kashmiri Brahmins was never negative in essence. In this connection, we can safely assert that Lalleshwari, a vigilant sentinel of Kashmiri culture, displayed the highest magnitude of courage and foresight in those not very auspicious times, beckoning man not to discriminate on the basis of religious labels : It was actually the continuation of that catholic attitude of mind displayed by Kashmiris from time immemorial.

Capricious Time

However, time does not maintain a uniform tenor or temper; it is at times moody and capricious. And when the political map of Kashmir was redrawn in the thirteenth-fourteenth century, by the induction of Sultans over the Kashmir scene, this accommodation of head and heart received a jolt.[2] Kashmiris became oblivious of their pristine past; the present consequently got divorced from it, multilating its brilliant face and its attendant decorum. During those unsavoury times, Lalleshwari, fortified to her marrow by the innate strength of her conviction, rose to the occasion and strove hard to put to an end a dismal era of persecution and vandalism. In this crusade her tools were not abjuration, but affirmation; bitterness changed hands with sweet and more persuasive compromise. Having elected to tread this path of self-suffering, she became a model for the millions of her countrymen to abjure the mundane and propitiate the sublime. It was no less than a miracle by which the sufferings of the people lost their sting and they learnt to bear these with stoical resistance. They were exhorted to rise above the self and reach up to the super-self at which stage pleasure or pain have no relevance or meaning.[3] Some say it was self-deceit, fleeing from the actual life, rather self-forgetfulness to feel shy of the stark realities of life. The

most apt answer to this faulty assertion is provided by ever-awake Lalleshwari herself in these words :

गाल कड़िनम बोल परिनम
दपनम ति यस युथ रुचे ।[4]

Some may heap cavil on me, even some may curse me; they may say whatever they like to say. Some may worship me with the flowers of inherent cognition, yet I do not feel ruffled with this kind of impeachment or praise since I am concerned with my own self and do not grudge what others have to say about me.

Muslim Rule

During the Muslim rule over Kashmir the propagation of Sanskrit was not encouraged, Bilhana, the famous lyricist of Kashmir, had once boasted that "in their household, Kashmiri women even speak Sanskrit and Prakrit as fluently as their mother-tongue".[5] It was now an old wooden story. However, a bridge was to be built between the present and the past for which Sanskrit had been a very potent instrument; but the general public had lost contact with it. Persian was the order of the day in its stead. So Lalleshwari chose to speak to the people in their own idiom and Kashmiri became the vehicle of her message. In this way, she did not only make her message more intelligible and comprehensive to the masses but also achieved the purpose of bridging the gulf between the past and the present.

Healing Touch

In her time the friction between the past and the present was acute; hence she, like an alchemist, by her healing touch, saved Kashmiri culture from being eroded and bruised. Her clarion-call to assimilate human values in those dark days won for her the esteem and acclaim of Hindus and Muslims alike. It was no mean achievement on her part to unite the lost children of God, when every effort was being made to segregate them from one another. Her message was so universal and appealing that the tallest of Muslim Rishis of Kashmir, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Noorani, made her his ideal and expressed what he owed to her in these words :

तस पदमानपोरिच लल्ले
तम गले अमररूथ च्चवो ।
सौ सानी अवतार लौले
तिथिय म्य वर दितम दिवो ।[6]

That Lalla of Padampur (Pampore) was fortunate enough in gulping the ambrosial nectar in draughts; thereby she won our adoration as an incarnation of immortal divinity. O! benevolent God, grand grant me also such a boon.

Lalla's message couched in quatrains called *Vaks* is very simple and straight, bereft of any curves or terseness. It is actually an exhortation to man for self search and consequent self-cognition. It is a ready-made manual on self-search and consequent self-edification:-

छांड़ान लूसिस पोनी पानस
खंय्थ ग्यानस योत न कॉह
लय करमस वाचिस, मय खानस
वर वर वान त च्यवान न कॉह ।[7]

(I felt fatigued by incessant self-search, thinking that nobody could partake of that hidden perceptive knowledge; I, ultimately, got immersed into it and could find admission to the Divine-bar, therein the goblets are full to the brim, but none possesses the nerve to drink these.)

A Preamble

Mental drill is preamble to self-consciousness. At that pinnacle of self-discipline mind gets tamed automatically and effortlessly:

च्यंथ तोरंग गगन ब्रम वुडि
न्यमशि अकिक छडि यूजन लछ
चकमन वक्र येमं रटिथें ज़ोन
प्रांन आपात फुटरिथ पख्छ ।[8]

(The steed of mind gallops through the sky; encompassing this whole universe. During the twinkling of an eye it can traverse millions of miles. He who is proficient enough to control its reins, check its wayward demeanour by clipping its wings in the shape of mastering his own inhalation and exhalation, can attain the stage of self-cognition.)

Worship, in the words of Lalla, connotes self-introspection. It has nothing to do with external paraphernalia :

मन पुश तै यछ़ श्शोनी
वावक कोसम लागंज़स पूजे
शिवस गोड दिज्यस अंश वाने
छोंपि मन्तर शंकर वुज़े ।[9]

(Mind is the flower-seller and faith flowers. Worship should be undertaken with the offerings of mental equipoise. Shiva is to be given a bath of tears. Incantations are to be recited in silence, without making a show of these. In this way only self-consciousness can be awakened from within.)

According to Lalleshwari, a realizer has to hammer out his mental attitude on these lines :

पर त पान यम सोमुय मोन
यम हयुवुय मोन दयन कहयो राथ ।
यमसिय अद्वयी मन सपुन
तमि ड़यूठुय सु गोर नाथ ।[10]

(He, who considers his own self and others as alike, abjures distinction between 'I' and 'you' : he, who treats days and nights alike, is undisturbed by pleasure or pain; he, whose mind is bereft of duality, whose heart beats for all alike; only such a realizer can perceive the highest of Preceptors—Shiva.)

Within Self

But that Shiva is within the self of the realizer, as inseparable from it as the smell from the flower. Immanence is self and transcendence is superself—Shiva, in the language of Kashmiri monistic Shaivacharyas :

कोह छुक चट़ान अन्यथा वछ
वकुय छक त अन्दर अछ़
शिव छुय अति तै कुन मो गछ़
सहज़ कथि म्यानि करतो पछ़ ।[11]

(Why do you beat your breast for nothing? If you possess unwavering intelligence, you shall have to seek from within. Shiva

is seated there and searching him from outside will be of no avail. Do believe my word, backed with self perception.)

Lalleshwari's forte was Kashmiri Shaivism. This concept of Kashmirian philosophy revolutionized the age-long attitudes of man—more so of the Brahmins. It advocated a casteless society[12] as also abhorred kitchen-puritanism.[13] The ailing Hindu society badly required instilling a health -giving dose into its rusty veins. Shaiva scholars of Kashmir diagnosed the disease rightly and prescribed such an elixir. Had not this philosophy of life come to the rescue of Kashmiris at that dismal hour of history, no Hindu would have survived in the 'land of Kashyap'.

Viable Alternative

Lalla's *Vaks* are actually a Kashmiri rendering of Shiva-Sutras;[14] When this philosophy was born, no such predicament was there, as was faced by Lalleshwari in her own times. At best, Shaivites had to contend with the Buddhists,[15] whole attitude was also home-spun and not foreign in any way. But Lalla had to reclaim the lost faith of her brethren, provide a viable alternative to the enticements an alien faith was offering to the people at large, and, at the same time, in performing this double duty. She had to be always cautious not to invite the wrath of the rulers. And while discharging her mission, she did not make a single enemy out of the other camp. Her message cut through the man-made barriers of religions and Hindu as well as Muslims became her votaries with equal gusto. Her appeal was humanistic and not sectarian. Her approach was of positive affirmation and not of negative nihilism; consequently it multiplied her friends. Her ingenuity in steering safe between the two antagonistic factions is unsurpassed. She was instrumental in replacing call to steel by call to human conscience; consequently, changing sourness to sweetness:

असि आस त असि आसव
असि दोर करि पतवथ
शिवस सोरि न ज्योंन त मरुन
खस सोरि न अत गथ ।[16]

(We, human beings, did live in the past and we alone will be in the future also. From ancient times to the present, we have activised

this world. Just like rising and setting of the sun, the immanent Shiva-Jiva-will never be relieved of birth and death.)

Disdained Ritual

Lalleshwari did not preach any hard and fast religion; she even disdained ritual. She projected a way of life quite in harmony with our cultural traditions, in which a happy amalgam was made of what was good in Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam :-

शिव वा कशिव व जिन वा
कमलज़ नाथ यारान युस ।
म्य अवंल कास्त्यन बबरूज़
सुवा सुवा सुवा सू ।।[17]

(That Transcendental self may assume the names of Shiva, Vishnu, Buddha or Brahma. I, a forsaken lady, am concerned only with their efficacy in cutting asunder my wordly affictions. It might be accomplished by any one of these.)

She was not dogmatic or rigid. She welcomed the healthy wafts of wind coming from any direction anointing her body and soul with chaste divinity. She always kept the windows of her mind open, rejecting what was mundane and assimilating the sublime :-

साहेंव छु विहित पान दुकानस
सारी मंगान केंछा दि ।
रोंट नो कांह ति राछ न वानस
यि दपे गछ़ी ति पानै नि ।[18]

(The Super-Lord is supervising his shop with personal care. All the aspirants are eager to take away wares of their liking. Whatever you would elect to buy, does not admit of any intermediary; it is to be earned by your own effort, since the shop is devoid of any hindrance and even a watch is not kept over it.)

This is the acme of Lalla's message. Man has been exhorted to seek his own self from within, without any external aids. Self-effort is preamble to self-education, finally culminating in self-consciousness-Shiva-as she calls it.

Aslong as the silvery billows of the Vitasta maintain their rejuvenating rhythm, as long as the virgin snow on the Himalayan heights retains its unblemished splendour and stature, Lalleshwari's

Vaks, soaked in the inherent values of Kashmiri culture and human understanding, will go on unimpeded to help man to recognize his own self and not to run after deluding shadows. The message of Lalla, portraying meaningfully the humanistic attitudes ingrained in our culture, will never grow stale. Its fragrance and flavour are immortal.

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Chapter - 19

LALLESHWARI - THE PHILOSOPHER - LITTERATEUR

L.N. Raina

India has over the ages had saint-poets who have influenced the course of spiritual and cultural history of this ancient land. A few that come to mind immediately are Nanak, Nizami, Kabir, Tulsi, Surdas, Tukaram, Namdev, Gyaneshwar, Mira, Thiagarajan and Chaitanaya Mahaprabhu.

These saint-poets have appeared in different ages and at different places, but they have left their imprint much beyond the confines of time and place.

Kashmir has not lagged behind in contributing to the spiritual and cultural attainments of the country. But few could combine in themselves the spirituality of the highest order and unmatched poetic excellence as did Lalleshwari who had arrived on the scene at a crucial period of Kashmir's history when the onrush of foreign Muslim influences was getting fused with the local Hindu traditions to emerge into the composite culture that we have today.

Proponent of Saivism

Lalleshwari, reverentially and affectionately called Lal Ded or Lalamoj (Mother Lalleshwari) by Hindus and Muslims alike, was a great philosopher of the 14th century who left a lasting impact on the culture, literature and every-day life of Kashmir. She was a proponent of Saivism but her philosophy encompassed Upanishadic wisdom along with Sufism and the teachings of the Buddha. Lalleshwari preached through her *Vakhyas* (sayings mostly in verse) love, equality of all human beings, irrespective of social status or religious belief, tolerance of other people's views, non-violence and, above all, relentless search for the ultimate truth. Her *Vakhyas*

have left such an impression the Kashmiri language that most of its proverbs, aphorisms and idioms are derived from them.

As Divine Shakti

Kashmir has been the cradle of Saivism. The basis of Saivism, to put it simply, is that Man is Siva himself in a state of forgetfulness. The goal is the mental evolution from a lower to a higher consciousness, from a conditioned to an unconditioned existence. The purpose of human existence is to discover the relationship between the divine existence and the rest around us. To escape from the troubles and tribulations of life we have to be free from desires and to have the knowledge of the Divine Sakti. Siva is absolute and whole, but in its manifested state becomes Sakti which is part and parcel of nature.

The basic difference, again put simply, between Vedanta and Saivism is that according to Vedanta the manifestation of the universe is false, whereas, according to Saivism, it is based on Sakti. The apparent world, to the Saiva philosophy, is a thing for enjoyment while according to the Vedanta, it is false and fleeting, an illusion.

The lofty philosophy of Saivism had fallen on evil days when that unique and most eminent saint-poetess, Lalleshwari, came on the scene. Those were troubled times of Kashmir when famine, pestilence and internecine war had caused large scale destruction. Disunity and disorder had led to armed conflicts and the rulers had lost the capacity to rule. Religion had been debased into gross Tantric practices, sorcery, black magic and grotesque ritual devoid of any meaning. Hinduism, which at one time had embraced in its fold the Greeks, Sakas and the Huns, had become so petrified and effete that it had closed its doors to further assimilation of new immigrants who eventually turned round and attempted its destruction with a vengeance. With this decadence and demoralisation in the political, moral and spiritual life of the people had descended a long night of ignorance and intolerance on the beautiful valley of Kashmir.

The Early Life

Then came the dawn with the birth of Lalleshwari to stride across the reign of four Sultans, Allauddin (1348-60), Shahabuddin (1360-78), Kutubuddin (1378-94) and perhaps Sikandar, the idol-breaker

(1394-1417). Endued with an uncommon inborn sensitiveness, Lalleshwari could not, but, be influenced by the situation around her. There is, therefore, a refrain of sadness running through her earlier poetry, giving an idea of the state of the land and her own domestic troubles.

Lalleshwari came from a Brahmin family of the village Pandrethan near Srinagar. She was just 12 years when she was married off to a village bumpkin who could not care less for her. Her mother-in-law was a sadist who used to torment her with or without a pretext. It is said Lalleshwari would spin the finest yarn, as fine as the fibre of a lotus stalk, yet her mother-in-law would throw it away scolding her for its coarseness. In short she gave Lalleshwari in human treatment in season and out of season.

Kashmiri Proverb

The story of her maltreatment is preserved in a Kashmiri proberb: 'Even if they (her in-laws) are feasting on a full sheep, Lalla will always have the stone for her dinner'. As the legend goes, the mother-in-law used to place a *kajwat* (a handy well-rounded stone used in Kashmir to grind spices) in her platter, covering it thinly with rice to make it look the normal heap. When her father-in-law accidentally found it out and got furious with his wife, Lalleshwari's misery increased as the mother-in-law now turned to poison the ears of her son against the defenceless wife.

Lalleshwari displayed an unusual spiritual awareness even from her childhood which was beyond the comprehension of the people around her and who could not appreciate it. She, however, came under the influence of her family priest, Sidh Srikanth, whom she ultimately surpassed in spiritual attainment. Lalleshwari pursued Yoga until she succeeded in reaching, what, she called, the "abode of the nectar". She had reached such a high point of knowledge and spiritual exultation that she became oblivious of her surroundings and so completely liberated from human frailties that she tore up her garments and, giving up her seculsion, she started roaming up and down the valley, preaching the gospel of love and humanism.

In her sojourn, the philosopher-poetess came into contact with the Muslim saint, Shah Hamadan, who had sought refuge in Kashmir from persecution in his own country, Hamadan. Legend has it that when she first noticed him, she immediately exclaimed: "I have seen a man". The spiritual force of this great mystic had awakened her to

the environment. And to cover her body before this man, she plunged into a baker's burning oven and emerged attired in silken robes to meet him. It appears that she was much influenced by his Sufi philosophy. Shah Hamadan was himself impressed by her philosophy and returned the respect shown to him. Lalleshwari had reached the spiritual stage where religious bigotry or narrowmindedness have no place.

Priceless Treasure

Her teachings known as *Vakhyas* travelled down the corridors of time by word of mouth till the early years of the present century. Towards the close of the 19th century, these *Vakhyas* were collected and translated through the efforts of Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson, and Dr. Barnett rendered them into English verse. Later, some eminent Kashmiris, among them Prof. N.L. Kaul, Pandit Anand Kaul, Prof. J.L. Kaul and Pandit Sarwanand Charagi, brought out further editions of her sayings, which have preserved this priceless literature for posterity.

Lalleshwari teaches freedom from desire. She says knowledge of the self gives ultimate release, whether a man leads the life of a householder or a hermit. Man's aim should be to gain release from rebirth. For this he should realise that the individual self is one with the Universal Self. She relates her spiritual experience in these lines:

Passionate, with longing in my eyes,
Searching wide and seeking night and day,
Lo I behold the Truthful One, the wise,
Here in my own house to fill my gaze
That was my day of lucky star.
Breathless, I held him my guide to be.
So my lamp of knowledge blazed afar.

Dilating again on her experiences, she says:

Why art thou feeling with my hands like a blind person,
If thou art wise, get inside.
Siva is there; do not go anywhere,
Friend, put thy trust in my word.

To reach the goal of self-realisation she said:

Every moment I taught Onkar to the mind,
I was myself reading and myself hearing;

From "so ham" (I am He) I cut off "aham" (I am),
Then did I, Lall, reach the place of illumination,
It is the self (ego) which creates a wedge between
Jiva (the living) and Parmatma (the Ultimate).
When this ego is destroyed do we
reach the pure consciousness the Parama Siva.

She preached unity of the self with the Supreme Self thus,
Why art thou twisting a rope of sand
Man of the tow path?
With such a line how shall come thy vessel to the land?
How shall follow thee that ship of thine?
Hath not Naran written in thy fate?
Only thine own effort may create?
Union betwixt the Self Supreme and thee.

Again,

Lord I have not known myself other than myself
Continually have I mortified this vile body.
That thou art I, that I am Thou,
that these are joined in one
I know not.

Lalleshwari found religious practices of no use and called them futile as an untwisted rope for towing a ship.

With a thin rope of untwisted thread
Tow I ever my boat over the sea:
Will God hear the prayers that I have said?
Will He safely overcarry me?

Lalleshwari reiterated what had been said in the Upanishads on separating the fruits of work from the duty to work, to save oneself from disappointment and delusion.

It thou take and rule a kingdom,
Even then there is no respite.
And if thou give it to another, still
the heart is not content.
But the soul that is free from desire will never die.
If while yet alive, it dies,
Then alone comes the true knowledge.

She made a scathing attack on the futility of idol worship.

Idol is of stone, temple is of stone,
Above (temple) and below (idol) are one.
Which of them shall thou worship,
O foolish Pandit?
Cause thou the union of souls.

She taunted the priesthood for offering sacrifices (of sheep) to idols which were common during those days.

It (sheep) covers your shame and protects you from cold
(with its wool)
It feeds on grass and drinks water,
the nature's gifts.
Whoever told you, On stupid Brahmin
To offer it as a sacrifice to propitiate a stone idol!

Eternal Truth

And she condemned hypocricy and cried out against sham!

O father! the thoughtless are reading books
As a parrot is repeating "Ram Ram" in a cage.
They are reading and re-reading as if
they are churning water.
To them self-love has increased.
Reading is easy but acting upon it is difficult,
I forgot these scriptures by excessive practice,
The living bliss became assured to me.

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Chapter - 20

NUNDA RIYOSH—THE SAHAZANAND

Prof. J.N. Ganhar

Sheikh Nur-Ud-Din, endearingly and in venteration called Nunda Riyosh, has left an indelible mark on the thinking and culture of all Kashmiris. The great sage, whose sixth centenary was celebrated some years ago was one of the twin stars of medieval Kashmir along with Lalleshwari (Lal Ded) with whom he shared the intensity of mystic experience whose profundity remains unrivalled to this day.

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din lived from 1378 to 1438 A.D. His 600th anniversarv celebrations, understandably led to a welcome revival of interest in all that he said and stood for. Much useful light has already been shed on some hitherto little known facts of his life and work. But, in the absence of any contemporary records about him, there remain certain important questions to which correct answers must be found to enable a balanced appraisal of his marvellous achievement which has left such a deep impress on the people of Kashmir and their behaviour and thinking. It is proposed to refer to some of these here in the hope that scholars and researchers, who have made this branch of investigation their chosen field, may address themselves to the task of finding answers to them.

Crucial Period

Nunda Riyosh lived in one of the most crucial periods of Kashmir's long and chequered history. But beyond a solitary line in a chronicle of his time, we have no contemporary record about his life or work. Certain details in this behalf have come down to us in various *Rishinamas*. But these, as Amin Kamil, an eminent poet and critic, points out, greatly differ from one another. In the profusion of miracles and magical deeds ascribed to him, some important details about his life and work have dropped out. And in the words of the eminent poet and literary historian, the late Abdul Ahad Azad, "greater reliance has been placed in them on imagination then on historical facts". His verses and verse-sayings, known as *Shruks* in Sanskrit and what they regarded as Pandits' language have been completely left out by authors of *Rishinamas* and *Nurnamas*, because they were beyond their comprehension.

Mixing of Facts

The first *Rishinamas* or *Nurnama* that has come down to us was written about 200 years after his passing away. Inevitably, there has been a lot of mixing of facts and fresh light needs to be shed on many "unclear" events and episodes in the story of his life and the cobwebs that have gathered around many others need to be cleared.

Take, for instance, his name. His is the rare example of a person who is known by a number of names-Nunda Riyosh or Nund Rishi, Sheikh Nur-ud-Din and Sahazanand. The great Sheikh's spiritual eminence and moral rectitude have also justly won him the designation of Sheikh-ul-Alam from his compatriots, and even his one-time opponents ultimately felt constrained to acknowledge him as "The Light of the Faith" of *Nur-ud-Din.* But was he named as such, i.e. as Nur-ud-Din, at his birth, or did he come to be so known only after Mir Mohammad Hamadani, son of the great Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, recognised him as such?

In this connection it might at once be pointed out that the contemporary chronicler, Jonaraja, refers to him as Mala Nurdin, "the chiefest *guru* of Muslims". But the saint-poet always refers to himself only as Nanda. And this is the name by which he has most commonly been known till today. Could it be that Nurdin was an appellation conferred upon him later by virtue of his spiritual eminence?

Nund Rishi's parents were named Salar Sanz and Sadra Maji. While there is some difference of opinion about his father's name, *Sadra* is clearly derived from *Samudra.* Her two sons, prior to her marriage with Salar Sanz, bore the non-Muslim names of Shush and Gandur. Was Sahazanand also born before her remarriage? The Sheikh's wife 'Zai Ded' also bore a clearly Hindu name. She too might have been a Hindu originally.

Closest Disciples

Of the sage's four closest disciples two appear to have borne Hindu names originally Baba Bam-ud din (Bhuma Saad or Sahi) and Baba Zain-ud-Din (Ziya Singh or Jaya Singh). Similarly, of the rishis mentioned by him before his time, two at least. Zankar and Palasman, might well be the illustrious Janaka and Palastaya.

There has been a galaxy of Muslim saints and sages and some great ones among them commanded the respect and allegiance of

vast numbers of Hindus also. But they have not been known by Hindu names among their non-Muslim followers. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din alone enjoyed this rare distinction.

According to the known facts of his life, the sage started life normally. He married and had two issues. But what he saw going on around him made him intensely sad, and he lost interest in life as normally lived. So he took to caves and solitary places for severe penance and meditation. According to Dr. Sufi, "he felt disgusted with the ways of the world, and deciding upon renunciation, retired to caves for meditation at the age of thirty", and "lived for twelve years in wilderness". In his last days, Dr. Sufi adds, the saint sustained life on a cup of milk a day. Finally, he goes on to add, the sage "reduced himself to water alone..."

Renunciation

Dr. Sufi quotes Baba Daud Khaki for the statement: "In addition to leading a retired life, he was also one of those who continually fasted". Like the pious among the Hindus, "he had given up eating flesh, onions, milk and honey for many years," i.e., he had given up all animal food besides onions, as has been the wont with the Hindu saints and sages.

Of Yasman Rishi, Dr. Sufi has this to say: "He travelled far and wide. Later, he lived mostly in forests.. His daily food was a cup of wild goat's milk..." Significantly, no one is mentioned in connection with the initiation of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din.

Kashmir witnessed the worst type of religious persecution in the time of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413 A.D.) and his successor Ali. Under the influence of outsiders and at the instigation of his minister, Suba Bhat, who had renounced the ancestral faith, the king, according to Jonaraja, "took delight, day and night, in breaking the sacred images" and temples. The Sheikh lived during this period when the very Kashmirian identity of Kashmir, if one may use that expression, was at stake and in danger of being destroyed. Imbued as he was with the glorious traditions of his motherland. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din could not but be very unhappy about it.

One God

He said, God is one, all religions are in their ultimate essence one. What is needed is a life of piety and purity, no matter what faith one follows.

The prolonged course of penance and meditation, upon which he embarked, had convinced, him, apart from his spiritual attainments, of the truth of this fundamental basis of a good life and this also provided a solution to the riddle of his time. He seems to have realised that Kashmiris' precious heritage, so dear to him, which was sought to be destroyed by outsiders, could be saved only by a happy "marriage" of the best in the old and the new, in the union of the Hindus and the Muslims into a common brotherhood, in their co-existence and cooperation and not in confrontation. That is why he again calls upon the people, especially those who came from outside and the zealots among the new converts, to live together in unison, so that God Himself would rejoice.

He called upon them to subdue the five senses, and get over the evils of *Kama, Kroddha, Lobha, Moha* and *Ahankara* to achieve the highest to make union with Shiva (as he puts it) reminding them that mere lowering of the fleshy body would not save them. He calls upon the people not to go to priests and Mullahs, not to shut themselves up in places of worship or forests but "to enter thine own body with breath controlled, in communion with God".

Again and again he stresses the need for unity among Hindus and Muslims; God Himself would rejoice, he adds, if this happy consummation came about. It was for views such as these that Sheikh-ul-Alam came to be designated Alamdar or standard-bearer of Kashmir.

But enlightened views such as the foregoing could not endear him to the outsiders most of whom were interested in getting hegemony over this beautiful land and possession of the Kashmir estates and properties. We know it from the contemproray historian, Jonaraja, that Mala Nurdin, as he calls him, was imprisoned and put under restraint during Ali Shah's time. And Amin Kamil tells us how the *Rishinamas* reveal that outsiders were opposed to him and harassed him in many ways. But little daunted, he pursued in his enlightened course, as though to justify his title to being called Alamdar of Kashmir and all that it had stood for at its best.

Eminence

The Sheikh's spiritual eminence and his humanistic philosophy made him the idol of the people of Kashmir. They flocked to him and some of them modelled their very lives on his pattern. The latter who

came to be known as Rishis, after him, were of great assistance to him in the stupendous task that he had undertaken.

Rishis were by no means new to Kashmir. Rishis and Munis had been known among the Hindus from hoary antiquity. Kalhana mentions some well-knwon Rishis like Vishwamitra, Vasishta and Agastya in his *Rajatarangint.* He describes a Rishi as "a treasure of asceticism". The term Rishi should by no means have been uncommon in our saint's time also. Infact, he describes the person at whose hands his parents received the Islamic faith as a Rishi.

Self-Abnegation

But the Rishis of those days, though they commanded the respect of their fellow-beings and outsiders for their simplicity, spirit of service and self-abnegation, were not rated high in the matter of knowledge of the Islamic faith. Jehangir, for example, says in his *Memoirs* : 'Though they have no religious knowledge of learning or any sort, yet they possess simplicity and are without pretence...'

In organising the new Order, Nund Rishi had before him the example of the Buddhist Sangha, which for centuries before the advent of Islam had been such a prominent feature of the religious and socio-culture landscape of the Valley. and like Buddhist monks, the Rishis also did not marry; nor did they eat flesh. Like them again, they would not revile those not of their faith, and lived simple, frugal lives and tried to be a source of benefit to the community at large. For this reason, the "Brotherhood of Rishis" may well be considered to be a descendant of the Buddhist Sangha or a Buddhist Order of Monks.

In this connection, a most interesting fact that has come to light is recorded in Baba Khalil's *Rishinama.* In this work the author has ascribed a 2,500-verse Sanskrit work, *Buddha-Charita,* to Nund Rishi. According to Baba Khalil, the work was composed by him on his re-emergence from a 12-year sojourn in a cave at Kaimoh on the ninth of Chaitra, a very sacred day in the Hindu calendar, both in Kashmir and the rest of India.

Wrong Assessment

Since Baba Khalil was not conversant with Sanskrit. He has not been able to correctly assess the nature of the work or what it actually

was. In truth it must have been the well-known Buddhist work, *Buddha Charita*, which the Kashmiri savant kept with himself in his seclusion. And when, after he had found answers to the riddles and questions that had made him resort to severe penance and meditation in a cave, he re-emerged into the work-a-day world, the great work on the Buddha's life and philosophy was with him. In this connection it is interesting to note that another great work, *Yoga-Vasishta*, was the solace of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (Bud Shah), the noblest ruler that Kashmir has ever known, in the closing embittered years of his life.

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Chapter - 21

SAHIB KAULA'S FLASH OF SELF-REALIZATION

Dr. B.N. Pandit

Monistic Saivism developed in the North in two schools, one being the *Trymbaka* School which flourished in Kashmir (the *Medhapitha*) and is known at present as Kashmir Saivism, and the other being the school named *Ardha-Tryambaka* which developed in the Kangra area called *Jalandharapitha*. Many systems of practical *Sadhana* (spiritual discipline), e.g. *Vama, Daksna, Kaula, Mata, Trika* etc. were prevalent among the followers of Saivism. The *Trika* system of *Sadhana* was highly popular with the Saivas of Kashmir. Abhinavagupta, the greatest among the authors of the *Trika* system, had picked up the highest form of the *Kaula* system of practice from his most esteemed preceptor, Sambhunatha, the presiding teacher of the *Ardha-Trymbaka* School. Kaulism also became sufficiently popular with the practitioners of *Trika* system in Kashmir since then.

Sahib Kaula, alias Anandanatha, who was a great Saiva philosopher and an experienced practitioner of Kaulism, lived in Kashmir during the reign of Shahijahan and Aurangazeb. He was a born *Siddha* (a perfect being) who got a sudden and spontaneous flash of the direct realisation of his absolute Godhead even when he was a boy of about eight years. That sudden experience of his divine nature turned him at once into a poet of merit, and expressing his divine realisation through the medium of wonderful poetry in Sanskrit language, he uttered the verse given below:

येनोत्कीर्ण विश्वचित्रं स्वमित्तो
नानावर्णशिचत्रित येन भक्तया ।
अन्ते स्वस्मिन् न त्यते येन ह्त्वा
सोग्ह साहिब्–कौलकारामशम्भ : ।। १ ।।

'I, Sahib Kaula or Sahibrama, am that blissful *Sambhu* (Lord Siva the absolute God) who inscribed the figure of the whole universe on the wall of his own self, who made it wonderful by means of various hues with a devout attention; and who finally performs the *Tandava* dance after absorbing it into his own self'.

Remembering his previous state of a soul living in a mortal body, he spoke out the second verse:

`कः स्विद्देहः कस्य देहः क्व देहो
देही देहेनैव बद्धो न बद्धः ।
सोऽहं शम्भुवि णुरकों गणेशो
धाता शक्तिः सवर्शक्तिर्नमो में ।। २ ।।

"What is and where is the body, and who has it? (Body also is, in fact, the Lord Himself). A soul, being bound by a body, is not (really) bound (because there is no body but the Lord Himself ! As for me, I am myself *Sambhu, Visnu,* Sungod, *Ganesa, Brahma, Sakti* and (even) the Almighty God. Let all prostrations be therefore to me'.

Note: देही देहेन एव बद्धः, देहस्य च शिव–रूपत्वेनासौ वस्तुनो न बद्धः इति ।–

Depicting his outlook on the function of his psycho-physican set-up he spoke the third verse:

नाहं जाने नैव कुर्वे न वेच्छा–
म्याविर्माव चेत्य–चेत्यो न यामि ।
जाने कुर्वे स्वेच्छया स्वं परं स्वं
भावे भाव भाव–भावो नमो मे ।। ३ ।।

'I neither know nor do nor desire anything (different from me); nor do I appear myself as an object of any (senses which are themselves) objects. But, through my own will, I know and do my own self, and know and do everything other than me as my own self.

Prostrations to me who is the very existence of every existent entity':

Note: चेत्यैः प्रेमेयभूतैः करणै चेत्यः सन्नाविर्भाव न यामीति ।

Declaring the pervasive absolute conciousness as his real nature be uttered the fourth *Sloka*:

जाग्रत्यां वा स्वप्न जायां दशाया
सौपुप्त्यां धा या चिदाभति तुर्या ।
तामप्येतां ति ठते स्मा अतीत्य
सर्वस्मै मे सर्वभासे नमोऽस्तु ।। ४ ।।

'I (as the transcendental reality) stay beyond even that pure consciousness of the fourth state (of revelation) which continues to shine in the (three) states of waking, dreaming and sleeping. Prostrations to me who is everything and through whose lustre everything shines'.

Sahib-Kaula, being as yet a young boy of eight years, and not having undergone any hardening practices of Hathayoga, did not have a sufficiently strong nervous system capable to contain and to bear the great flood of spiritual force experienced by him in that sudden flash of self-realisation. He felt his physical body to be failing to contain it and, consequently, collapsing under its huge pressure. His reaction to the apprehension of the so-called death urged him to utter the fifth verse:

मत्सुम त्युम त्युभाजां न मत्युर–
मृत्युज्ञानां नैव जाता यतस्ते ।
सोऽहं मृत्युं चाप्यम त्युं व्यतीत्य
भासे भासा मृत्यु–मृत्युर्नमो मे ।। ५ ।।

'Death is death for such people who undergo it. It is not so for them who realise its essence; because such people are never really born. As for me, I, transcending (the relative conceptions of) both death and immortality, shine (always) through my own lustre. Prostrations to me who is the absorber of even the God of death'.

Having uttered the above verse, the philosopher-poet fainted, and coming back to his senses after a few hours, he uttered five more verses. The hymn thus created was named by him as *Siva-Jiva-*

Dasaka; the first five verses of it having been uttered in a fit of Sivahood and the rest (five) after descending back to Jivahood. The eleventh verse contains hints towards the circumstances in which the hymn came forth and the last one concludes it.

The verse spoken just on coming back to senses is the sixth one. Discussing the phenomenon of death through it he spoke:

यच्चित्तेनामृष्टमेतद् विभाति
यन्नो तस्याभानमेवेह मानम् ।
ना तो यैः सत्र्चेतितो जन्मभावस्–
तेपां मृत्युः कः क्व दृष्टः श्रुतः क्व ।। ६ ।।

'The way of knowing in this world is this that a thing cognized by one's mind is known and that not cognized is not known. What (and how can then be death for people who do no at all feel the reality of their birth? Where has death of such people been seen or heard?'

The next verse throws more light on the same topic:

चेत् संयोगो देहजो जन्मभावस्–
तद्विच्छेदां मृत्युरित्येव वादः ।
तत् संयुक्ते वा विपुक्टे स्ववन्धौ
कस्तज्ज्ञानां हर्पशोकावतार : ।। ७ ।।

'If, however, the theory (regarding death) is put forth like this, "union of a soul with a body is birth and its separation from it is death", (the answer is), "What pleasure or sorrow can befall wise persons knowing as well, on the occasions of visits or departures of their near and dear?

To refute all diversity and to establish absolute unity the philosopher-poet uttered the eighth verse:

कोऽहं कोऽहं यावकदत्थं स्मरामि
सोऽहं सोऽहं तावदासं परोऽस्मि ।
स्यां चास्म त्वा त्वामिमं मां च तं य
स्वात्मा स्वात्मन्यस्मि शेषोऽहमेक : ।। ८ ।।

'I was all along that very absolute reality even while thinking (repeatedly and inquisitively), "Who am I"? I am and I can be only the Supreme. Not recollecting any of the relative conceptions like—

you, this (limited) I, he, who, etc. I alone remain myself in my own self (as an undiversifiable entity)'.

Note: स्मरामि = अस्मरम् ; वर्तमानबन्द्रावतः ।

परस्वास्मि, पर एव च स्याम् = भवितु शकोमीति शक्यायें लिङ्. ।

Describing the apparent diversity as the manifestation of the playful will of the monistic self, he spoke the ninth verse:

भत्तो भानं त्वन्मयं मन्मयं च
मत्त चैतत् साम्यमेवात्र भाति ।
भानं भानं चाप्यमानं च भानं
सोऽहं भामि प्राप्त–भेदैकभावः ।। ६ ।।

'The appearance of (diversity as) "you-ness" and 'I-ness" is manifested by me. This (presently appearing) unity in this diversity also is manifested by me. *Prakasa* (the light of conciousness) is both, pure *Nirvikalpa* and mixed *Savikalpa*, and I am thus shining unitarily in all diversity'.

Another sense carried by the third line appearing of a thing as *Prakasa* and its not appearing also is *Prakasa* (because that also shines in the lustre of *Prakasa*).

Note: भानं–निर्विकल्पं भासनं भानं–प्रकाशात्मकं भवति । भानं चापि अभानं चापि = गवादेर्भानम् अश्वादेश्च गोभिन्नस्याभानम, अतद्व्याव त्तिरूपम् अपोहात्मकं सविवल्पकं भानमपि भानं प्रकाशरूपमेव भवतीति । अथवा – भानं तु भानं भवति । अभान चापि भानमेव भवति, यतस्त्तदपि भात्येवेति । परमत्र पक्षे द्वितीयश्चकारो व्यर्थः ।

Describing the natural conative aspect of consciousness he uttered the last one of the ten verses:

भानं चेत् स्याद् निविमर्श न तत्तत्
चेत्तद्रपं तहि भेदों न योऽव ।
भारूपायाहंविमर्शात्मकाय
जीवायास्मै मे नमो वा शिवाय ।। १० ।।

'If *Prakasa* (light of consciousness) were devoid of *Vimarsa* (awareness), it would not have been *Prakasa*. When awareness is its

essential nature, then this apparent phenomenal diversity is nothing. Prostrations to me with *Prakasa* as my form and *Vimarsa* as my nature, appearing myself as soul or God'.

Note: अहमि प्रकाशमानं सर्वमति भेदजातम् अहंविमर्शात्मवमेव, ततो न भेदः कश्चनापि ।

This next verse hints at the circumstances already mentioned as collected by me from a descendent of the author:

देहे याते म त्यु कल्पाम् अवस्थां
पञ्चश्लोकी केनचित् सस्म तेयम् ।
पञ्चश्लोकी प्राप्य संज्ञां क तान्या
साहिब्कौलाराम स्व (सं) स्थेन भूय : ।। ११ ।।

'When the body (of the poet) had reached a state like that of death, the (first five *Slokas* were aroused by some one (that is, Lord Siva) in his memory. The other five were composed by Sahibrama Kaula after coming back again to his normal health'.

The concluding verse describes the philosophic importance of the hymn:

पंक्तिश्लोकीं दैशिकेन्द्राद् विबुध्य
भूयो भूयः स्वात्मना संविमश्य ।
जीव : प्राप्य स्वानुसूति विमुक्तो
लीयेतास्मिन् घाम्नि नित्ये शिवे स्वे ।। १२ ।।

'A (blessed) person, having learnt well the (above) ten *slokas* from an experienced preceptor, and having himself contemplated on them again and again, may merge into his eternal and blissful lustre of pure conciousness after having attained self-realisation and consequent liberation (from all bondage)'.

इति श्री महामाहे वराचार्य–साहिव्कौलानन्दनाथ
विरचितं शिवजीवदशकं सम्पूर्णम् ।।

Complete is thus the *Siva-Jiva-Dasaka*, composed by Sri Sahib Kaula, alias Anandanatha, a great and exalted teacher of Saivism.

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Chapter - 22

PARMANAND AND HIS 'KRISHNA LEELA'

Moti Lal Khar

The cultural life of Kashmir has had the impress of great mystics. Often we witness a happy blending of poetry and mysticism in it. Among these mystics a prominent place goes to Parmanand, the great saint-poet of southern Kashmir.

Pandit Nand Ram, Parmanand being his pen-name was born in 1791 A.D. in Seer village near Mattan (Martand), one of the famous holy places of India. Both his father, Krishna Pandit, and has mother, Sarswati Devi, were of releigious bent of mind. Child Nand Ram got his education in Persian, the court language of Kashmir those days, in his own village. He also learned Sanskrit from Sadhus who used to visit and stay at Martand temple. Nand Ram was a precocious child and his teachers and schoolmates were greatly impressed by his sincere devotion and inborn knowledge about spiritual matters. He attained mastery over Persian and wrote verses in that language under the pen-name "Gareeb".

Early Life

After his schooling, Parmanand was married to Mal Ded, a girl from his own village. She was an ill-tempered lady, yet the tolerant nature of the saint took it in its stride. His father was a Patwari in Mattan village and after his death Nand Ram was offered his father's post. A Patwari was looked down upon by people in those days. Parmanand had no aptitude for this post, but compelled by the circumstances he had to accept it in order to sustain himself and his family.

Meditation

Parmanand was greatly influenced by the scenic beauty of his village and its surroundings. He would be found sitting under a tree absorbed in deep meditation. He would compose verses in Kashmiri there and then. Unlike other Patwaris of his time he never accepted bribes. On the contrary, he would at times pay land revenue from his own pocket on behalf of poor peasants. Being bold and frank Parmanand made sarcastic remarks in his verses about the then despotic rule even at great risk. He was put to severe hardship by his

officers to whom he would never bow or flatter. But by God's grace he escaped dismissal or incarceration. Like guru Nanak Dev. Parmanand spent all he had to feed Sadhus to the great distress and chagrin of his wife. Parmanand's poor wife often rebuked him for not caring for his family.

Seeing this non-attachment to the things of the world even at a young age, people living in the locality came to realise that Parmanand was born to fulfil a definite purpose and held him in high esteem. After he left his job, devotees would arrange for the maintenance of his family. Especially his Muslim neighbour, Salaha Ganai, the headman of the village, stood by him through thick and thin, knowing the worth and merit of Parmanand.

The devotional songs of Parmanand are on the lips of all Kashmiris. His poetic collections are available in both Devanagri and Persian scripts. Master Zinda Kaul, the famous poet of Kashmir, who edited the poetic collections of Parmanand was very much influenced by his poetry. Pandit Narayan Kaul, and his beloved disciple-poet Pandit Laxman Bhat of village Nagam, also have edited some of his collections.

Parmanand was an eloquent and a gifted poet endowed with a forceful style. His devotional songs and hymns in praise of Lord Krishna are to this day on the lips of every Kashmiri. His *Sudhama Charettar* is regarded as one of its best Kashmiri renderings. His spiritual hymns and *Leelas* are recited in temples and on marriage ceremonies or on festivals such as Janamashtami or Shivratri. His style is direct and effective.

Philosophy

Parmanand's philosophy is best depicted in *Karam Bhoomika* where he says that the highest good is only attainable when the self is subdued and that perennial joy is the reward obtained by the mastery of one's own self. To overcome one's own self, according to him, is to wage the toughest war in the battlefield of life and to subdue one's own self is the noblest of all victories.

Religion for Parmanand was not mere ritual and formal worship but something far more fundamental and matter deeply connected with the soul. In the poem, *Amarnath Yatra*, he describes the different paths and stages an aspirant has to pass in spiritual Sadhna or practice. Most of his poems are allegorical. His poem, *Radha*

Suamber, is his masterpiece and is regarded as one of the most precious contributions to devotional literature. To read Parmanand or listen to his *Leelas* is to live through a religious experience which gives Param-Anand-eternal bliss.

Fascinating

Parmanand's poetry testifies to a fascinating kinship between mystics all over India. His writings provide convincing proof of the universality of the concept that Truth is one, though sages call it by different names. In his famous poem, *Shiv-Lugan*, Parmanand propounds the unity of the One and the many. The infinite and the finite are absolutely identical, according to him. In another poem, *The Scenes of the Tree and its Shade*, he says that God is attained by merging the finite with the infinite. He asserts that by getting freedom from our wordly fetters we can attain salvation.

Parmanand was loved and adored by Hindus and Muslims alike. Salaha Ganai gave him succour in his old age, when Parmanand's kith and kith had died before him, leaving him all alone. He had no son or daughter of his own. At about 90, this great mystic poet died in 1879 A.D. Pandit Laxman Bhat wrote his death date in his elegy in which he lamented. "The singing nightingale of the garden became silent making the garden desolate".

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Chapter - 23

SWAMI VIDYADHAR : AN EMBODIMENT OF INTENSE SADHANA

Om Prakash Kaul

Swami Vidyadhar was born on the 13th bright day of Ashad 1942 (Bik.), corresponding to 1886 A.D., in an orthodox Brahmin household of a Kanthdhomayan 'Gotra'. His father, Shri Ganakak Razdan (Khonmushi) died when Vidhlal, (the Swami's parental name) was only six years old. His mother, Harmali, was from a respectable Khushoo family of Malayar and an embodiment of the finest traditions of Indian womanhood. His elder brother, Shri Gopi Nath, entrusted him to the able care of Shri Madhav Joo Chander and

Shri Rajkak Ganz for being taught in the traditional Brahminic ritual. Later he obtained the degree of Visharad.

Devout Behaviour

Right from his boyhood Vidaydhar astounded everyone by his sharp intellect and humility. He had a sharp memory and a resolute disposition. For his devout behaviour and ability, he was deeply loved by his teachers and others. At the age of 15, he was married to Shrimati Padmavati, the illustrious daughter of Shri Rishi Kak Kalu, a noble Brahmin.

There is no record how and when Vidaydhar surrendered himself at the feet of his master, Yogiraj Ramji. Swami Ramji, the embodiment of all-pervading bliss, initiated and taught many of his disciples-chief among them being Swami Mahtab Kak, Swami Vidaydhar and Swami Govind Koul. The backdrop of this stream of Gurus is depicted thus in Shri Vidaydharastava.

Vidaydhar studied Shastras under his Guru and also received initiation into the mysteries of the 'Shaiva Sadhana'. Swami Ramji was a perfect Guru-a Strotri and Brahmnisht. It was the benevolence of the Lord Himself personified in Swami Ramji that guided the real Sadhakas like Vidaydhar. By and by Vidaydhar became absorbed in his inner self and the only longing he had was to free himself from the mundane chorus of household activities. He attended his wordly jobs with more of a detached bent of mind. During this period, Vidaydhar lost his mother. He was only 28 and still a perfect Sadaka. Gradually, he lost all taste for worldly life and he would remain aloof, confined mostly to a room in his house. Occassionally, however, he would teach scriptures to those who came to him.

Then came the turning point. In 1916, Swami Ramji shed his mortal frame. From now onwards, it became virtually impossible for Vidaydhar to remain confined to the four walls of his house. In 1919 came the breakthrough. He left his home and remained for some time at the holy place of Thajiwara-a hallowed place near Bijbehara. Thence, he went to the aloofness of Kamlavan a solitary place near village Trial. An urgent call from his elder Gurubhai, Swami Mahtab Kak, unsettled his future plans. Swami Mahtab Kak, after the exit of his Guru, was in command of Shri Ram Shaiva Ashram. The Gurubhai asked him to return home apparently on the entreaties of his (Vidaydhar's) father-in-law. He would not spurn the directive of his Gurubhai.

Wandering Monk

He stay at home did not, however, check the strong yearning for the life of a wandering monk. At times, the future care of his small children would flash through the ascetic Vidaydhar's otherwise serene mind. At the same time, the absolute 'Vairagya' would not let him reconcile to household life. This might have been the greatest period of turmoil in the Sadhaka's mind. At this juncture, an apparently small event clinched the great debate going on within the mind of Vidaydhar Jee. He, while teaching one of the Shalokas in 'Stutikusmanjali' of the great Bhakta Shri Jagatdhar Bhat to one of his pupils, ponderred over it. It runs thus :

(Bhakta, in this Shaloka, entreats the Lord to allow him to stay at his feet even as He allowed and kept the pure and serene Chandrama on his forehead.)

All through the following night Vidaydhar Jee argued : "If Ashutosh Bhagwan gave Chandrama-the son of Oceans-a place on His forehead, He will surely give, at least, refuge to the family of this Bhakta".

Thus chanting "Shiv, Shiv" Vidaydhar Jee left his house never to enter to its portals again. This time also he reached Tral and from there wandered incognito. While on way to the forest of Karkotnag, he became the guest of Shri Prasad Joo, a prominent Pandit of Village Sali, near the forest. Shri Prasad Joo advised him to desist from the adventure as the jungle was infested with beasts and reptiles. Vidaydhar Jee would not listen. He reached a spot in the dense forest and went straight into deep meditation.

Continuous Sadhna

One day, a Muslim Gujjar happened to find him. The Gujjar, enchanted by the Yogi's countenance, bowed in reverence and asked for permission to offer some food. After some persuasion Swamiji agreed. From the next day onwards the devout Gujjar used to get a cup of milk for the Swami. To his great surprise, the Gujjar observed that his cows were giving him more milk now. The news reached the village and Shri Prasad Joo too. He rushed to the forest with his men, erected a small hermit's shed in the jungle and left some provisions there. Swamiji remained at this place in continuous Sadhana besmerged in supreme bliss. One day some Bhaktas from Srinagar, who happened to visit the place, were stuck with awe and reverence

to see a lion come during the night, make a round of the place and then gallop away with a big lash of his tail. People, thereafter, used to throng the place. Swamiji, therefore, left the place and went unnoticed to a forest in Guddar Village. This forest is at the tip of Godawari Tirtha.

Almost up to 1947 the Swamiji roamed through the beautiful valley performing penance mostly in wild forests and quiet abodes of nature and occasionally visiting places of pligrimage both within and outside Kashmir. He would also come on regular intervals to villages in the proximity of these places of penance and to Srinagar as well. He also performed Sadhana for various spells at the Amarnath Cave, Manzgam, Tulamula and Hardwar. Now and then would keep Maunvrat extending over a year or so and live only on milk for one or two potatoes. Thus for 25 long years Swami Vidaydhar would be content with a frugal meal-a-day.

Physical Strain

Around 1946-47, Swamiji's physical frame began to show some strains and as a result be would remain mostly at places like Tral and Srinagar. He could not, however, be bound to any one place. When at Srinagar he would generally remain at the house of his disciple. Shri Srikanth Raina, or proceed to Kheerbhawani where a small Kutia had been built for him by his Bhaktas. A small house at Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar, which the disciples eventualiy obtained, also served as the temporary Ashram where Swamiji would hold religious discourses.

Around 1947, a permanent Ashram was built for Swamiji at Karan Nagar-then a suburb of the city. From now on he would either stay at this Ashram or at Kheerbhawani and Tral.

It was in 1950 when Swamiji came to Srinagar from Tral unexpectedly after a very brief stay there. When a Bhakta enquired about the reason of his coming to Srinagar so early Swamiji, in his usual playful mood, said euphematically that he did not like to see majority of his Srinagar disciples running agitatedly here and there.

Last Days

On Amavasi at about 10-30 a.m. Swamiji addressed three of his disciples present rather unexpectedly thus : "World is changing fast and Adharam is growing. It is better that you people be of some help to these mortal remains". Then he asked one of his disciples to check

up the 'Tithi' from 'Panchang' while going to the bathroom down in the courtyard. When Swamiji came back the disciples informed about the 'Tithi' and 'Mahurat'. With a smile, the Swami said "All right" and wiped his hands and feet with a towel. A few moments later his body had a paralytic attack and, simultaneouslv, the outward sensations ceased. The body remained in this state for about two-and-a-half days amidst the continuous chanting of hymns by the great concourse of disciples and other people. On the third bright day of the Margshirsh at about 3 a.m. the numb body of Swamiji opened eyes at the conclusion of the Bhairavstotra of Swami Abhinavagupta. The eyes were full of tears.

The Bhaktas started the daily Aarati and at its conclusion the mortal frame ceased to breathe. The revered Gurumata of the disciples, Smt. Padmavati, had also come there after 30 years of her seclusion and Sadhana and paid homage to her departing illustrious consort. In deference to the wishes of the Swami, expressed to some of his disciples, the last rites were observed without any fanfare.

There are many anecdotes of Swami Vidaydhar's acts of benevolence and miracles to which even to this day many are eye-witness. I respect the sentiments of Swamiji's disciples not to write about any such miracles of their illustrious Guru. It would not be worthwhile to recall all the majesty of the Yogi both in his spiritual and social spheres. He was mystic of a high order.

Compositions

Swamiji had great command over Sanskrit grammar and language and an astounding hold on Shastras. In his moments of intense Bhakti, he composed some devotional Sanskrit poems and many of these hymns are popular among the Kashmiris even to this day. The hymn to 'Ragnya Bhagwati' forms part and parcel of the 'Aarti' being recited at Kheerbhawani.

For his erudition he was called lovingly Vidaydhar and rightly so. Swamiji, throughout his life, remained an embodiment of intense Sadhana and complete detachment. Self-abnegation and an unflinching faith in himself were hall-marks of his illustrious life. Never in his life did he show any traces of exhibitionism; in fact, he shunned all such extraneous propensities. He lived a simple ascetic's life. Never after renunciation did he touch money. He had absolutely left 'Kamini' and 'Kanchan' as Sri Ramkrishna

Parmahansa enjoins upon the travellers on spiritual path in his gospel.

The Swami knew no fear and showed great courage in going against the tradition in dealing with matters of suffering and injustice. It will be fit to recall some of the prominent incidents in his life which undoubtedly show his lofty disposition.

At the death of one of his sons, a relative came to Swamiji apparantely to offer his condolences and in the process wept bitterly. Swamiji gave him sympathy and advised him not to grieve the inevitable.

Once when Swamiji was coming down the stairs of his Ashram for his usual 'Sandhya' a thief loaded with articles stolen from the Ashram passed his way and even paid homage to him. In the morning when disciples informed him of the theft, he told them that a man loaded with the stolen articles had paid him respects in the early hours of the morning and he did not catch him then.

Among Kashmiri Pandit, there was a sub-caste called 'Leji Bhat' who due to changing fortunes of the valley had got converted at some distant past and had reverted to their parent faith subsequently. Even though their lives were ideal, high-caste Brahmins would not even partake the meals prepared by them. Likewise was the situation for the Bohra sub-caste in the Pandit community. Swamiji could stand no such differentation. He initiated fairly good number of disciples from among the sub-castes and started a slow but sure propaganda against this highhandedness of the so-called top-class and orthodox Brahmins.

Menace Eliminated

Finally, a big Yagya was organised by the sub-caste at Bijbehara. Swamiji invited all the learned and orthodox Brahmins of the valley to the Yagya along with other leaders of the Pandit community. They could not spurn his offer. At the conclusion of the Yagya food was served by the brethern who had been wronged and everybody took the meals. Thus the problem of the Pandit community was eliminated.

Swamiji was fond of music. Often musicians, both Hindus and Muslims, used to recite rare Sufi and devotional poetry of great Sidhas like Parmanand and Lalleshwari to him. One among them was Swami's constant companion. Swamiji loved him like a child. But the musician married a Muslim girl and got alienated from his

community. Some time later, the musician left the company of the girl and came to Swamiji after a period of self-imposed exile. While others despised him, the Swami received him with open arms. Nothing had changed the love of the Swami for his child.

Playful Countenance

That was Swami Vidaydhar, the great saint who would keep the audiences spellbound by his sweet voice and great discourses, opening new vistas of spiritual experiences for the Sadhakas whom he deftly guided in the spiritual path. This writer, whose father was a disciple of Swamiji, had the great fortune of his constant company right from his early childhood to his early teens. He cherishes the memories of the great Yogi.

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Chapter - 24

SWAMI RAMJI — THE MAHAMAHESHWARACHARYA

Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

In the middle of the 19th century A.D. there lived a Brahmin named Shukdev at Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar. The Brahmin was a Purohit and lived a pious life. Around 1852 A.D. (1910 Bikram), a son was born to him. According to his horoscope, the baby would grow to be a great saint. Nobody could imagine at that time the great spiritual heights that Swami Ramji would attain in his life later.

Early Life

The boy Ramji received instructions as Purohit. Those days modern education on Western lines was in its infancy in this country. In his youth he came in contact with Shri Lala Joo Kokru, who was well-versed in Kashmir Shaivism. Since Ramji also had a spiritual bent of mind. He took to the study of Shaiva philosophy under Shri Lala Joo. His intelligence and interest helped him comprehend this school of philosophy.

Later, Ramji met his guru, Sri Manas Ram Monga (or Maneh Kak as he was called), who was a great mystic saint of the time in

Kula system of Kashmir Shaivism. He had great spiritual attainments and wanted his philosophy to spread through his disciples. Being a Siddha Yogi and eager to transmit knowledge to a person who understood this subtle philosophy, the master found the true disciple in Ramji and transmitted Yoga to him by his divine touch.

Ramji dovoted himself to the practice of Yoga in right earnest. He did not undergo the formal renunciation as a Vedantin usually does. He continued with his work as Purohit and regularly conducted worship and religious rites.

Naveh Naran

Swami Ramji had a great devotee in Pandit Narayan Das Raina, a big merchant and houseboat owner of Srinagar at that time, In fact, Shri Narayan Das was the first to introduce houseboats in Kashmir. Among Kashmiris he was, therefore, known as 'Naveh Naran'. He was a man of high ideals. He had simple habits, a loving nature and cheerful behaviour. Swami Ramji is said to have been his family priest. The family honoured Swamiji and all his requirements were met by Sri Narayan Das.

With his comprehensive study of Kashmir Shaivism and severe practice of Yoga Swami Ramji got well established in spiritual life. He wanted a secluded place. He found a congenial one at a fellow-disciple's home at Safakadal. Swami Ramji was now a Siddha Yogi. People who could recognize his worth visited him. Common people invoked his blessings. This disturbed the family life of his fellow-disciple. Realizing this, Swami Ramji called on his admirer and worthy Yajman, Sri Narayan Das, at Fatehkadal. He said : "Naran Joo! I want to be in seclusion. Will you provide me with a place to live?". The noble Pandit was simply pleased to welcome the sage and offered a small three-storeyed house, which he owned, just 300 metres from his residence. The second storey of the small house was furnished. In a few days Swami Ramji moved to this home. Here he carried out his spiritual practice (Sadhana) and taught the Shaiva-Agama (Advaita Kashmir Shaivism popularly known as Trika philosophy) to worthy disciples like Swami Mahtab Kak, Swami Vidaydhar and Swami Govind Kaul who had been his personal devotees and received inspiration and his personal guidance in spiritual matters.

Scholarly Exposition

Many more devotees and admirers, mostly householders, were attracted towards him by his scholarly expositions of the Agama and Yogic wonders. He was the greatest Yogi of his time in Kashmir. He weilded a wonderful Shaktipata. Even Maharaja Pratap Singh, the then ruler of Kashmir and a discerning devotee, is said to have approached him for blessings.

In his later years Swami Ramji used to sit with knees on his breast, at his Asana (seat), He did not move out for 20 long years. Here the saint-philosopher imparted Yogic instructions to deserving disciples and delivered discourses on Trika philosophy for hours together to his listeners who were spell-bound to see him immersed in undisturbed Samadhi.

(To enlighten his own disciples (Swami Ramji displayed, Shaivahood, by remaining in Samadhi continuously for four hours daily.)

Stories about his Siddhis are still current in the valley. The separate house where Swami Ramji lived is now the famous Shri Rama-Trika-Shaivashrama. Devotees and admirers are heard chanting devotional hymns and recitations from Shaiv-Agamas up to this time.

Shaivashram

Shri Narayan Das and his wife, Srimati Arnyamali, were greatly devoted to Swami Ramji. From position of their family priest, he had now evolved to be their spiritual Guru. They had been looking to all his needs with great love and devotion. On May 9, 1907 (about 1964 Bikrami), the couple was blessed with a son. When the news of the birth of this baby was instantly conveyed to Swami Ramji, he said, "I am Rama and the child be named Lakshmana".

(Even in his old age, Swami Ramji lost his body consciousness out of divine joy at the auspicious birth of my Master Shri Lakshman Joo singing 'I am Rama and he the new born be named Lakshman, and danced in joy').

Divine Being

He believed that a divine being had taken birth in the form of the child. Truly so, the child, who was named Lakshman, had signs of great being as he grew up. Swami Ramji encouraged the anxious

parents and conferred blessings on this divine child. He had recognized divine features in the child who would often go into fits. Once when the parents met Swami Ramji and expressed their anxiety about the child's behaviour he sent them back with a remark. "... What happens to him, may be graced unto me". Thus the child, Lakshman, entered boyhood under the spiritual care of this great sage, who later initiaited him into Gayatri Mantra, Pranayama and certain Yogic practices.

(There lived the renowned saint, His Holiness Swami Ramji, the Shaiva teacher of my Master-Swami Lakshman Joo.)

Knowing that he would not be living until the divine boy attained maturity, the sage entrusted his future initiation into the Shaiva order to his chief disciple, Swami Mehtab Kak.

(Entrusting his craving disciples and the seven-year-old Shri Lakshmana to the charge of Swami Mehtab Kak, his principal disciple, he (Swami Ramji) entered the real abode of Shiva by giving up his body.)

After a few years, Swami Ramji left the body in 1915 A.D. (1971 Bikrimi Magha Krishnapaksha Chaturdashi) to merge in the Divine Universal Self of which he had been an embodiment.

Divine Rapture

Swami Ramji was sometimes heard by his close disciples uttering divine experiences of Supreme-Consciousness and here is given a verse (Shloka) from his pen :-

(On accepting the Truth frorm the mouth of the Master, whose word is the sacred text, all my ignorance got dispelled. The mind (Chitta) dived deep in the ocean of consciousness eager to taste the loving nectar to equality. The web of thought calmed down in the state of unqualified meditation. Thus the Supreme-Consciousness inexpressible is revealed to me in its perfectness.)

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Chapter - 25

SWAMI NANDLAL THE CLAIRVOYANT

Justice J. N. Bhat

Swami Nandlal, who was endearingly called Nandabab, was a great saint of Kashmir for well over 50 years till he received Mukthi on October 30, 1973. Nandabab had acquired a vision which enabled him read the present and the past, he could even predict events to come. He behaved unlike a common man, quaintly dressed and muttering incoherently which made no sense for those uninitiated. Every word he uttered conveyed deep philosophy and blessings.

Great Seer

Swami Nandlal was among the great seers of Kashmir. Orignally hailing from village Nunar near. Ganderbal, he rarely stayed in his house. Wherever Nandabab lived, he would be mobbed by people of all faiths right from dawn to midnight to seek his blessings. Even people from foreign lands would go to him. He would seldom talk directly to any person present in the audience. He expressed his thoughts in parables, similies, paradoxes, metaphors. Sometimes he would dictate something or the other to those present on chits of paper or in a register kept for this purpose. The writings on these chits or in the register would usually be replies to the queries made by different members of the audience.

Indifferent to Diet

Nandabad was very particular about his cleanness. He bathed every morning, but he was indifferent towards his diet, which would generally be light. He would eat a little from the food presented to him, leaving the rest to be distributed amongst the audience. He usually had a small Katori with vermillion (Sindoor) which he would paste on the foreheads of people present, irrespective of their faith or origin. But he would never offer any food from his Thali, or affix the holy mark on anybody who would not like it.

In the hierarchy of Siddhis a stage comes when a spiritual aspirant gets a vision of the universe and through his mind's eye sees the past, present and even the future with perfect accuracy. At this stage, it is said that the spiritual aspirant is all powerful; he can not only foresee things, but can also mould the course of events.

Accomplished saints seldom take recourse to this display of power. According to them, nature must have its own course and they do not interfere with it. Being bestowed with spiritual powers they themselves suffer from ordinary human ailments.

Siddhi

Nandabab had passed the stage of Siddhi and spiritual evolution. He could comprehend human problems and make predictions. Suffice it to say that he could read the mind of people around him and understand their problems; sometimes offer solutions. But he would take particular care of those whom he considered to be his main devotees.

Nandabab did predict the rise and fall of various governments. As another mystic of Kashmir had told me Nandabab had great spiritual insight on human affairs. I shall mention only a few instances which, apparently unbelievable, are nonetheless true.

In 1965 when Pakistan invaded Kashmir Nandabab was staying in the house of one of his disciples, the late Pt. Balkak Dhar. He started burning a huge fire and kept awake the whole night. In the morning I met him and he said that the previous night was the most difficult one for him. "They wanted to invade the airport", he said, "and I had to fight hard for changing their route". What transpired later was that actually Pakistani raiders had made all attempts during the previous night to capture the airfield but had failed. When a sabre-jet of Pakistan flew over Srinagar, he was performing a Havan; people felt panicky but he reprimanded them and assured that nothing would happen.

Basic Principle

All religions preach the same basic principle : that the ultimate goals is God or self-realisation. True saints have always had this universal approach. Nandabab also had the same approach. To him all people, from any part of the world, were the same. He had equal regard for all. He was always smiling. He was living in a real world of spiritual ecstasy which is far above the physical world, as Pt. Gopi Krishna has put it:

"The mystic gains a new power of perception which persists even in dream. In every state of being he dwells in a world of prision. He is always full of spiritual glow.

Multiple Personality

Nandabab was a saint with wide interests. With his nearest disciples, his behaviour usually was that of a normal human being. He would talk about their personal matters, advise them on their family affairs and listen to them with patience and affection. But otherwise he was in his super concious world.

Nandabab was full of care about those whom he regarded as his disciples. He was benevolent, was magnanimous and above all his love was universal. We need to collect more material on this great Kashmiri saint and learn about his spiritual life which is of great interest for all of us.

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Chapter - 26

SWAMI SHANKAR RAZDAN

M.K. Raina

Over the ages Kashmir has had its compliment of Rishis, Munis, saints and Sufis who helped common people discover the truth. Among them lived in the middle of the last century, Swami Shankar Razdan, who was revered by all for his spiritual attainments. Swamiji was not only a saint, but also had great literary attainments. One of his more important contributions to the Kashmiri literature is his Ramayana in Kashmiri verse which he wrote in Sharda script. He has left behind many Vakyas which are a source of inspiration to the faithful.

It is unfortunate that his Ramayana has not been printed. It should not be difficult at present to transcribe the text from Sharda into Devanagari script for the benefit of the readers. After some time this task may become impossible with the passing away of those people who know the Sharda script.

Vaakh Sidhi

Born in a middle class family at Kania Kadal, Srinagar, Shankar, even in his schildhood, had displayed a remarkable Vaakh Siddhi i.e., what he said would come true. As a child he would be absorbed

in contemplation. As such he had not much attachment to the family. His father, a revenue official, was posted in Kulgam, an area abounding in natural beauty. Shankar spent his early days there which brought him closer to nature. The surroundings were in tune with his spiritual make-up and he started his Tapasya in Uttarsu, at a shrine of Umma Bhagwati. He later wanted to shift his place of contemplation to Khirbhavani shrine in Manzgam (Kulgam).

On his way to Manzgam, Swamiji encountered a strange phenomenon. All of a sudden dark clouds started gathering overhead and there followed lightning and thunderstorms which uprooted trees. Rocks started rolling down the Vishaw river and alongwith it was swept away Shankar Razdan. Being a man of presence, Swamiji was not afraid of this extraordinary phenomenon. On the contrary, he took it as an indication of some supernatural happening. In a flash he saw the Devi on a rock beckoning to him. The Devi extended a corner of Her 'Longi' to the Swami; he caught hold of it and the Devi pulled him to Herself, applied Tilak on the forehead of the Swami and gave him Khir and other Prashad with Her own hands. The Devi admonished him for frittering away his energies in search of the Divine without a Guru. He should go to one of Her devotees, Swami Zanardan Dhar of Srinagar, to whose care, She had given him for future. "He will give you Updesh", said the Devi, and disappeared.

In a short while the storm subsided, the sky cleared, the sun shone and the Swami found his way to safety. This was a clear indication to the Swami that the Devi to Whom he was going had met him half-way, given him Darshan and confined him to the care of Swami Zanardan. No sooner did Shankar Razdan reach Srinagar, Swami Zanardan came out to greet him and since then Shankar Razdan continued to be a Shishya of Swami Zanardan.

A few instances of the miracles that were performed by the Swami may be narrated here. Once he, along with his other fellow students, was studying at night. There being no other means of lighting those days they were studying under an oil lamp. The oil of the lamp dried up and the lamp started to flicker. The students felt disappointed because it was not possible to go out to fetch oil at that late hour to refill the lamp. Shankar told them not to mind and the lamp started to light up brightly to the wonder of his fellow-students. It went on well beyond their requirement. it is possible that it was in remembrance of this event that when a Samadhi was built in the memory of the Swami, it was named the temple of Ratanjot.

Swami Shankar Razdan used to carry an axe with him and worship it. Once on Sawan Pooranmashi thousands of people were on pilgrimage to the holy Amarnath cave. The Swami was at his home. He had not gone on pilgrimage. At Amarnath there was a thunderstorm. People were in distress and there was danger of large-scale death and devastation. All of a sudden Swamiji appeared near the cave deep in Tapasya. The sky cleared and the people were happy at the sight of the Swami. On their return from the cave they did not find the Swami at his place. When they reached Srinagar and narrated their tribulations and mentioned the presence of the Swami there, his disciples were puzzled and asserted that the Swami had never stepped out of his hut.

Adopts Child

Swamiji was a celibate and had no family. Once a widow came to him with the limp body of a child stricken with smallpox in her arms who, she thought, had breathed his last. She cried and wailed before the Swami and told him that it was her only child who was no more. She implored him to do something to bring the child back to life. Everyone present was moved by the pleadings of the widow and implored the Mahatma to grant her boon. After some contemplation Swami Shankar Razjan told the widow that her son might return to life but she should have to part with him. He offered to adopt the child. The widow, for the sake of the life of her child, agreed readily to have nothing to do with him if he came back to life and the Mahatma could adopt him if he liked. The Mahatma spankled some holy water from his Puja on the child who started opening his eyes and making movements. There was great excitement and happiness among the devotees and they fell at the feet of the Mahatma. The child recovered and was named Ramjoo by the Mahatma and adopted by him. He brought up Ramjoo with great care, gave him good education, secular as well as religious.

Offers Spurned

The Maharaja of Kashmir out of consideration for the Mahatma wanted to give a prize post to young Ramjoo. But Swami Shankar Razdan would have none of it. After great persuasion, he allowed his adopted son to take Government service which was the only means of livelihood for Kashmiri Pandits those days. Shri Ramjoo rose step

by step to become Military Secretary in the Government, and later adviser to Raja Amar Singh, father of late Maharaja Hari Singh.

Swami Shankar Razdan lived and died in his humble Kutia. The Swami was a man of learning. He wrote extensively and, as mentioned above, his Ramayana in Kashmiri is a unique piece of religious literature which awaits publication. When he attained Mukhti the Maharaja got a Samadhi built in his name. It was named Mandir Ratanjot. Though the Mandir is in private hands, it is open to all—Hindus, Muslims Christians and others. Everyone in Chattabal reveres the memory of Swami Shankar Razdan. In the temple are placed the personal effects of the Mahatma, the axe which the worshipped and the offerings made by the Maharajas and other humbler folk. There are many books in the temple, some in Kashmiri Sharda which need to be researched upon.

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Chapter - 27

BHAGWAN GOPI NATH — THE GREAT AGHORESHWAR

Justice Shiva Nath Katju

Kashmir has produced many Sanskrit scholars of renown. Its savants and sages who expounded Kashmir Shaivism, such as Utpaladeva, Somananda and others, and, to crown them all, Mahameshwar Shrimad Abhinavagupta have made lustrous contributions to our philosophy and their fame has spread all over the world. Kashmir is the fountain source of Kashmir Krama in Shiva-Shakti worship, the other two being the Kerala Krama and the Gour Krama. It has also produced Kaulas and Aghoreshwars of the tallest stature, the last of whom was Bhagwan Gopi Nath who left his mortal frame in 1968. His spiritual stature could easily be compared to Maharishi Raman, Shri Ramakrishna Paramhamsa and Shri Aurobindo.

Cloistered Life

Bhagwan Gopinath lived a very cloistered life. He was known only to a few close devotees. He never moved out of the valley.

Gradually, his fame spread and saints and Sadhus from different parts of India used to visit him. By his intense Sadhana he had become a Kaul and an Aghoreshwar of the highest order. He talked little and never preached but he was full of compassion and love for all who sought his protection and blessings. He had the healing touch and gave boons to the needy. Occasionally, he exercised his spiritual powers in the interest of the nation. Pandit Shanker Nath Fotedar in his *Biography of Bhagwan Gopinath* has given a vivid account of the life of the great Kaul. The biography has been translated into Hindi by Pandit Rama Dutt Shukla, the General Secretary of the All-India Shakta Sammelan.

Savants and sages in India have experimented in the realm of the spirit since time immemorial. By following diverse paths they have sought to see the ultimate truth face to face. In all ages many have attempted to seek spiritual knowledge but only a few have succeeded in reaching the top.

The Shastras describe such spiritual giants as Kauls and Aghoreshwars. In popular parlance, Kaulachar or Aghor is regarded as indicating some kind of a sect or order.

Last Climb

Both among the Shaktas and the Shaivas the last climb is indicated with clarity and the way up and the means to reach the summit are clearly shown. It is the stage prior to the start of creation or when creation ends and before it starts all over again. At this point Shiva and Shakti are wrapped in together and are One and there is nothing besides that One. In that stage he cannot be seen because there is no one to see Him or bow to His majesty and certainly He is beyond any ritual worship. No Yantra, circle, triangle or Bindu can adequately symbolise the absolute void or blankness when manifestation itself remains an idea in the mind of the Creator—Param Shiva as the Shaivas and Shakta Agamas call Him. The Sanskrit word 'Shunya' is the only word that can be used to express such utter nothingness. An artist's canvas while portraying this stage of "Total Nothingness" except Him would remain blank, may be with a background showing absolute void, if, there could be any such background. He in that stage is beyond any portrayal because even gods do not know Him in His aspect as Param Shiva.

It is the glory of Shakta and Shaiva Sadhana that it takes the Sadhak to the highest point which is humanly possible to reach in his

quest of the unknown. It is sufficient in this context to say that the most elite of the Shaiva and Shakta Sadhaks are instructed in the knowledge of Aghora and Paravidya.

Highest Summit

In this climb to the highest summit the Devi is seen as gradually withdrawing Herself from Her play (Lila) and merging Herself into the prime source from where She has emerged. Unlike the earlier stages in the Sadhana where the Sadhak sees Her in Her dazzling cosmic play the focus of attention now turns more and more towards Shiva. In Aghora and Pravidya the Sadhak's thoughts are directed towards Param Shiva. Realisation of Para and Aghora, which can be equated, the highest stage which a Sadhak can attain and having attained it he becomes a Kaul or Aghoreshwar and a Shiva or Bhairava himself and is entitled to say Shivo. Bhagwan Ram of Varanasi, one of the greatest Aghreshwars of present-day India, has described the state of a Kaul or Aghoreshwar in the following words (the English rendering is mine):-

"An Aghoreshwar reaches a state where he is totally freed from all Karmic bonds. For him there is neither Moksha (liberation) nor rebirth. He becomes a burnt seed which cannot sprout. When he leaves his mortal frame he lives and directs from the astral plane or he may enter the body of a living person and make him an instrument of his line of action. He is not subject to the currents of cause and effect which bind the ordinary mankind. He is law unto himself". In short he becomes the sun of his own solar system and performs acts either directly or indirectly which may appear to be baffling.

Bhagwan Gopi Nath belonged to this spiritual line (Parampara) of Kauls and Aghoreshwars. He had reached the highest stage of self-realisation and what he did and said during his life-time have become the subject matter of a legend. He could perform wonders but he lived the life of a recluse and an ascetic.

Bhagwan Ram of Varanasi has now brought him to "Kreem Kund", one of the oldest and most sacred shrines in Varanasi, and he now sits in the midst of a galaxy of Aghoreshwars there. The significance of the awakening of the great invisible galaxy in Kreem Kund will only be known as the future unfolds itself in the present stormy and tumultous period. Besides the Satsang Mandal in the Kreem Kund, Bhagwan Gopi Nath Jee Satsang Mandals have been

established at Allahabad and other places in India. Bhagwan Gopi Nath seems to be more alive now after leaving his mortal body. His influence, guidance and direction are being increasingly felt all over India.

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Chapter - 28

BHAGWAN GOPI NATH—A JAGAT GURU

Philips Simpfen Dorfer

The World Teacher instructs, not by words but by transmission of "divinity" which heals, liberates, gives bliss and fulfilment of life. This divinity is light-both consciousness and energy-and pours constantly upon the earth and is being transmitted in concentrated form through illumined human consciousness and through earth Shaktis, the latter being located at certain places on the earth. The "divinity" is the essence of nature and does not act contrary to what is natural.

Salvation

The salvation of the earth is the great contemporary issue. Superficially, the threat is from physical and psychic pollution and the intense exploitation of earth's resources. But in the same way that the human body is animated by spirit (the divine element) so the earth is quickened by the Devas and Devis and if these powers should leave the earth it would end in chaos and destruction. For this reason men should show appreciation of the earth Shaktis and seek to protect them from desecration.

Kashmir is an important centre for reviving divinity. The most significant aspect of this happy valley is its saints and Shaktis. In recent times of great significance was Bhagwan Gopi Nath who protected Kashmir through his divine powers, saving both human society and the homes of the Devas and Devis and desecration.

As Kashmir is a microcosm of the earth, its hub, as it were, the continuing life of Bhagwan Ji is significant for all humanity. The whole earth needs to be protected. In the days of his humanity he was-a-guide and protector of Kashmir and its divinities. Now he is enthroned above the Shaktis of the earth, having taken his place among the invisible guides of humanity as the relevant guide for this present period of human existence.

These guides of humanity are not gods, even though their awareness stretches from Param Shiva to the pebbles on the ground. Nothing is hidden from their scruitiny. They are called Sapta Rishis. In the Western tradition, the number 7 symbolizes perfection, 3 being divinity and 4 humanity. It is probable that "Sapta" does not limit the Council of Guides to 7 beings, but refers to the perfect harmony of divine and human elements in the Council.

Trysting Place

The Sapta Rishis are not part of any religious system. No temples, mosques or churches are built for them. Their traditional trysting place on the sacred hill of Hari Parbat, Srinagar, is a simple unadorned group of rocks, for rocks are the basic elements of the earth. The whole of Nature is the temple of the Sapta Rishis.

Because of their divine character they may be worshipped and adorned, but surrender rather than priase is the correct attitude towards them. Surrender is of prime importance because these invisible guides of humanity have one great disadvantage in doing their work-they have no physical body. They have minds that comprehend all happenings in the world, but they have no physical brain. However, the one consciousness of a guide of humanity can animate many bodies and direct the thoughts in many heads.

Jagat Guru

Now that our Jagat Guru, Bhagwan Gopi Nath, is released from his physical body, his consciousness continues fully alive, but it needs human bodies for its expression in the world. Hence, those who are drawn to him should progressively throw off limitations and rise into Bhagwan Consciousness. It is not that our human nature is to be perfected but that the divine nature is to shine more brightly-and the way to this is the way of surrender.

Surrender! It is usually only the defeated who surrender. With surrenders the fighting is over. In spiritual terms it means that ego control is lost, and the self establishes dominion.

The way of surrender is beautifully and simply expressed in a statement given in meditation to sister Jann (accompanying me to Bhagwan Gopi Nath Ji Ashram, Srinagar from Australia). It says

"I am here within you
I am here within

I am here
I am
I"

At the early stages of surrender, a person feels the Divine Consciousness as being active within his body, mind and spirit. He begins to recognize this same divinity within other people and things. Later the person discovers that everything around him is divine. Then limited ego consciousness is lost and the Divine alone looks out through the eyes of the person. Shiva only beholds Shakti, god gazes into God in oneness. finally, beyond all life is the Supreme Egoity, the Absolute.

The first step is surrender of the body In the body are many movements and vibrations which the limit ego stops. Yet these movements should be allowed some expression if our bodies are to become instruments of Bhagwan Consciousness. For perhaps half an hour a day, after invoking the aid of the Guru, a person can stand and let the body vibrate and perhaps make unaccustomed movements. If the aid of the Guru is sought there is no danger and this exercise release much light into the body.

Meditation

As the surrender of the body progresses thoughts begin to slow down and the mind begins to become an instrument for receiving knowledge of divine matters (and the thought of others!) for this knowing comes, as were, in the spaces between thoughts. Meditation is the mind in full surrender.

Finally, there is the surrender of our divine element. Each individual is a spark of the Divine, and the ego treasures this source of life as a possession of incomparable volue. It is his bliss, his freedom, his fulfilment.

Yet for the conscious of the Glorious Lord to shine forth in the world, it too much be surrendered.

The surrender of the individual spirit is a act of dying. However, this action of dear surrender opens the door for the descent of Bhagwan Consciosuness into the human being. The devotees of Bhagwan Gopi Nath, as a group, make up his body new. We are the instruments through which he carries out his continuing work in the world, for what he did for Kashmir during the time of his physical incarnation, he seeks now to do for the whole earth. This does not

mean that we are duty-bound to imitate his actions, but it does mean that we must surrender in a realistic rather than the theoretical way.

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Chapter - 29

LAKSHMAN JOO

Kapil Kaul, Linz, Austria

The rising sun behind the mountain peak of Mahadev slowly brightened the dawn in the idyllic valley, which those days was perhaps still a paradise on earth. The temple bells on the banks of Vatista welcomed yet another fine day and the calls of the Muezzin, echoing from the mosques the greatness of God, could hardly be overheard.

The city lay serene in clear homogeneity under its slanting roofs of birch bark covered with the layers of earth, moss-grown, sprouting wild rapeseed and colourful flowers - red turks head, crown imperial, lily and lillium. They presented a grand spectacle from a distance.

Under the roofs of one of these houses overlooking the third bridge of Fateh-Kadal, this was to be a unique day in the family of a six-year old boy that would determine the course of his life for the following almost eighty enriched years.

The boy had just been awake and stepped into the adjacent room. Suddenly his attention was drawn towards someone sitting in an erect posture like a Buddha. Coming a little closer he gazed intensly at the meditater. It was his elder brother.

Would he rather touch to move him with his soft and tiny fingers or even utter a word to break the prevailing silence of that mysterious morning? Almost instinctively he maintained peace and remained wonderstruck at that sight till he noticed the eyes of his brother open slowly like the petals of a lotus do at the rays of the sun.

"Baai Saab", the boy moved his tender lips, "What are you doing while sitting like this with closed eyes?"

An evening smile suggested his response. What on earth would an innocent child understand the depth of such sublime thoughts, was probably elder brothers sweeping idea. But the boy persisted inquisitively upon his brother, "I have also seen you holding your nose with the fingers. Tell me what happens with this?"

Just a smile would not suffice to quench his thirst. An expression of curiosity on fair-complexioned face of the child, sitting by, awaited an answer.

"I am experiencing to see God", followed the reply in a splendid mild tone without a moments' hesitation.

The boy instantly expressed a desire to see God too.

"Fix your gaze on the tip of your nose and you will see God", said the brother. Immediately the boy took his elder brothers posture and fixed his gaze on the tip of his nose. As moments passed by, he seemed to have fallen into a deep slumber. The boy was motionless and for the elder brother it was a surprising situation indeed. Not only was he getting curious at the sight of his younger brother but anxious too. A strange seriousness had engulfed the room all of a sudden. After about twenty minutes or so the boy opened his eyes. Gradually he regained consciousness and noticed his brother and parents around him. That must have been a day in the year 1913.

Maheshwar Nath Raina was the name of the elder brother. He was a man of depth, reposed and aware of his responsibility towards his younger brother - Lakshman, lovingly called by his pet name 'Lala Saab'. Besides being a house holder, living in the joint family of Narayan Das, he was initiated into the Shiva order of Kashmiri Trika philosophy by the great sage of learning and practice - Swami Ramji, who lived in the vicinity. He was served by the whole family with reverence and devotion. Grown up in this atmosphere Maheshwer Nath seemed to recognize the spiritual spark and in a gentle voice he said, "Lala Saab! why do you not open your eyes? Just talk to me again". The curiosity, only a short while earlier on part of the little boy, had now changed its centre to the maneuvering mind of the elder brother.

The boy said nothing.

All were glad to see him quite lively but the happening had left a mark on them. Later, whenever the boy took the same posture and fixed the gaze on the tip of his nose, he dived deep in the state of unconciousness. This made the family feel concerned. May be some undesirable spirit had taken influence upon him, they thought. Some sort of exorcism? There was never a dearth in the repertoire of ghost stories in the valley wherein different classes of demons appeared as Yaksas the semi-divine beings, generally benevolent but sometimes responsible for demonic possession; Raksasas, against whom one had to be guarded or even Mahishasure - the buffalo-headed demon.

Ways and means were to be sought in order to free the boy from the malady. But the boy Lakshman began to feel increasingly interested in sitting with eyes turned inwards. Maheshwar Nath's curiosity also increased in his younger brother's ecstatic states of samadhi. One day he put to him the same question the boy had asked first, that early mysterious morning:

"Lala Saab! what do you see while sitting eyes closed?"

"I see the Biggest of the big", was the spontanious reply of the boy.

The wisdom in the person of the elder brother recognised the extraordinary behaviour of the boy, for he knew Lord Krishna's words to his friend and disciple, Arjuna—

"Poorvaabhyaasena tenaiva hriyate hyavashopi sah"

"The yogi is, by his practices directed with perfect faith in the previous birth, forced to follow these to perfection in the present one".

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Chapter - 30

RUPA BHAVANI

*Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'**

Madhao Dhar was an earnest devotee of *Sarika Bhagwati*. It was his daily practice to go to Hari Parbat early morning for worship of the deity. One day, when it was the first day of *Nava-Durga* worship, he was blessed by the goddess. She appeared in divinely charming form of a girl and asked him what he desired. No surpirze came to him nor hesitation as he had realized the universal nature of Divine Mother as enumerated in *Bhawaninamasaharrastotra*, the hymn of daily recitation. The few of the one thousand names of Bhavani are:-

Jaganmata -	Primordial course of the everchemding worlds.
Mahalakshmi -	Beauty-bloom of Divinity.
Parvati -	Auspicious intelligence to confer the supreme state.
Kanta -	Divine charm that allows no distraction even for a moment.
Purohitapriya -	Beloved of the Valorous.
Purusa -	Who assumes bondage as sport.

Katyayani - Sum-total of divine effulgence.
Kalika - Eternity of supreme power.
Katavati - Unfoldment of *Kundalini Sakti*. Thus, being adopt in yoga and aware in all the three states of consciousness Madhao readily expressed that he desired nothing but that she should deign to take birth in his home as his daughter. The prayer was granted.

In course of time Madhao Dhar's wife, *Sampat Maji* gave birth to a bright baby. The daughter was named *Rupa Bhavani* as her shine was soothing like the silvery moon and her grace was that of *Bhavani*, a name of *Sarika Bhagawati*, the choices deity of the devolt couple. She was divinity incarnate.

Pandit Madhao Dhar lived on the right bank of *Vitasta*, the Jhelum river below the *Navakadal* bṛidge in Srinagar; close to the place of the residential area of the popular Dhar families of Kashmiri Pandits. A well still exists at the place, sacred to his memory. Blended with qualities of virtue and high-mindedness, Madhao Dhar had discussions pertaining to philosophy and spirituality with *Sayyed Kamal* alias *Thaga Baba*, a Muslim recluse of high order, who lived near his house across the river. To their serene meditative minds, speculation in the sphere of metaphysics was always congenial. Madhao Dhar was a saint. Although he lived as a *Risi* in the household yet he behaved like a common man.

As *Rupa Bhavani* grew up her divine origin manifested itself more and more purity and sanctity of her life were conspicuous. Her speech was rapt with nectar and bliss. During her early years (about three) she was carried by a female servant to give a present to *Risi Pir*[1] on his birthday. She made the present to the saint but did not approve of his performing miracles which had made him famous. From her very childhood, Rupa Bhavani had stood for shunning show and publicity and remaining in secrecy for absolute communion with God. She, therefore, regretfully remarked:—

'Risis Piyeyih tembrah ama Vohanajan gayas' "A spark (of revelaltion) fell on the Risi but it has gone the wrong way down his throat". Risi Pir, listening to the remarks, looked at the little girl and bowed down to her.

While yet seven years in age, Rupa Bhavani was married to a young man of Sapru family, living at Sapriyar near Habba Kadal in Srinagar. Since her husband was a dullard and her mother-in-law a stumbling block in her happiness, she was denied a smooth life in the

family. Her cranky mother-in-law, like that a Lall Ded, the *Yogeswari* noted for suffering cruelty at the hands of her own, spoke ill about her without a reason. *Rupa Bhavani* used to go to Hari Parbat for worship in the early hours of morning. Even for this absurd and scandalous whispers, born of sheer malice and hatred, were circulated.

One day, at the instruction of his mother, the young husband followed Rupa Bhavani as a spy to see where she was going so early in the morning. He watched her from a distance. Reaching *Parankani*[2] at Hari Parbat, Bhavani looked behind and saw her husband stying her. Being offended a prayer fell from her lips that the Sapru family might never thrive and the curse has this effect even now.

On a Khetsrimavas[3] day, Rupa Bhavani's parents sent a pot full of pulav to her husband's house. Her mother-in-law, far from being pleased, grumbled and remarked that the quantity was insufficient for distribution among the family members and the relations. Rupa Bhavani covered the pot with a piece of cloth and with humility requested the lady to distribute the contents. At this, she distributed platefuls out of the pot and lo it would not empty. When the service was over, Bhavani lifted the cloth and the pot was empty. Still the auger of her mother-in-law did not abate. She peevishly asked the daughter-in-law to remove the empty pot from there. Bhavani took the pot to the *ghat* and let it float down the river, muttering 'stop at *Deddhamar Ghat* where my father will take you up'. So it turned. Her father was at the *ghat* for morning ablution. He recognized the pot and took it home.

Time for Rupa Bhavani was ripe now for leading a hermit's life. Her female cousins and nieces often indulged in whispers against her for her wrecking life. She only heaved a deep sigh and knit her brow in distress. Her soul laboured under misery, not for herself alone but for the family in future, which she could foresee. She blessed those few who showed sympathy. But then she left her home to start penance of *Wastervan*. After twelve years and a half she moved to *Charma Sahibi* where also she passed the equal number of years in austere penance. For another twelve years she remained in seclusion for practising meditation in a forest in the Lar Pargana. Lal Chand, a devotee and Lamberdar of *Manigam* village, learnt from a shepherd that there was an ascetic, at a cranny in the near-by forest, to whom one of his cows went by itself at mid-day to feed with its milk. He went to see the *Bhavani* and made a request for pursuing her quest

in his house. After much deliberation, she agreed. But after only six months she left the house and lived on the bank of the Sindh river in the same village for another twelve years and a half. She planted a *Chinar* tree at the place and that is said to be still there.

While in *Manigam, Rupa Bhavani*, occasionally floated down the Sindh on a piece of matting to Darbatar village, where one day Shah Sadiq Dalander, a great Mohammadan philomath saw her. He asked her name to which she replied 'Rupa' (silver). He said "Rupa Dedi! if you come to our side (i.e. become a convert to Islam) you will become gold from silver". She replied, "Sah Sadiq! if you come to our side (i.e. become a Hindu at heart) you will become pearl (Mukta, or attain salvation) in place of *shi* (Shah), glass. Another time, when Shah Qalandar saw Rupa Dedi dressed in a garment dyed in crimson, he asked what colour her garment was. She replied:-

"Zag, Surath ta mazeth".
This conveys two-fold meaning:-

(i) Vitriol, safflower and madder (colours).
(ii) Be awake, hold him fast and extend not.[4]
Then she often visited Shah Qalandar for talks on spiritual topics.

From Manigam Rupa Bhavani moved to *Ripore* a place just above the hermitage of Shah Sadiq Qalandar, for austere penance and meditation. Association with saints affords healthy reflection on spiritual truths. Then follows assimilation of the truth for the practical experience of which seclusion is necessary. Rupa Ded was by nature led to follow this course in her Sadhana. After a period of twelve and a half years again she wanted to move to a place where she benefitted people. She left one of her female servants, Jaman Ded, whose own house at Qasbatar, incharge of the place and chose her seat at Vaskur near Sumbal village. *Kastur Maji* was her another female servant, who belonged to the same as *Aita Shah Malang*, one of the esoteric disciples of *Risi Pir*. She took this widow and her only son Ram Chandra Mati with her. Rupa Ded is said to have lived at Vaskur for about twenty-five years. Her verses and sayings called *Vakh* revealed the influence of both Kashmiri *Saivism* and Islamic Sufism. She had a well sunk here by a blind potter whose eye-sight was miraculously restored to him as soon as the water level reached the well. Thereafter he got water from the well regularly for Bhavani's

use. This family became a part of her life. They served the Devi with devotion and love. Most probably it is the descendents of this family called Malik who are required to draw water from the well even now for use at the Kanyigata Sradha and annual offerings day at the Devi's temple in *Vaskur*.

Rupa Bhavani's brother, Lala Dhar often went to Manigam and Vaskur to see his sister for whom he had reverence and admiration. Witnessing a miracle at Manigam had made him ardent devotee of his,sister. He placed his son Bala Dhar at the service of Bhavani in Vaskur. One day, when he was of the age 22 years, his father rebuked him for being illiterate. Stung with remorse he wept bitterly. Rupa Ded consoled him and gave him a pen made from a pomegranate twig, ink made with charcoal and some paper. She bade him write an application for employment to Aurangzeb, the then emperor at Delhi. The young man obeyed and wrote it admirably well in Persian diction. the emperor, pleased with the style and handwriting was pleased to give him appointment in Delhi. He held the post with great credit. Afterwards, he wrote a letter in Persian verse to his sister. Likewise he received the reply. The letters are worth their study but are not reproduced here for want of space and time.

Bala Dhar and Ramchandra Matu were the first disciples of Bhavani. She came to live in Srinagar in her advanced age on the request of her disciples and admirers. The place is named Alakheswari Janma Bhumi. It is in Deddamar, Safakadal. Bhavani got the name Alakheswari (lady with a lock of hair) as she left her hair unplaited. Alakh + Iswari means incarnation of the invisible, which he was. During the Jivanmukta life at the Janma Bhumi, Rupa Bhavani introduced notable social reform, which held higher sanction than statutary law, and those are still in vogue, among Kashmiri Pandits, wherever they are placed in the world now.

She tabood bigamy and polygamy first in Dhar families. The society was pleased to welcome it.

She opposed animal sacrifice. Majority of the people accept it.

She encouraged Hindus for maintaining their dignity and keeping mental calm against the difficulties they were made to face that time. She stood against irreligious conduct.

Rupa Bhavani's spiritual preceptor was her father who initiated her into the mysteries of yoga. She adored Lalleswari, the great mystic seer of the 14th century A.D. as her Parma Guru, the Supreme Preceptor. This is evident from the beginning verse of her *Vakhs*. Her

verses and sayings composed in the Kashmiri language of that time have a profound mystic significance. There have been published in three editions so far. Even though difficult of comprehension attempts have been made by learned scholars in translating the verses into Hindi and English. Let us wait for the new exposition by Prof. B.N. Parimoo who has taken up this hard work in hand. We shall be closer to Rupa Bhavani if we know her sayings and verses in their true perspective.

Thus, born in 1625 A.D. (some record 1961 A.D.) as the history records, the great mystic Rupa Ded shuffed her mortal coil, without regrets but mourned by all, in her parents house in 1721 A.D. (on the 7th day of dark fortnight of Magh, Svt. 1133) now known as Sahili Saptami.

Shah Qalandar gave his last remark:
That holy-natured incarnation of the Unseen
Broke her coil of four elements
Flew to the highest heaven
With a good natured heart, and united with bliss.

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Notes and References

Capter - 10

1. Jona Raja Tarangini, Verses 29-264:
2. Peer Hassan Khoyami, *Tarikhi-Kashmri.*
3. Jona Raja Tarangini, Verse 573;
4. Kashmir under Sultans page, 222-525.
5. Al-Qura-23. 5. Translation-Athar Hussain.
6. *Ibid.*
7. R.A. Nicolson, Legacy of Islam page 224;
8. *Ibid.*
9. Syed Amir Ali-*Spirit* of Islam, page 44S.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Jona Raja Tarangini Verse* 673.
12. *Ibid.* Verse 572.
13. *Noor Nama* edited by Amin Kamil, page 189.
14. The technical term used for his quartrains.
15. Alamdari Kashmir and Sheikh-ul-Alam are anonyms for 'Nunda Reshi'.
16. Noor nama p. 164.
17. Syed Abdul Hassan Nadvi-Islam and the world, p. 207.
18. Noor Nama - page 25.
19. *Ibid-page* 177.
20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid-page* 248.
22. These Arabic terms with Ealish rendering have been borrowed form Prophet Mohammad and his missien by Ather Hussain, page 94; Noor name, page 194.
23. *Noor nama* p. 48.
24. Translation by Atkar Hussain.

Chapter - 11

1. Kashmir under the Sultans, Mahul-ul-Hasan, p. 233.
2. A History of Kashmir by P.N. Kaul, p. 422.
3. Kashmir, Part I, G.M.D. Sufi, p. 85.
4. A History of Kashmir, n. 2, p. 486.
5. A History of Kashmir, n. 2, p. 484.

Chapter - 13

* Gopi Kunj, Karan Nagar, Srinagar. Mr. Magazine wrote this article as a research scholar.

1 Summer capital of J&K State is 5200 ft. above see level. Shankaracharya hill is 6263 ft. above sea level.
2. See introduction to volume I. Tarikhi-i-Hassan it says Sandiman ruled Kashmir for 65 years and is placed both ruled in serial order of the 34 missing kings discovered by Ghulam Hassan from Waqia-i-Kashmir by Allam Ahmeda poet during Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin's time, who translated "Ratnakar Puran" into Persian language from Sanskrit, giving the details of 35 missing kings or which Kalhana makes mention in his Rajtarangini, who ruled Kashmir about 5000 years ago.
3. "Jet Lundrak" was known as "Sandiman Parbat" also during king Sandiman's time and after. Its earlier name was "Anjam".
4. King Gopaditya renovated and repaired the temple. (see page 394-95 vol. 1, Tarikh-i-Hassan).
5. Shankaracharya lived in Kashmir during 788-820 A.D.
6. Tarikhi-i-Hassan, vol, II, page 50.
7. See "Shankara Digvijay" -giving life history of Shankaracharya.
8. Author of this book is presumed to be Mirza Mehdi whose great grant father is supposed to be Mulla Hassan-ud-din, who came from Ghazni during Zain-ul-Abdin's time-(see introduction to vol I, Tarikhi-i-Hassan).
9. (See The Times of India, New Delhi dated 23-5-1979 page 4 col, 4).

Chapter - 18

1. See Nilamata Purana, edited by Dr. Ved Kumari, verses 365-66.
2. See Rajatarangini, verses 203-205.
3. Dr. Grierson; Lalla-Vakyani.
4. Vakya Lalleshwari (Urdu) By Pt. A.K. Wanchoo, Vak. No. 44.
5. Vikraman Kadeva Charitam XVIII, 6.
6. Noornama, edited by Amin Kamil, Shruk No. 33.
7. Vakya Lalleshwari, Vak No. 31.
8. *Ibid*—Vak 57.
9. *Ibid*—Vak 24.
10. *Ibid*—Vak 70.
11. *Ibid*—Vak 18.
12. Panchastavi, I, 14.

13. Parmartha Sara of Abhinavagupta, Verses 19-20.
14. Shiva-Sutra of Vasugupta.
15. Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta, I, Verses, 25-30.
16. Vakya Lalleshwari—Vak 5.
17. *Ibid*—Vak 90.
18. *Ibid*—Vak 78.

Chapter - 20

* Sahazanand-"knowledge that shines"

Chapter - 30

* Formerly of Research Centre, Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Karan Nagar, Srinagar, Kashmir.

1. A renowned saint of Kashmir. His spsiritual guide was Pandit Krishna Joo kar of Ranawari (Rajanaka Vatika).
2. A particular place at the foot a Hari Parbat hillock where pilgrims offer prayers.
3. Panbya Amavasya. Hindus offer cooked khitri to God Kubera in the evening.
4. This is in tune with the Upanisad, which says:-
   Swarupanusandhanena Vaset—practise self annihilation
   Anya Vaca Vinuncatha - Shun all other tak.
   Swarupanusandhanam Vinanyathacaraparo
   na bhavet — Do no other thing than enquiring into the self.
5. Famous vineyards producing the best grapes in Kashmir.

PART II

(Chapters 31 to 55)

EMINENT KASHMIRI PANDITS

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Chapter - 55

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Chapter - 31

KALHANA — THE GREAT CHRONICLER

L.N. Raina

Kashmiri culture has been deeply influenced by the writings and sayings of its saints, Sufis, seers and sages. One of the important writers who could not lay claim to spirituality but could well be called a sage, is Kalhana. He has left a deep impact on the minds of the people in Kashmir and rest of India. He was a scholar of world repute. Kalhana Pandit was a historian and political commentator of the 12th century. India has had few historians to reconstruct its glorious past in a coherent and a chronological manner. Kalhana is among the few writers who had a sense of history and recorded for us a fairly authentic chronicle of many centuries before him. He has also given us a vivid account of his own turbulent times in a graphic as and dispassionate manver. Kalhana Pandit was a unique personality in more than one sense. He was a great historian, and a great Sanskrit scholar. In an age in which the Hindu society in Kashmir had problems Kalhana kept his head high, and retained his sense of propriety and, the innate goodness of his nature which is effected his writings, dispossessed. Unaffected by the circumstances, he went on with the mission of his life recording the story of the River of Kings, *Rajatarangini.*

History of Verse

Rajatarangini is the earliest written work of history of Kashmir and the neighbouring area. A unique historical record in verse written around 1150 A.D., it contains invaluable information on political, social and culture life of that period. The noted historian, Rawlinson, calls it "Hindu India's almost sole contribution to history". *Rajatarangini* recreates picturesquely in vivid form the chequered past of this ancient land. It is not in praise or a king of a dynasty. It contains a connected story of the ruling families of Kashmir. There is hardly a contemporary work on history which can stand comparison with *Rajatarangini.*

Work of Art

Though a lot has been written lately about *Rajatarangini* both by foreign and Indian scholars, not much has been recorded about the life of its versatile author, or the influences that impelled him to undertake this great work of art.

It is, therefore, creditable on the part of Prof. Somnath Dhar to try to reconstruct a life-sketch and an interesting account of this manysided personality from the internal evidence of his stupendous work. His monograph, *Kalhana*, published by Sahitya akadami, New Delhi, in its series *Makers of Indian Literature,* thus fills the vacuum in our knowledge about the life of this poet-historian who has left a deep impact on the history and literature of Kashmir.

Kalhana describes Kashmir of his time as a country which was exploited by the military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. His father, Campaka, occupied one of the highest offices in King Harsha's court. He was the Dvarapati, the Lord of the Gate, that is the commandant of the frontier defences. Yet Kalhana did not hold any office under the rulers though his uncle, Kanaka got himself the favour of Harsha.

It appears Kalhana did not relish being in the service of kings. He had access to the court which enabled him to have an insight into the affairs of the State and report on them first-hand. Kalhana was not alike other Pandits of his time who placed their talent at the feet of their rulers.

He had his own ideas about the role of a historian. It goes to his credit that Kalhana lived up to the standard he had set for his tribe. Though he does not write disparagingly about Jayasimha in whose time he lived, he does not shower any priase on him either.

Poetic Genius

Kalhana was essentially a poet and history came in handy to put his poetic genius into practice. Yet his achievement as historian outlived his fame as a poet. If our medieval history has been preserved for posterity, it is in large measure due to the poetic frame in which it was cast.

It is evident from his writings that Kalhana had no admiration for the valour of kings of his time. He had nothing but contempt for the military leadership and the soldiery. He has contemptuously mentioned their lack of physical and moral courage.

Kalhana had a sensitive and impressionable mind. He felt disgusted with the warring princes. The boorishness of feudal tyrants is exposed by Kalhana, as also the oppressive nature of petty officials. His chronicle evinces the concern and feeling that Kalhana had for the poor and the underdog.

However, the patriot in Kalhana was in deep love with the valley, its tall snow-capped mountains, green meadows, brooks and crystal lakes. He does not tire us with the description of seasons or scenery of this beautiful valley. Kalhana's mention of flora and fauna of India which were not normally found in Kashmir indicates his wide vision. His references to ancient Indian lore and mythology exhibit his wide knowledge of the classics. He has liberally drawn upon the great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, more often the latter. He was equally influenced by Bana (*Harshacharitra)* and Bilhana (*Mankadevacharitra.)*

Minute Description

Kalhana had an acutely observant eye. He givies us a minute description of the local customs, mode of dress, food habits, the relationship between man and woman, their problems and solutions. He portrays human foibles and failings. He has a restrained love for the dramas. He uses similies, striking antithesis and figures of speech with discrimination. He exhibits keen poetic imagination while delineating an otherwise pedestrian theme in elegant and graceful form.

Readable Account

The historian in Kalhana has dug deep into the treasure-house of Kashmir's past which has become a source material for the reconstruction of Indian history. It is a pity that so little is known of the man behind this stupendous work. Prof. Dhar's life-sketch is a highly readable account of the great historian. This monograph should be in the hands of every Kashmiri and every student of history. Within the compass of 85 pages, it is not possible to fathom the mind and thought of Kalhana the man is detail. This requires a deeper and more concentrated research by devoted scholars.

Would it be too much to suggest that a chair be instituted for research on Kalhana or that the Kashmir Cultural Academy or the Sahitya Akadami sponsor research on this man of genius? Even the Dharmarth Trust should get interested in researching on this poet-

historian. We would be doing signal service to our cultural heritage by reconstructing the life of the narrator of the River of Kings, Kalhana Pandit.

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Chapter - 32

FROM KUNJARGAON TO AGRA : THE GREAT KUNZRU FAMILY OF AGRA

G.K. Gurtu

It is indeed an arduous task to encompass the achievements and contributions of a great family to society in a few pages. How much my humble venture in this field will give joy and inspiration and satisfaction, I leave this to my readers to judge. The Kunzru family is one of the few families that I came in close contact with, during my stay in Agra and had the privilege of knowing a little about this distinguished family.

It was Pandit Kirparam who alongwith the members of his family had to migrate from his native home *Kunjargaon*, in Baramula, Kashmir and after temporary stay in various cities for sometime the family finally opted for Agra and engaged itself in business. It was a period during which to escape political, economical, social and religious persecution, hundreds of Kashmiri pandit families were forced to leave their beautiful homeland never to return, but only to cherish the memories of their sweet home amidst snow-capped mountains, the green meadows, the murmuring brooks and the rows of Chinar. The struggle for survival, retention of Kashmiri culture and traditions and separate entity was long and tortuous. It was only by dint of industry and intelligence, that the forefathers could carve out a place for themselves in India and abroad. In the milieu no wonder our mother tongue became a casualty. The sun heralding the dawn of return to homeland and a welcome embrace from our Kashmiri-speaking brethren is yet to come up. However the years rolled by. The period of struggle for the family was over. His son Pandit Kedarnath before he settled down in Agra, had served the *Jhajjar* State (near Delhi) as Dewan. By the time Pt. Ajudhianath, the son of Pandit Kedarnath, came on the scene, the family was firmly established, fairly prosperous and had acquired social status. The firm *Kedarnath Ajudhianath* was a flourishing concern.

Pandit Ajudhianath (1840-1892) was born, brought up and educated in Agra. He was proficient in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit and spoke Urdu and English with equal case. He was a leading lawyer of the Agra Bar. He shifted to Allahabad in 1869 after the establishment of High Court there. He became the first President of Allahabad Bar Association. In between he attended to and expanded and diversified his family business with acumen earning fame and fortune. He was known for his penetrating insight, subtlety of mind, clarity of thought and straightforwardness of expression couched in most dignified language. He earned the respect of his colleagues and admiration from the bench.

His interests were wide and varied. His time was divided between professional, business, social and political activities. He founded the *Indian Herald* to voice his views on social and political matters. He was also associated with another paper *Indian Union*. He was bold and fearless in his views. Even in those days in British Raj he advocated participation of Indians in the affairs of the Government. In view of his position as a leading lawyer, an established businessman and an enlightened person he was nominated to the Legislative Council of the Lt. Governor of the North-West Provinces as a Member from the non-official member side.

Pt. Ajudhianath was drawn towards Congress and became Chairman, Receiption Committee in Allahabad. He was a great organiser. He addressed meetings in many cities and raised funds for Congress. He became Joint Secretary of Congress in Bombay. Some of his close associates were W.C. Bonerjee, A.O. Hume, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Madan Mohan Malviya. He was a forceful orator but neither dogmatic in approach nor communal in attitude. He held liberal and progressive views and was persuasive in arguments. He worked for the unity of Hindu and Muslim communities and discouraged the efforts of those who were trying to alienate the two. He desired that both should come on one platform and work unitedly for the welfare of the country. It was his sincerity of purpose and honesty of approach which brought people from different communities in large numbers into the fold of Congress. He was from an orthodox family but he held secular views and kept himself aloof from narrow controversies. He was respected both by his admirers and critics.

Pandit Ajudhianath took keen interest in education. He was one of the founder members of the Victoria High School in Agra, a

Trustee of Agra College and Senate Member of the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad.

He was a man of social vision. He associated himself with various associations which had been formed to discuss topics of current interest. To save people from debt, degradation and death he voiced his concern against drinking. The plight of economically poor masses did not escape his attention. He utilised the forum of Congress to criticise the taxation policy. He did not approve of child marriage and *purdah* system. He desired that girls should also be educated. He stood for the emancipation of womenfolk so that they may also participate in nation-building.

He was kind hearted towards birds and animals. He was moved to see sick or wounded animals still yoked to work or lying unattended. He was highly critical of cock-fighting and quail-fighting as a means of entertainment and could hardly bear the sight of people enjoying the dumb birds entwined in fierce combat, lie bleeding or writhing in pain with limbs broken and once beautiful plumes torn and scattered all around. His love and concern for mute creatures prompted him to move a Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Alas, he left the stage too soon with many a task unfinished. In his untimely death the Congress lost an able organiser, India a dedicated leader and society an honest and sincere social worker. His family and business too received a great set back. He was well-built and of medium height. The flowing beard, the penetrating eyes added charm to his graceful personality. To mourn his sad demise meetings were organised, rich tributes were paid and resolutions were passed to record his selfless service to society, the nation and the Congress.

Pt. Rajnath, the eldest son of Pandit Ajudhianath, by his second wife, was then a minor. He was born on 14th August, 1884. He studied upto Intermediate Class. He was well-versed in Urdu, Persian, English and Hindi and spoke all the languages with equal command. He was an active student during his college days. He acted in dramas organised by the College. His interest in acting continued even after his college days. He took part in games and was fond of physical exercises. He established an *Akhara* in his house and invited young boys of his locality to join. It is still functioning. He was married in 1900 at the age of sixteen. He was only twenty-six years old when his wife died in 1910 due to pneumonia fever

leaving behind three sons and two daughters. The responsibility of bringing up his children alongwith his brothers and sisters fell on his shoulders. He did not marry again in their interest. This early responsibility developed in him a loving and friendly nature with a willingness to help others, which remained with him throughout his life. Numerous Kashmiri and non-Kashmir boys availed of the benefit of his benevolence. Quite a few of them even stayed in his house for years, to complete their education.

Pandit Rajnath took up contract work for a living because his family business had by now, due to various factors, wound up. From 1906 to 1912 he was engaged in the job of construction of buildings. The present house was constructed during this period. In 1914 he established a firm *Kunzru and Dattatriya* in partnership with Pandit Sharka Prasad Kaul to manufacture carpets and *durries*. This continued till 1918. From 1920 to 1932 he worked as Manager, Benaras Bank, Agra Branch. In between he looked after and consolidated his agricultural land.

By the time Pandit Rajnath made his public appearance he was well established and much respected. He too, like his father, was drawn towards Congress, though later on he felt disenchanted and so withdrew. The idea of *strikes* and *Satyagrāhs* did not appeal to him. He subscribed to the view of 'first deserve then desire' and as such advocated hard work and sincere approach. However in 1916 he alongwith his brothers and like-minded people organised Home Rule League and addressed meetings and organised processions.

Pandit Rajnath is known to the people of Agra as an educationist. He took keen interest in the field of education. He was in the Management Committee of Agra College, Raja Balwant Singh College, Shobia Mohmadia College and Mufid-a-Am Inter College for years. He served as Manager, Thakur Biri Singh Intermediate College, Tundla; Annie Beasant College, Krishna Ashram, Allahabad and Victoria High School, Agra. He was instrumental in raising the last named school to the present status of an Intermediate College in 1966. The present building of this College which stands on a piece of land donated by the Raja Saheb of Awagarh speaks of his dedicated efforts and the esteem he was held in, by the Raja Saheb. It was his keen interest and sincere service to the cause of education which elevated him to the membership of Educational Re-organisation Committee for Intermediate Education in 1960. He was also nominated a member of the Executive Committee of Agra University.

Pandit Rajnath served the cause of trade and industry. He had a clear vision about the role and importance as well as future need of co-operatives as an instrument of progress and prosperity. His becoming a member of Organisation Committee for Industrial Co-operative Societies, Managing Director, Central Industrial Co-operative Store and President, Quality Marked Footwear Manufacturers Copoperative Association Ltd. Agra speaks of his interest in this sector. He encouraged handloom cloth weavers to organise themselves into co-operative societies so that their goods could be sold through co-operative stores to their profit.

Pandit Rajnath having inherited from his father zeal for social service added a new chapter in dedicated and selfless service. Inspite of various engagements he found time and directed his energies in this direction. In 1918 he founded The Sewa Samiti in Agra. During that period Agra was in the grip of plague and dengu fever. People had begun to move out of the town leaving behind valuables, the sick and the dead unattended. He worked tirelessly during those critical days. He organised relief operations and supervised relief measures. He remained present on the spot to do the difficult job of checking any mischief by unsocial elements, moving the sick to hospitals, distributing free medicines and removing the dead for cremation or burial besides keeping night-watch over houses left vacant by fleeing people. He set up safety squads. His brothers, Pts.Gopinath, Dinanath and Keshonath—too, joined him in this humanitarian work. The risk of catching infection did not deter him from this work. He had the unique distinction of continuing as the Secretary of The Sewa Samiti from 1918 to 1970. He was a member of Viceroy's National Defence Committee from 1940 to 1945 and in that capacity, visited Middle-East as an observer to assess the problems of Indian troups stationed there. He joined Rotary Club as a Member and rose to become the Governor of the District thirty-six and went to America in 1958 on invitation. He was also an ardent member of The Theosophical Society and actively participated in its deliberations. He was a member of Ram Lila Committee from 1913 to 1926 and its President from 1927 to 1971 and gave his full time to the Ram Lila Celebrations.

Pandit Rajnath was a religious man. But he was not an orthodox. He held liberal views. He respected all religions and attended functions and celebrations of other communities to share their joys. He helped all those who sought his help. He kept himself aloof from controversies. He was loved and respected by members of other

communities. He was equally at ease with children and grown-ups. He was jovial and playful in the company of children and grave and philosophical among older people. Though he held strong views on some matters he was always responsive to reason.

A self-made and fearless man, Pt.Rajnath was fair complexioned, well built and of medium height. He was a proud possessor of graceful personality with a deep voice which carried the force of conviction. He was a good orator. His high forehead, long nose and trimmed white beard presented a picture of a noble soul. He wore *sherwani* and *Churidar* and a matching cap adorned his head. He was almost a father figure to the Kashmiri Samaj, Agra. He lived up to the ripe old age of about eighty-eight years quietly fulfilling the mission of selfless service with all the sincerity and dedication under his command. He breathed his last in Agra on 19th December, 1971, after a brief post-operation illness. His death left a void in the field of dedicated social service. People of Agra still remember him with love and respect. He was truely a torch bearer of his late father.

Who has not heard of Dr. Hirdaynath Kunzru? Handsome with well-cut features, curly hairs and a medium height, Dr. Hirdaynath, the second son of late Pt.Ajudhianath and younger brother of Pt. Rajnath, presented a picture of academic grace. He radiated intellectuality. Anyone who came in his contact was immediately impressed by his encyclopaedic knowledge. Clarity of thought, straightforwardness of expression and brevity were the hall mark of his speaches. People listened him with rapt attention.

Dr. Hirdaynath was born in 1886. He was the favourite child of the family. He was lean and thin in his childhood and very quiet by nature. He was educated at Agra and Allahabad. Inspite of his weak constitution he was very studious and devoted to his studies. He was a voracious reader and was blessed with superb memory. Reading was his lifeing hobby and he was seen engrossed in books. His only complaint in the evening of his life was his failing eyesight due to which he was unable to read much. He went to England and took B.A. and B.Sc. degrees, with specialisation in Political Science. An honorary Doctorate was conferred upon him in recognition of his services. He also became a Member of the Senate and the Courts of the Universities of Agra, Allahabad and Benaras.

Dr. Hirdaynath was married in 1908. Tragedy, however, struck him when he was only twenty-five. His wife expired during child birth in 1911 and unfortunately, the child also died after six months. He was greatly up set, and like his elder brother, did not marry again.

Instead he decided to dedicate his life to social and political work. Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a close friend of the family, exercised great influence upon him. It was Gokhale who asked for Dr. Hirdaynath from latter's mother for the service of the nation. As such, from 1916 onwards he devoted himself to the service of mankind.

Dr. Hirdaynath joined Servants of India Society, Poona, which was founded by Gokhale. He worked as volunteer during *Kumbh Mela* at Hardwar, Allahabad, Nasik and at other places. He rose to become the President of this Society. The sphere of his dedicated service expanded. He joined All India Sewa Samiti, Allahabad and later on became its President. He continued to serve the poor, the needy and the destitute. He felt happy to be of any service to others. He was a very disciplined worker. He had great respect for elders. He was a man of determination. He never tolerated indiscipline, insincerity and flattery or sycophancy.

Dr. Hirdaynath founded the Swea Samiti Boy Scouts Association in Allahabad. The idea behind this movement was to mould school-going children into a disciplined, organised and dedicated force to be harnessed into the service of the society. He wanted youthful energy to be employed and some constructive work. He advocated participation, organised camps and addressed rallies. His efforts paid dividends. The Movement became popular and spread far and wide. He ultimately rose to become Chief Scout after the death of Chief Scout Pandit Madan-Mohan Malviya.

Dr. Hirdaynath too, was attracted towards Congress but later on withdrew from it alongwith Shri T.B.Sapru, Srinivas Shastri, M.M.Malviya,, C.Y.Chintamani and J.N.Mulla. However, he rose to become a leading political figure by his hard work. He was member of the U.P. Assembly as Independent candidate from Muzaffar Nagar and was a member of Upper House of Parliament for many years. He was a staunch nationalist. He advocated equility and justice for all even during British Raj days. He was against colonisation and slavery. He was of liberal views and preferred discussions to agitations. The conditions of the colonies, Armed Forces and Finance were subjects of his special interest and attention. He actively participated in the debates and always came fully prepared. It was hard to contradict him on facts and figures. His speaches were marked by clarity of thought and straight-forward approach. He could never be cowed down by the high and mighty. People heard him with rapt attention and in pin-drop silence. They

were awed by his masterly and accurate presentation of the subject under discussion on the floor of the House. Even those who held opposite view respected him and never questioned his sincerity. His elevation to the presidentship of Council of World Affairs speaks of his interest in the world affairs as well as the esteem he was held in by the people.

Dr. Hirdaynath was a deeply religious and god fearing man. *Bhagwat Gita* exercised greatest influence upon him. He believed in simple living and was always humble. He was a true *Nishkan Karm Yogi*. He too, like his elder brother, lived upto the ripe old age of about ninety-two years fulfilling the task of serving humanity assigned to him by Almighty till his end. Inspite of his failing eyesight and weak body his mental faculties were clear and sharp. He was constantly thinking of the country, its people and the work that remained to be completed. The concern for the welfare of the people made his agitating mind restless. The end came suddenly on 3 April, 1978. He died peacefully at his home, in Agra and with it rested the body and soul of a tireless worker.

Affectionately called as 'Chand Bhai' by Kashmiris and 'Chand Babu' by non-Kashmiris, Pt.Chandra Mohan Nath, the eldest child of Pandit Rajnath, was born on 24 October, 1902 and was brought-up and educated in Agra. He had his early grooming by a tutoress Mrs. Fantham. He was an average student but a good sportsman and represented his college in numerous matches and tournaments. He took part in college debates and dramas. His favourite games were football and hockey though he was equally proficient in Basket Ball, Volley Ball, Table Tennis and Cricket. He served the cause of sportsmen by becoming a referee in 1923 and remaining so till 1954, which speaks of his popularity, impartiality and expertise among sportsmen. In that capacity he visited places like Karachi, Jodhpur and Secundrabad. He was very strict and impartial on the play-ground and his decisions were rarely challenged. He was married in Lucknow on 3 May, 1936 and is blessed with one son, (Dr. Krishna Mohan, a surgeon in England) and two daughters.

Pt.Chandra Mohan Nath began his career as a teacher in 1931. From 1938 to 1942 he was an insurance man. In December 1943 he joined the Royal Indian Air Froce from where he was released in February 1952 as Ft.Lieutanant. Thereafter he established *New York Blacking Co.* in partnership to manufacture shoe polish etc. In this business he remained from 1952 to 1971. However, during this

period he assisted his father and did whatever little social service he could do. This was a tradition he had inherited from his family. Helping others came to him instinctively. He joined The Sewa Samiti Agra and is its Secretary since 1972. He is an active member of Ram Lila Committee. Since 1969 he is associated with Kashmiri Samaj, Agra. Presently he is Patron of the Samaj. He is an eagerly sought after person on the occassion of social and cultural gatherings and he discharges his duties with pleasure inspite of his advancing age. For decades he has been doing this service. The tradition of helping young boys who come to town for studies is still continuing. All those who come find a welcome smile and a comfortable roof. The poor and the needy, at times, are assisted with a little monetary help too. Since he is a health enthusiast he invites boys to join *Akhara*. He is a beliver in the maxim of 'healthy body breeds a healthy mind'.

Pt.Chandra Mohan Nath is a non-political and religious man. He has simple taste and lives a simple life. To him service to humanity is service to God. He is an upholder of dignity of labour. He loves children. They eagerly await his arrival and crowd him to hear interesting anecdotes told in an interesting manner. Older people also consult him on matters of importance. Distributing free homoeopathic medicines and gardening are his hobbies. Attending to patients or watering or trimming plants are common sight in the morning. Although eighty-four, he is still active and visits people in the town enquiring about their welfare, offering advice and helping solve their problems besides looking after his family agricultural land. He is truly, a standard-bearer of the great traditions of his noble family. We are sure the young generation will emulate his example of dedicated and selfless social service.

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Chapter - 33

KUNZRU-THE KARMAYOGI

L.N. Raina

Among the leading men of Kashmiri community who were bright and lustrous during the current eventful century was Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, a modern Tyagi and Karma Yogi. Though Kashmiris would certainly take pride to call him as one of their own, Pandit Kunzru was among the most eminent Indians of the age. He was a world citizen whose interests ranged far and wide. He pioneered among Indian's area study of the world around us. To quote from President Zakir Hussain, Pandit Kunzru was "one of the illustrious Indians of our generation who contributed in various ways to the advancement of our nation and helped to enrich the quality of our public life". Pandit Kunzru was a man of liberal convictions and remarkable catholicity of outlook. He represented in his person not only the best of Kashmir heritage, but also of India's composite culture.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's life was imbued with uncommon moral and ethical principles on which he never compromised. He was one of the most important liberal leaders of his time to whom Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other public men of his time paid deference. For over half a century, he was a leading parliamentarian who applied his incisive mind not only to the constitutional and political problems of the country but also to foreign relations and the defence requirements of India. He plunged with equal zest in the battle for the educational progress and social emancipation of his countrymen. In fact the personality of this eminent Indian touched upon practically every aspect of the nation's life.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru was a great patron of Kashmiri culture. The community owes him a great debt of gratitude for all the sympathy he displayed for Kashmiris in the turmoil they had to face following partition of country in 1947. Though he could compare well with any of the luminaries of his time, his self-abnegation was so total that he did not allow even a line to be written about himself, his sacrifices and his achievements.

It has thus become imperative for the benefit of posterity, to recall basic facts about him and pay a fitting tribute ot this patriot for his achievements, his philosophy and his contribution to public life of his time.

The ancestors of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru came from Kunjhurgaon in Baramula District. It was for their residence in this village that the family acquired the surname Kunzru. This is true of many Kashmiri families hailing from villages, such as Kilam, Muran or Viyos. According to Pandit Kriparam Kunzru, the great-grand father of Hridaynath Kunzru, it was a well-to-do family that had to move to the plains under adverse circumstances. After the eclipse of the Mughals in Kashmir, the reins of government were usurped by the Pathans who made the Pandits of the valley, along with the Shia community, the special target of their tyranny. Kunzrus migrated from the valley.

According to Pandit Kriparam Kunzru the family had a breathing span in Fyzabad in U.P. Around 1803 they came to settle down in Delhi, where a member of the family, Pandit Ganesh Kunzru, became a *vakil* of the East India Company. After the occupation of Delhi by the British, a number of principalties cropped up around the metropolis under the tutelage of the East India Company; one of them was Jhajjar, where the grandfather of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru was appointed *dewan.* Pandit Kidar Nath acquired property in Agra where he built a house in 1840, in which year a son was born to him whom he named Ajudhianath, father of Pandit Hridaynath. In addition to landed property, Kidarnath established business in Agra, which came to be known as Kidarnath Ajudhianath Co. When in Delhi, Kunzrus had resided in Churiwali Gali, Bazar Sitaram. In 1857, the Nawab of Jhajjar was tried for treason and his state confiscated and the Kunzrus had to move to Agra permanently.

Hridayanath's father, Ajudhianath, was educated in the traditional way in Arabic and Persian. He was described in college report as "intellegent and promising" and on completion of his study was enrolled as pleader in Agra. He soon became the top Vakil in Agra and was elected for Allahabad High Court Bar. His business which he had acquired from his father flourished and he became a very prominent citizen of Agra. The ancentry is reconstructed by M.L Bhargava of the Jawaharla Nehru Museum and Library in the life story of Ajudhianath Kunzru, whom he calls the first martyr to constitutional freedom.

Pandit Ajudhianath had married twice. From his first wife he had two sons and from the second he had four. At the time of his death 1892 all his sons were minor, the eldest from the first wife being 17 years. Hridaynath was hardly four, and the youngest one month only.

Pandit Ajudhianath had not only made his mark at the bar or in business. He gave his services to education and tried a hand at journalism. Above all he threw himself wholeheartedly in the national moment. This was a bold decision and predates even Tilak and other leaders of the later-day independence movement. Ajudhianath was among the first Indians to be appointed to the Legislative Council of the Lt. Governor of North Western Province (now U.P.). Initially Ajudhianath's approach was rather cautious but by and by he was drawn more and more to the Indian National Congress. At its Allahabad session in 1888, he became a prominent member of the reception committee and was elected Joint General Secretary. In this capacity he served for many years. In fact his name came up for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress which he declined presumably on grounds of health but more out of humility and with a view to give opportunity to others. Unfortunately his health declined under the strain of his wide-ranging but particularly political activity and he passed away at a premature age of 52 in 1892.

Though born under felicitous circumstances in the year 1887, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru had an unpropitious childhood. A martyr to constitutional freedom, as his biographer calls him, Ajudhianath had passed away when Hridaynath had not even started to attend school. Family dispute saw the business melt away and Hridaynath had to shift with his mother to Delhi to live under the tutelage of his material uncle. Being a precocious child, he did not allow adverse circumstances to overwhelm him or his academic career. Hridaynath received college education in Allahabad and finally passed out of the London School of Economics.

The glamours of London life of those days did not affect young Hridaynath. Early in 1909 he joined the Servants of India Society to dedicate his whole life and entire personal property to the service of the nation. Since then till his death in 1978 Pandit Kunzru lived a life of *tyag* and service. From 1936 onwards he headed the Servants of India Society as its President which attracted the cream of Indian Society to lifelong service of the nation. Endowed with extraordinary mental acumen and a strong sense of patriotism of the noblest kind, he was soon attracted to public affairs. Being of Independent temper, he could not submit himself to the political tutalage of Gandhiji or follow the agitational approach to the freedom struggle. Like his father he firmly believed in the use of constitutional

methods to win freedom. Thus he soon found his way to the U.P. Legislative Council of which he was a member from 1921-26. During the period 1927 to 1930 when the was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly he displayed an extraordinary intellectual acumen and a grasp of Indian problems and prospects. In the meanwhile he was elected as the President of the East African National Congress in 1929. This brought him face to face with the disabilities and problem of Indians abroad whose cause he promoted with all the vehemence at his command.

As a member of the Council of State for over a decade from 1937 to 1946. Pandit Kunzru, substantially contributed to the evolution of the policy of the then government on the Indianisation of the armed forces. As member of the Rajya Sabha later, from 1952 to 1962, he devoted himself, apart from the study of defence problems of the country, to the improvement in railway services. On both these subjects he had gained mastery of detail and his suggestions were heard with respect by the Government. In the Constituent Assembly and the provisional Parliament, Pandit Kunzru made some contribution in the framing of the Indian Constitution and parliamentary practices. As a member of the States Reorganisation Commission he helped in a more rational demarcation of the States' boundaries in keeping with the interests of linguistic minorities.

As already indicated, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru was an ardent believer in parliamentary system. He devoted himself to a comprehensive development of this system by his personal contribution to learned discussions of various aspects of public life. He kept himself well-informed and when a certain problem gripped his mind he would go about collecting relevant data from all directions. He would even have personal discussions with the concerned people to enlighten himself on all aspects of the problem.

Pandit Kunzru made rich contribution to varied fields of social and cultural life of the nation to which only passing reference can be made in the short span of this chapter. Apart from the Servants of India Society of which he continued to be the President from 1936 to his death, Pandit Kunzru was associated with the All India Seva Samiti and the Bharatiya Adimjati Seva Sangh. He was closely associated with academic life as member, for various periods, of the University Grants Commission and the executive councils of the Delhi University and the Banaras Hindu University. He was closely associated with Bharat Scouts and Guides.

Pandit Kunzru was a great lover of Urdu and was for a period President of the Anjumani-Taraque-Urdu.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru dedicated himself to the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Indian School of International Studies which he fostered with utmost care and devotion. Because of British rule in India, Indians had lost their age old contacts with the world around.Indian intellegentsia would see the world as the United Kingdom, saw it. Even the nearest neighbours had become strangers. This had narrowed their vision and restricted their thinking.

Pandit Kunzru along with Pandit Nehru had come to believe that if India was to play its rightful part in world affairs it had to look beyond the empire even when it continued to be an important member of the Commonwealth. With the founding of the Indian Council of World Affairs in 1949, Pandit Kunzru made a lasting contribution to the promotion of the study, research and publication in the country of international affairs and area studies. As Dr. M.S. Rajan from Director of School of International Studies (1965-71) has said in a tribute to Dr. Kunzru, though Sapru House was dedicated by Kunzru to the memory of his mentor, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, it could more appropriately be termed as a monument to Kunzru himself. It was solely his intensive effort that this unique institution came into being. Sapru House became the hub of the intellectual and cultural activity in the capital.

The library at Sapru House which was built through Pandit Kunzru's untiring efforts, serves as a storehouse of knowledge on national as well as international affairs. It is unfortunate that it had to be bifurcated much against his will. Even in its truncated form it continues to attract researchers and educationists.

Pandit Kunzru made the Indian Council of World Affairs an independent, non-partisan institution and a venue of informed seminars, conferences and lectures and got many learned books published apart from a journal, *India Quarterly,* which continues to maintain high literary and academic standards.

As a member for life of the Servants of India Society and as its President for over forty years, Pandit Kunzru had little personal property. He lived a frugal life. His daily routine was extremely punctual. He dressed himself simply. Pandit Kunzru had an observant eye.

In spite of his high public standing and respect shown to him by

the highest in the land, Pandit Kunzru was endowed with a self-effacing modesty and extraordinary integrity.

In 1968, the Government of India decided to confer on him the nation's highest award for public service, *Bharat Ratna.* When Pandit Kunzru was informed of it, he declined to accept it.

Like other important politicians of his age, who had been educated in Britain, Pandit Kunzru was a great admirer of the West minster type of parliamentary democracy. Like Nehru and others, he also failed to see that a political system cannot be transplanted from one country to another, from one culture to another and from one level of society to another, culture must grow out of the soil.

Hridaynath Kunzru supported a realistic foreign policy which catered to the national interest. He was an ardent admirer of Pandit Nehru's policy of non-alignment and thought that on international issues India should have the moral courage and strength to support the right cause. He believed India should continue its ties with the Commonwealth and make the institution a forum for it members.

Pandit Kunzru was an institution in itself. Of course, he was not as colourful and charismatic as Jawaharlal, nor was he a Motilal who gave up a life of luxury in the cause of the country, nor again was he a Tej Bahadur Sapru, the blue-eyed boy of the British and the Indian elite alike. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru was a leader of national stature in his own right who had something of each one of these rolled into one, and more. It must be admitted that his temperament and up bringing did not enable him to be a leader of the masses. He was a a great patriot who had in his own way contributed to the emancipation of his motherland. He had given up all, even the enjoyment of domestic life, to become a servant of the India society. His contribution to the parliamentary, social and cultural life of the country had been no less than of many other prominent Indians of his time.

As already said, Kashmirs owe a debt of gratitude to Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru for all the assistance that each individual who received went to him for help. He was a patron of Kashmir Samiti and at the time of the construction of its Bhavan in Lajpatnagar. New Delhi, he was invited to lay its foundation-stone which fact is prominantly inscribed at the Bhavan.

His name will thus continue to be associated for all time with Kashmiris and their cultural activity in the capital and elsewhere.

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Chapter - 34

SOME EMINENT KASHMIRI PANDITS

Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

SWAMI RAMJI (Shaivacharya)

Revival of Shaivism in Kashmir, as per recorded knowledge, was brought about during the latter half of the ninth century A.D. when Shiva - Sutras were expounded by the great sage Vasugupta to combat Buddhist onslaught on Shaiva faith here. Somananda and Utpala developed Pratyabhijna thought and erudite Abhinavagupta gave the systems a consolidated setting by giving to the posterity his Tantraloka termed as encyclopaedia of Kashmir Shaivism. Through the mushroom growth of writers then, literary stalwarts like Kshemraj, Jayarath and later Shivopadhaya held on the thread of monistic thought. They were mostly commentators. Although silence prevailed for long thereafter yet the slumbering spark kept somehow alive.

Instances of Shiva mystics like Ishar Joo Shair, Lala Joo Kokur and Manakak Monga became evident in the early 19th century in the city of Srinagar. Their spiritual experiences flowed down through Mahamaheshwarcharya Swami Ramji, which have been regaining momentum till this day. Born about the year 1952 A.D. to a Brahmin named Shukadeva at Chinkral Mohalla, Ram Ji was declared by astrologers to be destined to evolve as a great saint. In his boyhood he received instructions in priest-hood as was the hereditary practice during those days when modern education on western lines was in its infancy in the country. In his early youth he came in contact with Sri Lala Joo Kokur, who was well-versed in Kashmir Shaiva philosophy. Having a spiritual bent of mind, to which both heredity and environment must have contributed, Ram took to study of Shaiva lore. His interest and intelligence brought to him clear comprehension of the philosophy. Later he met his preceptor Sri Mansaram Monga of Shihil Teng. He was a great monist of the time in Kula system., with great spiritual attainment and wanted that knowledge of this peculiar philosophy should spread to posterity. He found a worthy disciple in Ramji and transmitted yoga to him by his divine touch.

Ramji got devoted to yoga practices in right earnest. He did not undergo formal renunciation as Vedantins usually do. He also continued his professional work as a householder. Soon he got

established in Yoga. Now he did not like to move about as his quest of God-consciousness was reaching its quenching state.

Death took away Ramji's wife while he was in his ripe youth. This made him sad, of course; but he took to redoubling his efforts in yoga practice and assimilation of the monistic philosophy. He felt that he should live in a place where he would be cared after and allowed to sit in samadhi as long as he could. He found a congenial atmosphere at a fellow disciple's home at safakadal.[1] He lived there for some years and turned to be a siddha yogi. Devotees endowed with finer intellect got attracted towards him. Common people also began to throng round him for invoking his blessings and seeking a touch to relieve themselves of their ills and worldly pain. But this disturbed the family life of the fellow disciples. Realizing the difficulty Ramji called on his admirer one evening. Knocking at the back-window of the house of his worthy yajman Sri Narayan Dass at Fatehkadal he expressed his desire for being provided with a place in seclusion where he could carry on his practices quite safely.

The noble Pandit was simply pleased to welcome the sage. He escorted him to a small three-storeyed house about three hundred metres away from his own residence. Necessary arrangements for a convenient stay were instantly made. Ramji lived here in his spiritual ecstasy and also taught Shaiva-Agama to worthy disciples who were later known as Swami Mahtab Kak, Swami Vidaydhar, Swami Govind Kaul, etc. His scholarly exposition of Trika Philosophy popularly known as Kashmir Shaivism drew more devotees and admirers to him. As a yogi of very high attainments, his mere look or touch was enough to transform the very nature of a person. Maharaja Pratap Singh, the then ruler of Kashmir, is said to have approached him for blessings.

Swami Ramji, after the age of forty years, stuck to his seat in one posture, with knees to his breast and did not move out for twenty long years. The saint-philosopher delivered discourses and explained verses from the Shaiva texts for hours together and kept his listeners spell-bound. At other times he remained immersed in undisturbed samadhi.

'To enlighten his own disciples, he (Swami Ram) displayed, even while living in body, his own Shaiva-hood, by remaining in Samadhi continuously for four hours daily'.

Swami Ramji left the mortal coil on the fourth day of dark fortnight in Phalguna (hury tsorum) — about 1915 A.D. Stories about

his siddhis are still current in the valley. The house where the Swami lived to spiritual maturity, is now famous as Sri Rama-Trika-Shaivashrama. Devotees and admirers are heard chanting devotional hymns and recitations from Shaivagama upto this day.

Pandit Siva Kaul

Kashmir Pandits have for many centuries braved the storm of political upheavals and managed to retain till recent times their spiritual and philosophical heritage. They had guarded with jealousy their Hindu traditions and had taken care to preserve the integrity of their religion. But socio-political changes in the country seem to have shaken their very being. In the past, a long chain of men and women with deep faith in their ancient ideals devoted themselves to realize the eternal philosophical Truth which they subsequently preached and taught the humanity at large. Many among them have passed unheard and unsung.

One such person who has remained comparatively unknown is Pandit Siva Kaul. He was born in circa 1872 A.D. in a middle class family in Srinagar. He was the eldest among the three brothers and one sister. His father, Narayan Kaul, was a straightforward man of simple habits and mother, Poshimal, an aggressive but deeply affectionate housewife. Since education was not common those days, Siva Kaul learnt to read and write and studied an elementary book in Persian called 'Karima'. When he grew up to be a young man, his father, who himself was an employee of a 'Khatri' — an immigrant merchant from the Punjab plains, got him an employment with another 'Khatri' to supplement the family income.

As passed by time, young Siva Kaul was married in a village (of Baramulla District) about twenty miles to the west of the capital city. After some years, his children grew up and as a result of growing differences he had to live as a separate family. This was the time when his innate noble tendencies began to forge. Siva Kaul's devotion to work endorsed by his honesty and efficiency impressed his employers and he gained their favour that helped him in building a new house adjacent to his parental home. He tried to maintain the cordial relations with his parents and brothers but intermittant feudal eruptions could not be overcome.

Siva Kaul had already been initiated into spiritual practices and yoga by Swami Tejnath of Bhimgoda, Hardwar. The Swami had

visited Kashmir under the patronage of the then ruler Maharaja Sri Pratap Singh. A number of young Kashmiris got attracted to the Swami's discourses and attended his *satsanga*. Siva Kaul's earnestness to grasp the spiritual Truth won for him grace of the Swami. While continuing the maintenance of his little *grahastha* which consisted of his devoted spouse, two sons and one daughter, Siva Kaul accepted to undertake yoga practices and follow the instructions of the preceptor. In the multiplicity of his engagements of a householder, he eked out time to devote to his spiritual pursuit. Taking his morning meals early before 9 O'clock he rushed to his work in order to avail of his lunch hour for having lessons in the spiritual texts with a great Pandit of the city. Pandit Sona Kak Razdan, who lived adjacent to the Raghunath Temple, near Fateh Kadal equipped the young aspirant with the knowledge of Vedantic Texts. After studying standard texts like Yogavasishtha, Vedanta-Siddhanta-Muktavali, Upanishads and a host of books on Vedanta Philosophy, some of which had to be written in legible hand as their printed forms were not available, Siva Kaul performed *Purashcharana* preparatory to take up sannyasa — the life of a recluse.

Now he wanted to leave his home for good to enable himself to get established in self-realisation and disseminate spiritual knowledge. Therefore at the end of Purashcharana a yagya was performed wherein he distributed all his accumlated books among the attending Brahmins to their choice. But, also, the compelling attitude of his parents made him ultimately to give up the chosen course of high order. As a result he continued to live in his household. This affected his spiritual career badly. He followed his yoga practices especially *Pranayam* in which he needed further instructions and supervision of his preceptor for a short time. This was not forthcoming and he went the wrong way. Since this help was far reaching during those days when the means of transport were very poor and communication difficult, he succumbed before reaching the age of fifty in circa 1922 A.D. The information was revealed to this writer when he came across a letter alongwith some others written later by the preceptor to Pandit Siva Kaul's eldest son — the writer's father, who also had passed away at a very young age by that time. Further information about this God-man came to the surface on pursuing investigations from his surviving wife and friends.

Pandit Siva Kaul was a man of talents. He was a sculptor. A

beautiful Siva-Linga with a stone chiselled '*Pranali*' (seat) is still worshipped in the 'Thakur Dwar' (shrine room) at home. He was adept in sketch-drawings. His sketches of Siva-Temple Siva-Linga and Hanuman carrying Sanjeevan in framed cases are hanging till this day in a small room. He was also a writer and a poet. He has written his autobiography in Persian script, neat and tidy which runs over a hundred fullscape pages of coarse yellow paper. A sixteen verse hymn to Lord Siva in Sanskrit verse speaks of his intensity of devotion. This was edited and translated into Hindi by the writer and later published by Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Srinagar (Kashmir) in his 'Mukundamala Evam Anya Stotra-Ratna' (1977). The tone of the hymn is touching pathos. An example:

'Devotoed to Thy feet I crave Thy favour as a seeker while Thou art drunk deep with the water of forgetfulfness. O Thou who art called easily propitiable! looking to the two characters of us both, how do people have a word of praise for you! (O Lord Siva!) I wonder.'

Another important work found in the rummaged records of this poet-philosopher is the translation into standard Kashmiri verse of the *Gaudapada Karikas* of the famour *Mandukya Upanishad*. Gaudapada, the grand preceptor of Adi Shankaracharya expounded the Advaita Vedanta philosophy known as Ajatavada (about 7th Century) perhaps developed from the Shunyavada of Nagarjuna (second century) and akin to later developed Pratyabhijna Philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism (later 9th Century) only have attempted to comment upon the Karikas. Pandit Siva Kaul's is perhaps the maiden attempt of rendering the Gaudapada Karikas into Kashmiri verse, the refrain of which is :

'O Crest jewel of immortality! Cast off thy mind-impressions for dissolution of duality is the tranquil Sivahood.'

In the introductory verses the poet expresses his supreme humbleness thus;

'If the learned come across this book of mine, they will count it among one written by a dull-headed one. Indeed it is so. But still they will not call it a self-willed expression. How can a glow-worm describe the magnificance of the sun!'

He concluded it by saying :

'Listen to me in short that gaining this supreme hood is like measuring the ocean with one jump. God alone can bless one as he is merciful!'

Thus this unknown great soul who was by his satsanga-mates given the title 'Vedanta Math' — the barrel of Vedanta, left his traces of greatness for those to pick up who may well deserve.

Swami Mehtab Kak

Aspirants who attempted to touch the spiritual heights with their sincere, sound and intensive practices of its tenets exclusively, are far more adored than many others who are given to philosophical deliberations only. Parmanand-Nandram of Kashmir, Parmahansa Ramakrishna of Bengal and Raman Maharishi of Tiruvanamalai are the few examples of the past two centuries in India. They put philosophy into practice and brought about spiritual renaissance in the country. The Indian youth today, even in universities, is not much interested in the fields of religious experiences and philosophy, which virtually possessed the better read among their predecessors. Understandably enough they have their own preoccupations. But it is good to remember and recall the past which must serve as the foundation for the future we are trying to build.

A youth of valour and perseverance came innocently from his village to the capital city of Kashmir in search of a spiritual teacher. Mehtab was born in an orthodox Kashmiri Pandit family at Krangdigom near Bijbehara in Anantnag district, towards the later half of the nineteenth century A.D. From his early boyhood he had inclination towards learning Sanskrit and following a spiritual order.

The religio-philosophical heritage of the Kashmiri Pandits, as remarked by J.C. Chatterji (1971) is Kashmir Shaivism. Which unlike South Indian Shaivism is monistic. But the common people in rural areas have been dimly aware of its doctrines. They follow the traditional way and assert that inward-looking emphasis on selfhood is not the common man's problem. He is enmeshed in the veil of illusion, which they call *maya zal* and knowledge (Jnana) is beyond his comprehension. Thus young Mehtab's thirst remaind unquenched.

The passing away of his father and mother one after another, developed dispassion for worldly life in the young man. He had heard of some saints living in their little Ashramas in the valley. So he left home in search of one who could teach him Sanskrit to enable him to understand the tenets of spirituality. In this quest, every saint whom he approached asked him to serve in his Ashrama first for some time and then he would be admitted for learning the sacred

language. The youngman could not reconcile. In his pursuit he reached '*Sadamalyun*' an Ashrama in a remote and dense forest of Deodars beyond Sopore township in the district of Baramulla. There lived a high calibred saint named 'Dama Shah', who accepted to teach him the spiritual lore but the young aspirant was not ready even to clean the utensils or cook the food. So he left the place after staying there for a short time and returned to Srinagar. Here he was directed to approach Swami Ramji, a staunch votary of Kashmir Shaiva (Trika) philosophy, at Fateh Kadal. It was an incidental play of divine grace which made the master give unconditional acceptance to the sincere prayer of the earnest disciple.

Mehtab Kak lived with his master for several years, learning the Agama sastras and finally got initiated in the Shaiva lore. He helplessly rendered unasked-for service in his utter faith and devotion to the master. It was perhaps this 'labour of love' that earned for him the Master's Grace. He imbibed the word of the master. His vigilance and care for this divine soul, who remained almost all the time absorbed in divine self, became exemplary. Many anecdotes are reported which show how dextrous and sincere he was in serving and obeying his master. Verily, he was put to various tests in which he proved his worth. He gained the first rank among his brother disciples, who were more learned than himself. He was a man of practice and did not leave things to mere theorization. While Swami Ram Ji gave long spiritual discourses, he grasped what most of the others could not easily do.

Mehtab Kak became the trusted disciple of Swami Ramji. Spiritual care of a six-year old boy was entrusted to him by his master saying — "Lala Sa'b[1] is a Yoga-Brashta.[2] Look to him till he is mature. Initiate him into Shaiva order when he is sixteen years, for I am leaving this body shortly now. "Swami Rama had danced in ecstasy at the birth of Lala Sa'b saying `I am Ram and he is Lakshman'. After a few months this great sage left the mortal coil.

Swami Mehtab Kak became the head of Sri Rama Shaiva (Trika) Ashrama.[3] He celebrated the anniversary of the great master every year afterwards by performing 'jag' and feeding people. He continued dissemination of spiritual knowledge to his disciples. Among these whom he initiated[4] is the illustrious Shankaracharya Sri Swami Lakshman Joo.

The Swami was a man of sagacity. He lived the life of a royal

mendicant. Although he never asked for money yet his pocket was never empty. Putting on a snow-white Ruffal-Pheran on his body, wrapping a twisted kappar-chaddar (white sheet of cloth) round his shoulders and spinning an Omkar-Pagri (turban) on his head his awe-inspiring countenance invited reverance and overall he looked a typical Kashmiri Pandit. His face glowed with spiritual radiance. With his well-trimmed moustache and beard he talked in a low voice of mild accent expressing a mixture of love and command. The normal size of his body lent charm to his royal gait. From his very look one could guage his inner peace and serenity. He was solace to the poor and courage of the depressed. Not only this but he had also successful knowledge of physical healing. He suggested and also distributed local medicines to cure diseases and physical ailments of anyone who approached him. In this he never observed any distinction of caste, creed or culture. He also gave incantative prescriptions (taiz) to child-bearing women to ease them during their labour. He was an example of the moral maxim:

'Prosperities of saints are for the well-bring of others.'

Swami Mehtab Kak was a saint of grace and grandeur. He gave day to day pithy examples while explaining the well-practised tenents of Kashmir Shaivism, to his disciples. During summer months he lived magnificently in the foot-hill of the Mahadev Giri at Chandapora near Harwan and at Gopi Tirth near the Nishat Bagh. He had occasional excursions in a boat or doonga round the Dal lake alongwith his disciples. Wherever he passed through, people unwantedly respected him. In short, he was such of the rare saints about whom Bhartrihavi has said :

'These are some saints who, full of holiness in thought, word and deed please the whole world by their numerous beneficent acts, and who develop their own hearts by magnifying an atom of virtue in others, as if it were as great as a mountain'.

Pandit Narayan Dass Raina

Tyndals Biscoe came to Kashmir as a Christian missionary during the latter half of the nineteenth century, while British ruled over India. He was a kind soul of keen insisght. For inculcating Christian faith among the people here, he had but to start with imparting education through English medium. Among the few boys

conducted in the capital city of Srinagar one was Narayan Dass who lived near Fateh Kadal, where across the river Jehlum (Vitasta) on its left bank, Mr. Biscoe was starting a regular school. The cheerful young boy of active habits and ready to imbibe new things, attracted his attention.

Narayan Dass picked up English words quickly and began to speak the language before he could learn by reading and writing. This brought him closer to the British Pope, who wielded influence and honour among the British officers. He was an important agent to introduce British visitors to people here for catering to their needs. He introduced Narayan Dass to an English lady who sold provisions at Kothi Bagh.

By dint of his honest labour and resourcefulness young Narayan got interesting employment and in a few years he turned to be a man of good standing and influence. He lived a splendid family life and his simple and loving nature won for him noble friends like Pandit Anand Kaul Bamzai, the first anthropologist of Kashmir. Swami Ramji, who had been his family priest, sought shelter in his house and developed as a saint of repute, who practised successfully the philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism. Narayan Dass and his good wife Arnimal, served the saint with devotion and faith. Among their other sons and daughters they were blessed with a son who grew to be a saint-philosopher and magnetic yogi of the Shaiva order. The good parents did not disturb their *yogi-brashta* son in his pursuit after Truth but tried to help him on the path. He was entitled to equal share of their property with other brothers.

Narayan Dass was the pioneer Houseboat owner of Kashmir. With his enterprising efforts on the kind advice of an Englishman, who came to Kashmir, he got house-boatos constructed for supply to English officers and visitors. This gave him the name '*Nav Naran*' among his people.

His vast mindedness and indomitable will gained for him many great qualities of which he displayed in his life of simple living and high thinking. He had sympathy for the weak and reverence for the good. When Swami Vivekananda visited Kashmir in 1897-1898, he along with his European and Indian devotees stayed in house-boats on the River Jehlum (Vitasta). The house-boats were provided to the party by Narayan Dass. When the Swami decided to return to Calcutta, he asked for the bill of house-boat fare. But Narayan Dass humbly refused to present the bill and said that he had already been

blessed with the Swami's benign presence in the city and that grace of a God-man could not be purchased with money.

Narayan Dass let out a big piece of land to the East India Carpet Company run by an English industrialist. This provided employment to a number of people in the city.

When God turns to favour He gives in bushels. Narayan Dass became a leading citizen of Srinagar. Much more was added when Maharaja of Tikari chose to spend summer in Kashmir. Narayan Dass was entrusted with the whole management of his stay here. He was also honoured by the Maharaja of Kashmir with his kind invitations on the occasion of a visit by Viceroy or a distinguished British officer to the state. He was first in the state to make use of a bicycle. People assembled to look at him in surprise while he passed through a street on what they termed 'iron-horse' or 'Zal gur'. Once Narayan Dass went on his bicycle to call on his friend. Reaching his house he kept his bicycle by a wall and went in. Meanwhile a number of persons assembled there to have a look on the 'Zal gur'. One of the earnest on-lookers went quickly out and bringing a small bundle of grass placed near it to see how the 'iron horse' took it. with his queer *pagri* on his head Narayan Dass was also the first man to use coat and pant among the Kashmiris.

Narayan Dass was a God-fearing man. He undertook every act as duty from God to be fulfilled with the best efforts he could put in. He was friend of the poor. He would place tins of rice and floor on road-side so that any person in need irrespective of caste or creed would share from it. His wife distributed cooked rice and clothes among the poor coming to her for help. Narayan Dass had as if imbibed the teachings of Lord Krishna :

"Your right is to work only but never to the fruit thereof".

"He, who sees inaction in action and action in inaction".

"He (ever satisfied) does nothing at all, though he may be ever engaged in action".

Karmayogi Narayan Dass thus lived a ripe age of about eighty years and left his mortal coil around 1945 A.D. To recollect an incident, he was once seen sitting in an old basket chair by the pathway in the compound of his factory repairing a basket. On being asked as to what he had been doing, the cheerful old man said innocently "I am just keeping myself engaged. This basket was left here unserviceable. I am repairing it so that it may be of use to whoever might need it".

"A wonderful man, indeed" was the remark of this writer taking leave of this great man of Action.

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Chapter - 35

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU - A KASHMIRI

Prof. J.N. Ganhar

Jawaharlal Nehru, it has rightly been observed, was the most Indian of all Indians; yet he never ceased to be a Kashmiri.

Panditji was born of Kashmiri Pandit parents. But they were not living in Kashmir. His parents were settled outside-in what is now Uttar Pradesh. But pure Kashmiri blood ran in their veins, so it did in his.

Jawaharlal was born at Allahabad on 14 November, 1889. Among the events that made a deep impression on him during his childhood were the celebration of Navroz, the Kashmiri Pandits' New Year Day, and his birthday. He enjoyed the celebration of both these events as do the Kashmiri Pandit children to this day. In his Autobiography he writes : "Amongst us and the other Kashmiris were also some celebrations which were not observed by most of the other Hindus. Chief of these was the Navroz, the New Year's Day according to the Samvat calendar. This was always a special day for us when all of us wore new clothes and the young people of the house got small sums of money as tips. Needless to say, this practice continues among the Kashmiri Pandits in the valley and outside even today.

But more than any other event the child was interested in the celebration of his birthday. He was weighed against bagfuls of what and other articles which were then distributed among the poor. This practice is no longer in vogue now, thanks to the ever-mounting cost of cereals and other articles! but it had not died out altogether. Iol-a-bar, the ritual is resorted to sometimes even now when someone is aspected by evil stars, according to his horsecope. Like children in our households, Jawaharlal also arrayed himself in new clothes on his birthday and received presents. A party or feast is also given by the parents, as was done by Panditji's parents.

In his own inimitable way, Panditji writes that he felt like a hero on the occasion. He adds : 'My chief grievance was that my birthday came so rarely. Indeed, I tried to start an agitation for more frequent birthdays. I did not realize then that a time would come when birthdays would become unpleasant reminders of advancing age".

Early in his life Panditji noted how Kashmiris differed from other Indians. He writes : "Kashmiris have had one advantage over many others in India, especially in the north. They never had any purdah, or seclusion of women". He also made note of Kashmiris' objection to inter-marriage with other communities. But he rightly observed that this was not based on religion. It is largely racial, there is a desire among many Kashmiris to preserve our group identity and our distinctive Aryan features, and a fear that we shall lose these in the sea of Indian and non-Indian humanity.

Among the diversion that he indulged in his youth Panditji mentions shikar but he hastens to add that he had no special aptitude or inclination for it. He says that he liked outings and the jungle and cared little for the killing. He goes on to add : "Indeed my reputation was a singularly bloodless one, although I once succeeded, more or less by a fluke, in killing a bear, in Kashmir".

Jawaharlal was married to a Kashmiri Pandit girl in Delhi in 1916. The marriage took place on the auspicious *Vasanta Panchami* day. That summer he spent a number of months in Kashmir. During this period he spend some weeks in the mountains and came very near to losing his life.

This was his first experience of narrow and lonely valleys, high up in the world, which lead to Ladakh. At matayan, beyond the Zojila, he was told that the sacred shine of Amarnath was only eight miles away. The young mountaineer decided to make it, though an enormous mountain, all covered with ice and snow lay in between and had to be crossed. So they left their camp, at about 11,500 feet, and with a small party went up the mountain. They had a local shepherd for their guide. Luckily, Panditji had left behind his family in the valley (Kashmir).

Description of this hazardous trek is best told in Panditji's own words. He writes :

"We crossed and climbed several glaciers, roping ourselves up and our troubles had increased and breathing became a little difficult. Some of our porters, lightly laden as they were, began to bring up blood. It began to snow and the glaciers became terribly slippery;

we were fagged out and every step meant a special effort. But still we persisted in our foolhardy attempt. We had left our camp at four in the morning and after twelve hours' almost continuous climbing we were rewarded by the sight of a huge ice-field. This was a magnificent sight, surrounded as it was by snow peaks, like a diadem or an amphitheatre of the gods. But fresh snow and mists soon hid the sight from us...it must have been 15,000 to 16,000 feet, as we were considerably higher than the cave of Amaranath. We had now to cross this ice-field, a distance probably of half a mile, and then go down on the other side to the cave .... Very tired but in good humour, we began this stage of the journey. It was a tricky business because there were many crevasses and the fresh snow often covered a dangerous spot. It was this fresh snow that almost proved to be my undoing, for I stepped upon it and down I went a huge and yawning crevasse. It was a tremendous fissure and anything that went right down it could be assured of safe keeping and preservation for some geological ages. But the rope held and I clutched to the side of the crevasse and was pulled out. We were shaken up by this but still we persisted in going on. The crevasses, however, increased in number and width and we had no equipment or means of crossing some of them. And so at last we turned back, weary and disappointed, and the cave of Amaranath remained unvisited".

The higher valleys and mountains of Kashmir fascinated Panditji so much that he resolved to come back again soon. But that was not to be. He soon got so involved in the vortex of political activities that he had little time to gratify his cherished desire of visiting the celestial valley again. But the desire to do so could not be suppressed for ever. He paid a visit to the valley again in 1940, that is after a lapse of nearly two dozen years. In his own words, he wandered about the valley like one possessed and drunk with beauty, and the intoxication of it filled his mind.

The loveliness of the land enthralled him and cast its enchantment all about him. Panditji description of the valley's beauty is worth quoting in full. This is what he wrote "like some supremely beautiful women: whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come to view, a masculine·one, of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peeks and glaciers, the cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valleys below. It had a

hundred faces and innumberable aspects ever changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. The mist would creep up from the Dal Lake and, like a transparent veil, give glimpases of what was behind. The clouds would throw out their arms to embrace a mountain-top, or creep down stealthily like children at play. I watched this ever-changing spectacle, and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was over-powering and I felt almost faint. As I gazed at it, it seemed to me dreamlike and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfillment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening". The great son of Kashmir was not oblivious of the people or blind to their poverty.

Again and again, he tells us, that as he was wrapped in pleasurable contemplation of Kashmir's beauty, he came back to hard earth with a shock when he saw their appalline poverty. He wondered why the Kashmiris should remain so miserably poor when nature had so abundantly endowed them. Panditji, however, felt that the existing resources of the valley were enough to raise the standard of leaving of the people considerably, provided, of course, that they were properly co-ordinated and utilized on a planned and ordered basis. In this context he noted how beautiful were the articles made by the deft fingers of Kashmir's artisans and craftsmen. "To look at them was a pleasure, to handle them a delight," he added.

During this visit, Panditji also sensed that Kashmir was astir and the masses were on the move. In this respect, he thought, that Kashmir was, in some ways, well in advance of the other States. And he observed that the people's movement in Kashmir was fortunate in its leadership for Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was a real leader of the people, beloved of them, and endowed with vision which looked ahead".

After the 1940 visit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Kashmir many times but these were mostly political in nature and need not be noticed here. It might, however, be surprising that, Panditji's love for Kashmir and her people was not in anyway responsible for Kashmiri people's decision to cast their lot with India when the country was partitioned.

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Chapter - 36

THOSE GOLDEN BONDS - JAWAHAR LAL AND KASHMIR

D.K. Kachru

The opening years of the eighteenth century in India were years of turmoil. Long before the final and formal collapse of the last of the Moghuls in 1857 A.D. Kashmir was annexed by the Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D. In the years of uncertainty and disintegration preceding the annexation, a number of Kashmir's left their home-land. One of these was Pandit Raj Kaul. He was a well-known Kashmiri Scholar of Sanskrit and Persian. He is said to have come to the notice of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, and to have migrated to Delhi about the year 1716 A.D. A small *jagir* with a house situated on the bank of a canal (Nehar) was granted to him.

Six generations of the descendants of Pandit Raja Kaul continued to live in Delhi with varying fortunes in the troubled times that followed. The Kauls became known as Kaul-Nehrus because of the Nehru-the Canal. A few generations later the original family surname became a casualty and Nehru alone remained.

The grand-father of Pandit Motilal, Pandit Lakshmi Narayan, became the first Vakil of the Company Sarkar at the shadow court of the Emperor of Delhi. His father, Pandit Ganga Dhar, was the Kotwal of Delhi before the revolt of 1857. With the fall of Delhi, tragedy struck the family as it did for many others. Pandit Ganga Dhar lost not only his job but all his possessions. He and his family ultimately found shelter in Agra as fugitives. It was soon after that he died at the young age of 34, leaving behind his widow and two grown-up sons. The third son was born in May 1861, three months after the death of his father. This was Pandit Motilal.

The burden of looking after the stranded family fell on the young shoulders of the two grown-up sons, Pandit Bansidhar and Pandit Nanda Lal. Pandit Bansidhar got into the Judicial Service, and was often posted in far away stations. The brunt of looking after the family was, therefore, borne by Pandit Nanda Lal. He entered the service of the small state of Khetri in Rajasthan and rose to be its Dewan. Later, he took to law, started practice at Agra, and finally settled down at Allahabad to be a prosperous lawyer after some time. Pandit Moti Lal lived with him and under his fostering care.

Pandit Moti Lal did not graduate. He was fond of sports, in which he excelled. He finally took the Local Pleaders' Examination standing first. He now joined his brother, Pandit Nanda Lal, at the bar. Soon after he started making a name. Pandit Nanda Lal died in the meantime. He could not live to see his young brother come to the top of the Allahabad bar, and to start earning like a prince; also living like one in westernised style in his palatial new home, which he named Anand Bhavan. Here he looked after the entire joint family.

It was a little earlier that Jawaharlal was born on November 14, 1889. The first wife of Pandit Moti Lal had died young. Jawaharlal was born of his second wife, Swarup Rani. She was from a Kashmiri family from Lahore. Her people had left the home-land only two generations back. She, therefore, brought a fresh flow of Kashmiri blood into the old Nehru veins.

Unlike his father, Jawaharlal was born in the lap of luxury. Kashmiris in Allahabad, as elsewhere then, stuck to each other, and were proud of their composite culture and their place in the order of things. The Nehru household was a fine example of this composite culture. His pretty and petite mother apart, Mubarak Ali, the Munshi of his father, was Jawaharlal's early confidant.

Kashmiri ladies, unlike most North Indians, observed no purdah. Kashmiri girls and boys mixed freely at feasts and festivals. Jawaharlal recalls this with nostalgic pleasure and the *Shadi-Khana* and *Nauroz* gatherings of Kashmiris, where he had fun and frolic in abundance.

He was initially admitted to a local Convent School. Later, British governesses and a British tutor looked after his education and up-bringing at home. Theosophy affected him powerfully for a time. His father took him to England in 1905, at the age of 15. Here he was admitted to the famous Harward School. Later, he joined Cambridge. He left Cambridge in 1910 after he took his Degree with Honours. He got through his Law examinations, was called to the Bar in 1912, and returned to India after a stay abroad of seven years.

His father, meanwhile, was assiduously looking around for a suitable Kashmiri bride for him. After a prolonged search, he succeeded in selecting a Kashmiri girl from a Kaul family in Delhi. Kamala was her name. She was about ten years younger than Jawaharlal. The marriage was celebrated with great eclat in Delhi in the spring of 1916. The following summer both Jawaharlal and his wife spent in Kashmir—their first visit to the "old homeland". In November 1917, their first and only child, Indira Priyadarshini, was born to them.

Jawaharlal's was a sensitive soul. He was offered judgeship and even a Ministership by the British. He spurned these. Instead, he decided to join the freedom movement and face all the resultant privations and sacrifices. Not all his father's wealth and position could keep him back. Soon after, Pandit Motilal also joined his son; such was the intimate interaction of the thinking of the two on their lives and living. Under the magic spell of Gandhiji, father and son soon became the two principal torch-bearers of the great war of India's independence.

The first imprisonment of Jawaharlal in 1921 was only a prelude to many more incarcerations later; to lathi blows at the hands of the Police; to repeated confiscations of valued property, and its loss; to the beatings of other and beloved members of the family; to their repeated imprisonment; and finally to a police lath-charge not only on ailing Kamala but also on the frail and old mother, Swarup Rani. Father and son and the other members of the family gave their all for the country and lived only to serve the nation and help break its shackles of serfdom. The nation honoured their great sacrifice and dedication. Pandit Moti Lal was elected the President of the Indian National Congress twice, son succeeding father in 1929.

Pandit Moti lal was a great lover of Kashmir and Kashmiris. Besides, he was an epitome of the eclectic culture of the Kashmiri. He carried on a regular correspondence with Maharaja Pratap Singh of Kashmir in his clear and distinguished hand-writing. He called himself, in some of these letters, a Kashmiri subject of the Kashmir Ruler. He also entertained Maharaja Pratap Singh in royal style during his visits to Prayag-Allahabad.

It has been said of Pandit Motilal that he looked like an ancient Roman emperor. Ramsay Macdonald, the first Labour Prime Minister of England, considered him the most suitable Indian to be the first Prime Minister of a free India. Pandit Motilal died in January 1937. In his last fatal illness, immediately preceding his death, his son described him as "an old Lion mortally wounded and with his physical strength almost gone, but still very leonine and kingly". Kashmiris shared a nation's grief, and more than that, felt a personal sense of bereavement.

Jawaharlal was the hero of us all in the beautiful but then benighted State of Kashmir. His father's name and his, and the stories linked with them both, had become a legend. All of us young students then, took a vicarious pride in the great achievements and

sacrifices of father and son for these brought reflected glory on the down-trodden Kashmiri and showed him what pinnacles Kashmiris could rise to.

I was a young student of fourteen when the historic Lahore Congress of 1929 was held on the banks of the river Ravi. Pandit Moti Lal was the out-going President of the Indian National Congress and Jawaharlal, the incoming one. Both father and son had been honoured in succession by a grateful and admiring nation with the highest honour that it could confer. I vividly remember the excitement in Srinagar and the rush we made to Amria Kadal for our copy of "The Tribune" our only link then with the world outside. What a mad scramble at the news-stand? Our eyes became wet with tears of joy and we lapped every word of Jawaharlal's speech declaring independence as the goal of India.

Jawaharlal was the third Kashmiri to be chosen as the President of the Indian National Congress, the youngest ever. Pandit Bishan Narain Dhar and Pandit Moti Lal had preceded him. Another distinguished Kashmiri, Dr. Saifud-din Kichlu, was Secretary of the Reception Committee' at the Lahore Congress, His fiery welcome address was saturated with patriotic fervour and enthused us all.

About two years later, in December 1931, I was deputed from S.P. College, Srinagar, along with Pt Hirday Nath Dhar, later a leading member of the Kashmir bar, to take part in the All-India Inter-University Debate in Allahabad University. On arrival at Allahabad, we almost rushed to Anand Bhawan to have Jawaharlal's *darshan.* The spacious gardens and the verandas were crowded. Jawaharlal, we were told, was very busy in a meeting inside. We sent in a slip. "Two Kashmiri students from Srinagar come for your darshan". To our great joy and excitement, he was with us in a couple of minutes, leaving his meeting in the middle as he told us. A dream had come true for the two of us. Our great hero stood there before us in flesh and blood; a most winsome, charming and handsome youngman. He spent nearly ten to fifteen minutes with us; enquired also about the subject of the debate we had come for; and repeatedly exhorted us to keep the flag of "us Kashmiris" high in the contest. This memorable meeting was for us a thrilling personal experience of Jawaharlal's interest in Kashmir and Kashmiris.

It was in 1936 that the autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru was published with its poignant dedication. It provided exciting reading for us. The explanation given for the surname Nehru in the opening

chapter of the book is well-known. In Kashmir, Naroos now-Nehrus did not, however, have the same explanation to offer for their surname. Like a hasty youngman, I immediately wrote a letter to Jawaharlal explaining all this and requesting him to reconcile the discrepancy. Pat came his reply pleading ignorance of the Kashmir story and adding that what he had written on the subject was from his father's account of it. A copy of this letter is reproduced at the end. Other books by him followed, to name only a few: 'Discovery of India', 'Glimpses of World History', 'Letters from a father to his Daughter'. These revealed the sweep of a great mind, and the soul of a true humanist and patriot.

The autobiography ended with events upto February 14, 1935. It was a soul-stirring narrative. Only twelve years later, Jawaharlal was sworn in, amidst scenes of wild rejoicing and jubilation, as the first Prime Minister of a free and independent India. With its characteristic grim humour history had fulfilled the wishful prophecy of Ramsay MacDonald with a twist: the son, not the father, became the first Prime Minister of a free and independent India.

He continued as such from 1947 till 1964-seventeen long and crucial years-dedicated to the building of a modern state and a modern nation. It was a herculean task, for the partition had left the country prostrate and bleeding. He battled like a Colossus to build a modern, democratic, and secular India. His achievements were great. His failures whatever these be, stemmed from his intensely human and civilized mind. The world recognised him as an outstanding statesman, the builder of modern secular India, and the architect of non-alignment. On May 26, 1964, at the age of 74, Jawaharlal, the beloved of a nation and the champion of the downtrodden and the suppressed the world over, finally passed away from the terrestrial scene of his noble activities. A whole nation, and many countries in the world besides, went into mourning, and millions shed tears of grief.

The Kashmiris felt particularly widowed, for he had a special niche for his "old homeland" in his great heart; and for all that pertained to the welfare of Kashmir and Kashmiris. This was so in no parochial sense of the term, but born of Jawaharlal's romantic love for that lovely land of lakes and mountains, that ancient seat of India's culture, and the exemplary composite living.

Jawaharlal often called himself "a child of Kashmir". He always referred to the Happy Valley as "our old homeland". Many of his

letters from prison bear eloquent testimony to this. In a letter from prison, dated January 5, 1933, to Gandhiji, he says, "The stopping of interviews has made me retire a little more into myself, but I have had a pleasing and friendly neighbour of Himalayas. They seem to rouse in me ancient memories of the long ago when perhaps, my ancestors wandered about the mountains of Kashmir and played in their snow and glaciers". In a letter, again from prison, to "My dear Nan"—Mrs. Vijay Laksmi Pandit-dated March 20, 1933, he says, "The call (of Kashmir to me) comes from the higher valleys leading upto the glaciers and the snows and the beautiful spring flowers and the autumn hues and the lotus bloom on the Dal Lake", In yet another letter from prison to `Darling Indu Boy"-Mrs. Indira Gandhi-dated March 30, 1934, "Kashmir is a place well worth visiting and as you know, it is our old homeland and has a special claim on us". Again in a letter of June 15, 1934 from prison to "Indu Darling", he says, "I am glad you are enjoying your visit to Kashmir and are growing fond of the place...What is a month in Kashmir? But you can look upon this as an introduction to the place. I hope you have been able to meet some good Kashmiri families. I am told that better class Kashmiri women have now all taken to the sari. Only a few years ago, they wore the *phiran*".

He closely studied the Rajatarangini and whatever books he could get on Kashmir. In his foreword to the Rajatarangini by R.S. Pandit-his scholarly and erudite brother-in-law, published in 1935, he says: "I have read this story of olden times with interest because I am a lover of Kashmir and all its entrancing beauty; because, perhaps, deep down within me and almost forgotten by me there is something that stirs at the call of the old homeland from where we came long-long ago...". He has repeated this sentiment often in his letters to various Kashmir leaders- Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohd., Wazir Ganga Ram and others. In a short but beautiful message to the Daily Hamdard of Srinagar, dated July 30, 1939, he says : "As a child of Kashmir the fate of that beautiful land is dear to me and I send my greetings". Again in a message, dated October 4, 1939, to the all J & K National Conference, he says, "...I am continually drawn to Kashmir and as soon as I am able to do so, I shall visit that beautiful country which it is a privilege for me to call especially me own..."

In a letter from Wardha, dated June 13, 1942, to "Darling Indu", he says, "Two of your letters have reached me here from Srinagar and

they have made me feel a little hungry for the sight of the valley and the mountains that surround it. But I take vicarious delight in your being there".

Notwithstanding all his longing to visit his "old homeland" Jawaharlal could go to Kashmir just for twelve days, after a lapse of almost twenty-three years, in May/June 1940. He had a hectic time. He attended innumerable parties including one given by Pandit Shiv Narain Fotedar in the Pratap Gardens. I happened to be present. I still recall the animated interest that Jawaharlal evinced in those of us who were introduced to him.

On the conclusion of his 1940 Kashmir visit, Jawaharlal sent a farewell message to Kashmir in a press statement issued at Lahore on June. 12, 1940. It was published in 'The National Herald'. The message was a moving one. It said, among other things, "To the Kashmir Pandit. I would make a special appeal; for I have claim on them and they have on me. Let them play a brave part in the mighty happenings of today and seek not a narrow protection which binds and restricts, but the joy of taking part in the great movements which are changing this old world of ours".

A few days later he wrote an article on "Kashmir". This was published in 'The National Herald' in six parts between July 24-31. 1940. It was in this article that he said of Kashmir : "Like some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river, and valley and lake and graceful trees....." Again, "The Hindus of Kashmir proper, chiefly Kashmiri Pandits, though only about 5% are an essential and integrated part of the country and many of their families have played a prominent part in Kashmir's history for a thousand years or more. Even today, they play a significant part in the states services and administration. Essentially these Kashmiri Pandits are the middle class intelligentsia. Intellectually they compare favourably with any other similar group in India. They do well in examinations and in the professions. A handful of them who migrated to other parts of Northern India during the last two hundred years or so, have played an important part in public life and in the professions and services in India, out of all proportions to their small numbers" Again, he says....." I spoke frankly and freely (to the Kashmiri Pandits at the meeting) for having been born in a Kashmiri Pandit family I could take liberties with my own people".

Kashmiris showered their love on him in unstinted measure. They were proud of their Jawaharlal and took him to their-hearts. In

a letter, dated June 3, 1940, from Srinagar to "Indu Darling". Jawaharlal says, "I have had a wonderful time during these few days that I have been here. Kashmir is surprisingly lovely and when you add to that the gift of a peoples' love the result is apt to be intoxicating".

The next visit made history. It was on June 19, 1946, when he rushed to the help of his friend and comrade-in-arms Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah. He did so against the wishes of Lord Wavell and some of his colleagues, for the Cripps Mission was at Delhi. He was stopped at the border by the Kashmir Police and his entry banned. His defied the ban, marched on foot into Kashmir territory, and on June 20, was put under arrest. The Congress High command had to decide on the Cabinet Mission's award of June 16 with Sir Stafford and others waiting for Jawaharlal's return. Azad and Patel implored Jawaharlal to return immediately. Lord Wavell sent a special plane for him and Jawaharlal returned to Delhi on June 22. The Maharaja and his Prime Minister had to grind their teeth in chagrin. Soon after they were obliterated from the scene.

India became independent on August 15, 1947. Jawaharlal took over as Prime Minister and continued as such till his death in May 1964. The Kashmir issue became one of international import. Jawaharlal stood by it like a rock. Accusations of partiality towards Kashmir were hurled at him. He stood unmoved. In a speech in Parliament, on August 7, 1952, he said, "I am called a Kashmiri in the sense that ten generations ago my people came down from Kashmir to India. That is not the bond that I have in mind when I think of Kashmir, but other bonds which have tied us much closer. These bonds have grown more and more in the last five years or so. When I talk of my ties with Kashmir I am only a symbol of the vast number of people in India who have been bound together with Kashmir in these five years of conflict against a common adversary. Our history and our circumstances have made Kashmir so closely associated with our feelings, emotions, thoughts and passions that it is a part of our being".

Jawaharlal and his great father Pandit Motilal valued and cherished their Kashmir bonds and took pride in them and in their composite culture. The special message that Jawaharlal addressed to Kashmiri Pandits in 1940 is as relevant today, after forty years, as it was then. The modern, democratic, secular India of his dreams has to be built fully : brick by brick by you and by me and by every son and daughter of India, and of Kashmir in particular; a task that we dare not delay or defer. Long live Jawaharlal and all that he stood and

strived for !

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
July 12, 1936.

Pandit Dayakishan Kachru,
Sheshiyar, Second Bridge
Srinagar (Kashmir)

Dear Dayakishanji,

Thank you for your letter. I am interested to learn of the Nehru in Kashmir. I do not know if there was any connection between them and us. But there is no doubt that we used to called Kaul. What I have written on the subject in my book is from my father's account of it. Unfortunately our family papers were destroyed during the revolt of 1857.

Your's sincerely

J. Nehru

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Chapter - 37

NEHRU AS A THINKER

Prof. S. Bhatt

1. A Thinker in Totality

The study of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as a thinker is a subject for detailed scholarly enquiry. To analyse his mind and his manifold contribution to knowledge and human understanding is a work which is challenging and creative. It is a vast field of study. A panoramic view is obtained from his learned speeches and discourses delivered at distinguished national, and international audiences on illuminiting subjects like ends and means, age of crisis, Gandhian technique, basic wisdom, dynamic life, beautiful world, freedom and licence, importance of tomorrow, progress by consent, our common heritage, Gandhian way of life, open-minded approach, crisis of spirit, science and humanity, faith through life, synthesis in our tradition, strength through crisis, a new perspective of history,

etc.[1]

From basic wisdom to futurology, Nehru's mind presents an image in totality with which he presented the melody and philosophy of India to the international society.

He provided an interpretation and synthesis between the ideas of ancient India and ancient world on the one hand and the ideas of modern civilisation on the other. In this manner he provided a bridge between the ideas of East and West. He presented Gandhiji's gospel of love and non violence to the world in the form of *non-alignment* and *Panch Sheel*. He was a hero of renaissance India. His intellectual and moral sweep was as vast as it was deep which touched almost all levels of human thinking. He produced for mankind a philosophy of hope and international understanding. An international sage that he was he will be remembered in history as a savant who attempted to transform the world with love and understanding. As Professor Humayun Kabir said about him in his introduction to the Azad Memorial Lectures in which Nehru spoke on "India Today And Tomorrow" : "For him, to think is to feel and to feel is to think".[2]

He was a thinker in action and a thinker through life.

We would here, in brief, make an analysis of this great mind in action in some of the activities of his life. Time and space do not permit a detailed study here. It is open for scholars to make a comprehensive study of this theme of analysing him as a thinker in action and study his philosophy of life which would be of great interest to all. It would be a philosophy and a thesis of great intellectual import for the international community. The modern Socrates that Nehru was, his philosophy has much to offer to the modern man and global society. A full-scale attempt is worthy for any scholarly enterprise. As Nehru said of Gandhi that to write about him (Gandhiji) needed as great a mind, so also is it true of Nehru himself.

2. Open-minded Approach

Nehru believed in an open-minded approach. He was objective and analytical as any scientist would be. Addressing in California, on 31 October, 1949, on the subject of "*The Age of Crisis*", he said : "I have tried to grope my way, to think straight and to coordinate, as far as possible, action to thought". (II-419). In this address, he said, if we ignore truth and character from human affairs, we cannot get any results.

While addressing the All India Manufacturers' Organization in New Delhi, on 14 April, 1956, on "*Open-minded Approach*", Nehru said that though Marx was a great mind, it would be unfair to ask him who belonged to the middle of the 19th century to tell us on the problems of the middle of 20th century (III-86). He was in favour of "progress through consent" as he spoke on this subject in the Parliament, on 21 December, 1954. He endorsed generally a pragmatic approach in life based on objective considerations of things (III-14). His open mindedness was directed towards encouragement and happiness of common man.

Writing about the "*Crisis of Spirit*", on 30 December, 1955, he said : "No one section of the community in India can lay claim to the sole possession of the mind and thought of India". (III-413); because India's ethos and culture provided an open-mindedness through history which has lead to a synthesis in its cultural heritage. He would approach a problem with the humility and integrity of a seeker for truth. His open-minded approach is reflected in his address to the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta, on 14 January, 1957, when he said : "Let us be humble; let us think that the truth may not, perhaps, be entirely with us. Let us cooperate with others; let us, even when we do not appreciate what others say, respect their views and their ways of life". (III-434).

This was the hallmark of his creativity in life in which he applied an open-minded approach to problem-solving. He belived in reason and clear thinking. Addressing the Asian Legal Consultative Committee, on 18 April, 1957, he said that the jurists should help in showing some clear thinking which would lead to right action (III-513).

Therefore, as we see. Nehru went through life with an objective and an open-mind, learning life's rich experiences and applying the wisdom that he learnt in the context of his times. It reminds of Einstein's relativist philosophy. Nehru worked with an open mind according to the demands of time and context.

3. A Faith Through Life

Nehru had a tremendous faith in life. He would refer to George Bernard Shaw's dictum that one would align to a big cause and devote one's life to it until one is worn out. In this motto, Nehru searched for a creative mind. Addressing Saugar University, on 30 October, 1952, he said : "A nation cannot progress if it merely

imitates its ancestors; what builds a nation is creative, inventive and vital activity. I seek the creative mind". (II-431), In the same lecture he said, "I have faith in the people of India. And "to be dynamic and creative is the practical policy or the higher view of culture"!(II-434).

Nehru was not afraid of crisis in life. He thought of strength through crisis. He spoke on this theme at Santinikitan, on 24 December, 1962, shortly after the Chinese conflict. In this address also he spoke with an open mind and did not deny the greatness of culture of China in the past and the present. He was against cèrtain manifestation of Chinese. (IV-26). This faith in life for friendship and cooperation was his great contribution to international relations.

Nehru had great faith in maintaining eternal values in life. This included harmony between people of the world. In the case of political life, Nehru, while addressing University of Chicago on "the Gandhian Technique", said that political heads were not prophets and in this life one needed to move with others with cooperation and compromises. If we were not to compromise then one would be forced to retire from political life. (II-411) He was explaining the Gandhian way of meeting the realities of political life.

How important is this Gandhian technique for compromises for world unity and harmony? Speaking on "One World and India" in Azad Memorial lecture, Professor Arnold Toynbee says: "I am speaking, as you will realize, of the movement, now astir in all mankind, to live together, for the first time in human history, as a single family".[3] Speaking of this gift of tolerance and compromise seen in Indian tradition which ultimately makes for a synthesis, Toynbee says : "India's special contribution, as I see it, will have been her large-heartedness and broad-mindedness. This will have been a gift of priceless value to mankind in the new age into which mankind has now been launched by the West's special contribution to the unification of the world".[4]

Much of the doubt that man has developed of himself in recent years is, perhaps, due to a lack of man's faith in life and in his intellectual honesty. We cannot at times distinguish between eternal values of life and the compromises of life in proper perspective. Nehru knew this distinction well and went about his work with a clarity of his mind. He was keen on seeking proper relationship between ends and means. Addressing Columbia University on this theme of "*Ends and Means*", on 17th October, 1946, he said : a

statesman has to act in reality, but truth has always to be kept in view" (II-393). "Means were never to be subordinated to ends (II-391).

4. What Is Progress?

From Nehru's faith through life we see in him a thinker who addressed constantly to this great question of our age : 'What is progress?' In fact, every man and every civilization look to an answer to this perennial question which determines the course of human history. Nehru had a certain feeling and a vision of what progress means, though he kept his doubt open.

From a cross-section of his views we notice that Nehru's belief in progress was in co-operation between people. In his Azad Memorial lecture on "*India Today And Tomorrow*", on 22-23 February, 1959, Nehru said : "We have to evolve a higher order more in keeping with modern trends and conditions and involving not so much competition but much greater cooperation". (IV-5). In this lecture Nehru reminded that the acquisitive society was not suited to modern age. He was speaking much ahead of his times. The ecological problems of world society due to the materialistic civilization were not then forecast anywhere. Rene Dubos, a modern biologist of international repute, has thrown new light on how other living species cooperate in daily life. Man may be now at the beginning of an era for global cooperation. Nehru had drawn attention to this current of progress in human affairs. His efforts for non-alignment and *Panch Sheel* were steps in the direction of global cooperation and harmony. He had great faith in the future of man. "In the final analysis", he said, "one has to rely on some kind of a basic faith in the future of man, to which...Gurudev made frequent reference". He was addressing at Santinikitan, on 15 January, 1957, on "*A faith through life*" (III-436). In this lecture, Nehru stressed on creativeness, productiveness, sincerity of purpose, and a certain depth which made for progress. Finally, Nehru's views of progress was of the human spirit, the international, universal spirit to which Tagore had drawn attention and to which Nehru referred in his said lecture at Santinikitan. In this context I refer to Professor Toynbee who says from an extensive analysis of history: "I am not conceding that matter has the same power as spirit, or force the same power as love...I still maintain that spirit, and particularly the creative spiritual effect of suffering for the sake of love, is the distinctive and significant feature of human affairs".[5]

Therefore, Nehru's vision of progress is based on the advancement of human spirit. He was looking for a standard of value to judge progress. The standard could be based on a scientific approach or a humanist approach, but not a dogmatic approach. To this aspect he referred to in his discourse at the University of Ceylon, on 12 February, 1950. (II-421). He was in favour of science and technology, he said. But he did not believe in limiting progress to science and technology alone. That would take a limited view of things. He said he was in favour of an integrated view of progress as contained in the wisdom of Plato, Buddha and others. In the present times, man was developing a narrow view of progress and had to get rid of fear. In the ultimate analysis a unified view of global life was what progress would imply without which this civilization cannot function, he told the University of Ceylon. He was very optimistic of this.

Therefore, cooperation, synthesis and unity towards building a universal spirit of man was what Nehru meant by progress.

5. Synthesis in Our Tradition

Nehru is among the few thinkers in modern India who stand out in their attempt to present a synthesis of the Indian tradition. Gandhi was the other historical figure.

Nehru's synthesis is scientific and analytical. As Professor Humayun Kabir said of Nehru : "It is the combination of contrariness that gives richness and complexity to genius".[6] Nehru's genius lay in grasping the manifold aspects of India's tradition, its history and philosophy. He tried to combine various streams of thought in his analysis. His vision was of the eternal unity of India in diversity which has been the basis of Indian synthesis through history.

Arthur Koestler, the renowned writer, has demonstrated effectively that the act of creation among great writers, scientists and artists is a result of the combination of seemingly unrelated patterns of thought.[7] "The principal mark of genius", Koestler says, "is not perfection, but originality, the opening of new frontiers....".[8]

Nehru sucessfully produced the synthesis of the tradition of modern India. Speaking on "Our Common Heritage", on 26 December, 1955 Nehru said : I lay stress on the unity of India, not merely the political unity which we have achieved, but something far deeper, the emotional unity, the integration of our minds and hearts, the suppression of feeling of separatism". (III-37).

The Indian way of life was of contemplation, Nehru said in Washington, on 18 December, 1956. (III-48) To this tradition of contemplation Professor Toynbee makes a reference with great feeling. He says: "This is, I believe, the greatest lesson that India has to teach the present day world. Western Christendom did recognise and practise the virtue of contemplation to some extent in the Western Middle Ages. Since then we have almost entirely lost this spiritual art, and our loss is serious, because the art of contemplation is normally another name for the art of living. So now we turn to India. This spiritual gift, that makes a man human, is still alive in Indian soul. Go on giving the World Indian examples of it. Nothing else can do so much to help making to save itself from self-destruction".[9]

Therefore, if contemplation is a common trait of all Indians, they have tolerance and mutual love. Nehru reminded the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta that Ashoka had advocated reverence for other faiths to make one's faith stronger. This synthesis of faiths in India has produced many common traditions between Indians of various faiths. Toynbee writes in his book *Choose Life*, probably his last one, that the world may see synthesis of a new religion which may not be entirely new but may comprise of something from present religions. Gandhiji made attempt in this direction to combine spirituality from various angles. Ramakrishna Parmhans in India has seen reality while making different spiritual approaches. There is no doubt to the singularity of one God. Nehru and Gandhi gave the psychological beginnings to this future common spirituality of mankind. The question of synthesis is also uppermost in the minds of scientists. Einstein pursued a synthesis of laws of nature. His unified field theory, which as Werner Heisenberg writes "would contain the different laws as special cases and would at the same time establish the connection and thereby state the structure of nature".[10] Julian Huxley said at an important international symposium under UNESCO that our present psychosocial organization is somewhat disintegrating and "the urgent need is for a new synthesis-of ideas and beliefs, of social and personal values, of political and cultural aims-to act as a supporting framework for directive matrix for the radically new psycho-social system struggling to be born".[11]

Similarly, Nehru defined culture as the best qualities that men can possess. He cited approvingly another writer to say that culture was "the acquiring ourselves with the best that has been known and

said in the world" Another view of culture, according to Nehru, was the refinement of mind, morals and tastes and enlightenment of civilization (III-413). That is why he said that "no single community in India can lay claim to the sole possession of the mind and thought of India". (III-418). Nehru referred to the role of Tagore, Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekananda and Gandhi in interpreting this modern synthesis of Indian tradition. Akbar, Guru Nanak, Kabir and others did it earlier. Like Tagore, Nehru also made the world his field of thought and produced a synthesis for the world culture and civilization. As he said of Gandhi; "Essentially a man God walked on the soil of India and sanctified it by his penance. He sanctified not only the soil of India but changed the minds and hearts of our people". (IV-433). Similarly, of Tagore he said that he was in the long line of India's *rishis* whom India has produced from time to time. Yet he was modern and made the world his field of thought and action. (III-443).

Nehru was applying the tradition of synthesis of India to evolve a new equilibrium in the social and the political world order which would be true in the context of modern ties. Indeed, speaking on this theme of "*Towards A New Equilibrium*", in his convocation address to Delhi University, on 6 December, 1958, while referring to the rapid pace of change of modern civilization, he said : "While discarding the old mysteries, we live at the edge of a new kind of mystery. The reaction of people to this varies. A few are driven to deeper thought and enquiry and a search for ultimate values, but most others finding it too difficult to make any sense out of this confusion, relapse into cynicism and negative attitudes, rejecting the old patterns and standards and evolving no new ones," (IV-168).

That is why Nehru said : "I find my mind is more interested in what Plato and the Buddha said, which has a timelessness about it". He posed the important question for history. He said : So I wonder if our present-day history, having fulfilled its destiny in so far as science and technology are concerned, is at all moving on to a higher plane of human existence. I do not presume that the average historian will be able to answer such a question unless he himself becomes a great seer who can pierce the viel of the future. But he can help in putting things in proper perspective". (IV-179).

A New Prespective of History

Nehru joined historians in ushering in a new perspective of world history. He gave it a world outlook of harmony and peace. His

philosophy of non-alignment and *Panch Sheel* was a part of his great historic vision. He saw a world integrating through science and technology and adopted an approach to history of problem-solving. Conflicts of past were to be ignored for a better world of today and tomorrow. He, therefore, extolled Asoka, the Buddha, Akbar and the like who made for not only a composite culture of India, but the composite culture the world. He interpreted West to East and East to West.

Nehru had a deep liking for history. He said: "I have been greatly interested in history, chiefly because of my seeking to understand the past rather in terms of the present and even of the future to come". He thought of history as a process : I have approached it as a developing drama, leading up to the present and making me wonder where it will lead to in the future", he said. (IV-177). He liked H.G. Wells' interpretation of social man in history. Nehru said : "The whole course of history has fascinated me....On the whole what has fascinated me really is the story of man developing himself wherever he might be". (IV-177). History had acquired a world perspective because of integration through science and technology. (IV-178).

What was the basic philosophy of history, Nehru asked? He said : "I try to think history as a process that leads man to higher and better stages of progress". In the past, he thought, history was made by great men. Then followed science and technology which is shaping current history. But, as Nehru said, what Plato and the Buddha said was of great essence in history and has timelessness (II-179). He was addressing the Asian History Congress, on 9 December, 1961, on "A New Perspective of History".

Nehru saw struggle of man in history. Yet, in spite of many falls, he thought man rises again. This was a great hope in history (II-419). Ends-and-means relationship was important in achiving historical progress. He spoke at the Columbia University, on 17 October, 1949, that India with its great past combines idealism with national interest. (II-393). This was why India was following non-alignment which was an independent policy, he said. Non-alignment was not a neutral policy but a positive and vital policy that flowed through India's struggle for freedom and out of Gandhi, he told the distinguished audience at the Columbia University. Similarly, on *Panch Sheel*, Nehru said, it meant non-interference among nations which may have different systems of progress but a common objective of promoting good life (III-307). This is why as a historian Nehru was

not afraid of giving interpretation of history. He said, "sometimes I have wondered if impartiality was not the quality of weak mind. If there is this positive quality, that aspect of the mind impresses itself on the subject which deals with and, perhaps, slightly distorts it". (IV-178). Nehru thought that imperialist and nationalist approach distorted history. He considered that there should be stress on social approach to balance history. Like Toynbee, Nehru's approach to history was as that of a student of "human affairs". Nehru, of course, himself participated in interpreting and balancing world history, and left his own impress upon it.

7. Importance of Tomorrow

Nehru as a thinker was a visionary. He was a realist. He had a beautiful view of the world that we live in. He thought that planning for tomorrow was more important than even today. Because a planned tomorrow would make a better today. Addressing Lok Sabha, on 14 March, 1951, on "The Importance of Tomorrow" he said : There is another thing I should like the House to think about shall we not also think of our tomorrow, sometimes? Or, must we invariably lose ourselves in our todays? I cannot ignore today, obviosuly. But so far as I am concerned. I must confess to you that tomorrow is slightly more important to me than today. If we are thinking in terms of progress, we have to build for a tomorrow that will make progress possible". (II-557). For this reason, he thought the Planning commission was a necessity where, people can think freely and in an integrated way. (II-556). In this business of thinking, as a Nehru thought, universities have an enviable position. Addressing Columbia University, on 17 October, 1949, he said : "In this world of incessant and feverish activity, men have little time to think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet, how are we to act, even in the present, unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are? It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a university that these basic problems can be adequately considered". (II-391).

For a harmonious world of tomorrow Nehru had great faith. Tomorrow was always full of hope in spite of problems of today. Stressing this aspect. Nehru said in California, on 31 October, 1947, on the subject of "Our Age of Crisis" that "the past crowds in upon me and standing at this razor's edge of the present, I try to peep into the future". (II-420). Like Einstein, Nehru had a vision about the

eternal tomorrow, hence Nehru's great love for planning. Planning was for balancing, he said (III-51). He had great faith in the younger generation. As he said : "It is always a pleasure to meet and address the new generation, for in their minds and eyes there is a glimpse of the future". Nehru was addressing Delhi University convocation on "*Towards A New Equilibrium*" (IV-167). As a seer, Nehru saw a bright future ahead of India and the world, provided, of course, we used combined wisdom for cooperation and problem-solving, and provided we planned for a better tomorrow. Like Einstein's research Nehru's planning was a time to think aside and escape from the daily burdens of life; but more positively, planning meant to Nehru a positive commitment for a better tomorrow. So said Einstein about his motivation for scientific research in his famed address in 1918 in honour of Max Plank. Research was an escape, Einstein said, from the daily turmoil of life; but more positively, it was a commitment for improving human knowledge and, therefore, mankind.

8. Some Conclusions

I have attempted to describe Nehru as a thinker. I hope, I have partially succeeded in analysing this great mind who thought many inspiring things for mankind. I have assembled his ideas, arranged them to present a glimpse of his mind on some leading problems of mankind. Probably, those who were actively associated with him can have a better comprehension about these ideas. One thing strikes me in my brief analysis here and that is that often we take it for granted about him that he was a great man, a great writer, etc. What one would like to suggest here is that, as a thinker and a philosopher having fought his life's battles in his unique way, he has many things to offer to us to help inspire and guide us in our individual life, in the life of our Indian community, and in the life of the international society. For an individual, he has dealt in depth with the problems of ethics, ends and means, faith in life, progress in life, and the problems of spirit. Progress to him was ultimately bound with the growth of the spirit of a universal man. He was, therefore, only fond of Plato, the Buddha, Asoka, Akbar and the life. To the community in India, he once again produced a synthetic image of the composite culture of India. His contribution in this direction will stand out for all times and would be emulated by future generations of India. Even though historical forces worked not totally in favour of his and Gandhi's view, the imprint in history of the collective culture and

image of India, and even the world, which Nehru and Gandhi attemepted to produce, cannot be forgotten. This image has to come out strengthened. so is the feeling of millions. So is also the call of contemporary history. Nehru's vision of future and his perceptive discourses on history, science, philosophy, human planning and futurology project a hopeful scenario for man and society. May we, therefore, deserve him much more to be able to move towards individual and collective progress?

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Chapter - 38

NEHRU AS A WRITER AND PHILOSOPHER

Dr. (Mrs.) Krishna Raina

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the principal architect of India. He was an institution in himself. With his multi dimensional personality, he encouraged millions of people, Nevertheless, he was more than a leader, and more than a statesman. He was a sensitive and warm human being. He could not bear seeing anybody in suffering. He was a child at heart, emotional and sentimental. He remained a lonely man throughout his life. He was always ready to help anyone who was in need. His generosity was not confined only to men but it was extended to birds and animals too. Nehru was delighted at the sight of the snowy peaks of the Himalayas. He used to get soothing in the lap of nature. Diversity and beauty of nature impressed him much and gave him peace of mind. The words in his "Unity of India" are very important-"Slowly a measure of peace returned to me as I gazed at those white mountains, calm and inscrutable and untouched by human folly. They could remain there whatever men did, and even if the present generation committed suicide or went to oblivion by some slower process, the spring would still come to the hill-sides and wind rustle through the pine trees, and the birds sing".

Jawahar Lal had a penetrating mind. He had intense feeling with a tender heart. That is why he could imagine the sufferings of millions through a writer's sensitive heart. Nehru is widely recognised as a writer of considerable charm. His earliest writings are his letters to his father from Harrow and Cambridge. In those letters we see how

he developed a style which made him a man of letters. Nehru's first book was '*Soviet Russia*' which appeared in 1928. Then came his book 'Letters from a Father to his Daughter' in 1930. After that came his major works viz. '*Glimpses of World History* (1934), Autobiography (1936) and the *Discovery of India* (1947). Pt. Nehru paid a brief visit to Moscow with his father in 1927. That short say proved very helpful because he could get ideas to go forward. His vision was broadened. He said "No one can deny the fascination of this strange Eurasian Country of the hammer and sickle, where workers and peasants sit on the thrones of the mighty, and upset the best laid schemes of mice and men (Soviet Russia : p-2). There everyone is a comrade. They have theatres, cinemas, museums, parks, palaces and those are accessible to everyone. Through this book we can see the country of strange contrasts, change and progress. It is a travelogue in easy language.

In 1929, when Mrs Indira Gandhi was young girl, Pt. Nehru used to write her letters and these are published under the title "Letters from a Father to his Daughter". It is a small book. Although these letters are personal yet these have universal appeal for children. Every letter has a title in it, i.e., The book of Nature, The Making of the Earth, The First Living Things, etc. In the letter `The Book of Nature' the writer says that we have rocks and mountains and seas and stars and rivers and deserts and fossils of old animals. These and other like things are our books for the earth's early story. In this book some scientific facts are given in most interesting manner to the child. Writer has said in (the Making of the Earth) "you know that the earth goes round the sun and the moon goes round the earth. You know also, perhaps, that there are several other bodies which like the earth go round the Sun. The moon is called a satellite of the earth because it hangs on to it. At night you see thousands of stars in the sky. Can you distinguish between a planet and a star? Stars twinkle, planets do not". Thus writer gives all information of solar system to the child in a simple narrative story.

'*The Unity of India*' is a collection of Nehru's occasional writings from 1937 to 1940. In this book there are diverse topics related to everything. From the very beginning Nehru was a sensitive person. He had abundant love for nature, specially for mountains. He has described nature in a poetic manner, the hills, vales and rivers of Kashmir are the source of Nehru's best prose. To him Kashmir is like a supreme beauty. In its feminine beauty of rivers, valleys, lakes,

graceful trees and ever-changing landscapes Kashmir has highly appealed to him. Kashmir gave him inspiration "dream like and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfilment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening. (The Unity of India p-223). In a message sent to the children's number of Shankar's Weekly three decades ago, Nehru the great lover of nature tells children to be sensitive to their natural surroundings. He tells them to be more sensible than grown-ups who spend their time in offices, thinking they are doing very important work, and who do not open their eyes and ears to the beauty and the life surrounding us. He advises them to make friendship with them and to recognise them by their names. He describes the great river of our country like a poet in these lines- "The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are interwoven her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age long culture and civilization everchanging, ever flowing and yet ever the same Ganga. She reminds me of the snow-covered peaks and the deep valleys of the Himalayas, which I have loved so much..."

'*Glimpses of World History*' is a big volume. C.D. Narasimhaiah has rightly said that it is Nehru's poetic vision of history and the literary graces which abound in the Glimpses that invite the attention of the literary critic. He describes different lands with vivid pictures. The writer speaks of the earth's journey through time. The year has run its course and seasons are changed. Winter gave place to our brief spring, slain all too soon by the summer heat and then when the ground was parched and dry and man and beasts panted for breath, came the monsoon, with its beautiful supply of fresh and cool rain water. Autumn followed and the sky was wonderfully clear and blue and afternoons were pleasant. The year's circle was over and again it began - winter and spring and summer and the rainy season". The letter form of this book is unique. The author is talking to us directly- "I want, if possible, to talk you as if you were here". He gives personal touches, his description is vivid and perfect. He describes Ireland, earth's journey through time, Aryan invasion, ancient city Kashi, Italian Renaissance. The author has made an interesting point when he says that Zamindari system in India was a creation of the British. It did not exist before they came. At the same time he praised the English education system-"A new class began to arise, the

English educated class, small in numbers and cut off from the masses but still destined to take the lead in the new nationalist movement'.

Nehru was an optimist by nature. He has written at length about important political, Social and Economic happenings of the whole world. But he had always placed emphasis on the undeveloped nations. According to him poetry and culture have little place in a poor man's hut. These are not meant for hungry stomachs. When he speaks of art for the people, it is art which reflects the life of a whole people and affects their lives for good. He dislikes all pomp and show and waste of money and and oppression of the poor. He blames all this for the fall of nations. Nehru himself made history; he was a powerful personality. He thought that the history prescribed in British India was not much useful to our people so he wrote 'Glimpses of World History' for our young generation. Smt. Indira Gandhi has rightly commented-"Study of history gave Jawaharlal Nehru a deep insight into the relationship of institutions and individuals. There can be no individual advancement without the right kind of institutions. At the same time he abhorred the way in which institutions pertified themselves". (National Herald Publication; 1966). 'Glimpses of World History, is not only a history but a literary master piece. The writer takes us to the past and keeps open the past to us in an interesting manner, V.N. Chhibber has accepted it as a romantic history of the world.

Jawaharlal Nehru's 'An Autobiography' is the most widely read book. This book penetrates into the Nehru's human qualities. His words are remarkable in this connection, "I wrote my Autobiography, which again was an attempt to fix myself in the context of the Indian struggle, actually the book was more about the struggle in India than about myself. I was naturally a kind of central figure from my point of view as everybody is from his point of view". This book was published in 1936. The very beginning of the book is dramatic and full of suspense. It has a quotation of Abraham Cowley in the beginning and then curtain rises from the life of Pt. Nehru-"An only son of prosperous parents is apt to be spoilt, especially so in India. And when that son happens to have been an only child for the first eleven years of his existence there is little hope for him to escape this spoiling". In the first few chapters Nehru has given his childhood in the context of family history. He was adventurous from the very beginning of his life. We find always wit and sense of humor in him.

The chapter 'Back to Prison' is very poetic. In this chapter Nehru's mind travelled between his home and natures between ailing wife and high lands. Kamala's condition made him sad, gloomy and restless; still he struggled ahead. Nehru's Autobiographoy is the history of India's struggle for freedom. Nehru has written about Satyagraha, non-co-operation, Non-violence and the doctrine of the sword. He was not happy at the growth of religious elements in the politics both on the Hindu and the Muslim side. Some time Gandhiji's phrases like Ram-Raj also could not appeal him. He was against dogma, bigotry and superstitions and used to express his ideals frankly. Dr. Radhakrishnan has described him as a man of deep religious feelings-"He belonged to the religion that is growing and not to the one that is dying".

'*The Discovery of India*' is another major work of Pandit Nehru written in 1944. The Discovery is mainly for an outsider who is not familiar, with India's past, for an Indian it is a radiscovery through Nehru's vision, He described "India was in my blood and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many relics of the past that I saw". He compared India with a lady. "She is very lovable and none of her children can forget her whereever they go or whatever strange fate befalls them". The Discovery is much more than a history. Nehru writes about his wife Kamla-"She came to us as an unsophisticated girl. She never entirely lost that girlish look, but as she grew into a women her eyes acquired a depth and a fire, giving the impression of still pools behind which storms raged; essentially she was an Indian girl and more practically a Kashmiri girl, sensitive and proud; childlike and grownup, foolish and wise".

In this very book, Nehru described Sanskrit Drama and old literature. He has discussed Indian Philosophy in context with Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. He had special liking for vedic hymns. He has made critical comments on famous Sanskrit books and famous saints of India. The writer is proud of India's past-"I am pround of that great heritage that has been and is ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, am a link in the unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India.

The Discovery gives the author's philosophy of life. He favours ethical approach. He is attracted by Gandhiji's stress on right means. He has written-"The future is dark, uncertain. But we can see part of

the way and can tread its firm steps, remembering whatever happens is not likely to overcome the spirit of man, which has survived so many perils. Remembering also that life, for all its ills, has joy and beauty and we can always wonder if we know how to, in these enchanting woods of nature". This is the result of his own experience of life. Dr. D.E. Dastoor has called Nehru 'a patriot with a pen'. Nehru started his literary career with the attraction of journalism. He thought it to be a useful tool to promote his ideas. Most of his speeches were spontaneous. He depicted nature with an artist's eye. He has praised Kashmir which which has fascinated him more-"Like some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire; such was Kaṣhmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees".

Nehru was the people's man. Though he was the biggest man of his time, he used to listen to the difficulties of the poor. He was a humanist first. He had his aristorcratic back-ground and Western education , but he had the heart of a common man and had endeared himself to the children of India who called him 'Chacha Nehru'.

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Chapter - 39

SOME DISTINGUSHED KASHMIRI PANDITS

Moti Lal Saqi

Mahanay Prakash

'Mahanay Prakash' is the only and the earliest book written in Kashmiri, which has come down to us. The author of this book is Shati Kanth, a Shaiva Scholar of 13th Century, who according to the latest research hailed from Padampore, (Modern Pampore). There have been two persons of this name, both of them were author's and hailed from Kashmir. The author of Mahanay Prakash belongs to 13th Century while another Shati Kantha, author of Balbodni Avesta belongs to 15th Century A.D. Due to some misunderstanding Grierson mistook the authors of both the books as one and has observed that Mahanay Prakash is a book of 15th Century, when Hassan Shah was the king of Kashmir. The internal evidence of Mahanay Prakash reveals that it has been composed at the instance

of Maharaja Jai Singh which is sufficient enough to declare it a creation of 13th Century A.D.

The language of Mahanay Prakash represents that earliest available specimen of Kaṣhmir, full of Sanskrit Tatsam Tad Bao and words, expressions and technical terms. The mode of language in Mahanay Prakash shows that Sanskrit was dominant in Kashmir at that time. It is corroborated by the author's statement also who has written that he composed the book in common day 'Desh Bhasha' the language of the common people. We can not ignore the fact that Sanskrit was the court language of Kashmir upto the middle of 14th Century A.D.

So far as the linguistic importance of the book is concerned, it is an important milestone in the history of Kashmiri language and literature. The history of our language opens with Mahanay Prakash. Its linguistic study can help understand and unfold the peculiarties of an important phase of Kashmir language.

So far as the contents of this book are concerned, it can be divided in two parts'. The Vakhs which is the earliest speciman of Kashmiri, and the commentary of the Vakhs in Sanskrit. The language of Vakshs is arahaic and very different to understand, Even if the reader understands some words in a Vakh, he fails to make anything out of the total text of the Vakh. Same is the case with the commentary, which is very difficult and reputed scholars fail to understand the text.

It is noteworthy that the language of this book is 700 years old. During this long period, Kashmiri has undergone tremendous changes and a wide gulf has emerged between the language of the yore and the language of our times.

'Mahanay Prakash' is concerned with Tantrayoga, a branch of Kashmir Shaivism known as Kaula also. It constitutes an important aspect of Trika Philosophy. During Hindu period Tantric way was an important religious cult here. This form of Yoga is very much helpful in understanding the miracles of existance and meaning of creation. The practice of this system of Yoga helps in attaining the spiritual goal and at the same time awakens the facilities buried in the conscious and subconcious mind of the sadak. It unfolds new horizons of understanding, existence and bliss.

'Mahanay Prakash' proves another fact that Vakh' as a from of poetry was prevalent in Kashmir before Lal Ded even. The total number of Vakhs in 'Mahanay Prakash' is 94. The original manu-

script in written in Sharda script, a way of writing which besides Kashmiri was used for writing Sanskrit also. This book was seen through the press by the State Research and Publications Department in 1918 A.D. under the editor-ship of Mukund Ram Shastri. Research Department has published the book in Devnagri and its original manuscript in Sharda is preserved in the liberary of Institute of Central Asian studies Kashmir University, Srinagar.

We have to admit the fact that a detailed study of this book is yet to be taken up by a competant Sanskrit scholar. It is not the literary value of this book alone which makes it an important document, but its historical and linguistic importance is eternal.

'Mahanay Prakash' is a commendable work. It is the first attempt of its kind of use the Kashmiri language for philosophical discussion and metaphysical speculations.

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		India (MIL. Saqi)

Kurgami Prakash Ram

Prakash Ram Kurigam (Devsar) (1819 - 1877 A.D.) was born in a Kashmiri Pandit family. Nothing is known about his early education, but his works reveal that the poet was well-versed in Persian language and literature. His knowledge of Sanskrit or any other language is not corroborated by his poetical works. There are, of course, Sanskrit words in his compositions but such words are used in every day speech in every Hindu household even today.

A controversy has been going on about the time and age of the poet Grierson and Azad, both write that he was alive in the region of Sukh Jivan (1754-1764) but the recent research by Dr. B.N.Pandit has set the controversy at rest. Grierson has written his name as 'Devakar Prakash Bhat' and Azad 'Prakash Bhat' only. In the literary circles and among the masses he is known as Prakash Kurigami.

The language of his poetical works too supports the view that Prakash Kurigami has been a poet of 19 century, a contemporary of Mahmood Gami, another well-known poet of Kashmir.

Besides good number of hymns, he has composed 'Akanandun','Krishan Avtar Lila', 'Ram Avtar Charit' and 'Luv Kush Charit'. His Akanandun was based on a popular folktale of Kashmir, but is not available now. Krishan Avtar Lila too is declared to have been lost. But after thorough research, I have come to the conclusion that 'Krishan Avtar Lila' edited by Grierson and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is the composition of Prakash Ram which Grierson has attributed to some unknown poet, Dina Nath, on the mere existence of word 'Diyoon' at the end of the narrative. Diyoon has never been the name of a person in past of present in Kashmir. This word simply means a Servant; slave or subordinate.

The study of the narrative shows a close affinity between the language, style and diction of 'Krishan Avtar Lila' and other works of the poet.

Prakash Ram's fame as a well-known poet is based on 'Ram Avtar Charit, the first and most compact epic written in Kashmiri so far. Written in Hazgmetre of Persian, this epic has served as a model for all the epic poets who followed him. Excepting 'Bulbut Nagamic, there is none who touched the standard of epic poetry established by Prakash Ram.

Prakash Ram has not loaded his composition with philosophy and dry logic. His poetry is the spontaneous expression of his heart-felt feelings. It is soft, sweet, appealing and penetrating. Instead of head, his poetry appeals the heart of the reader.

In the field of descriptive poetry, his pen portrays like the brush of a master artist. He is the founder of epic and descriptive poetry in Kashmiri. His melodies are so sweet that while listening to these, one is transported to some far off dreamland of fragrant flowers and music. His love for his country is evident from all his works.

The study of his works is enough to show that he has been a devotee of Devi and worshipper of Vishnu. In Ram Avtar Charit', he has shown some inclination towards the Siva cult also.

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Krishan Razdan

Krishan Razdan (1850-1926 A.D.) the prominent Siva Bhakta of Kashmir was born in a cultured family of Kashmiri Pandits. He was a Sanskrit scholar of repute and had a command on Persian also. His poetry reveals that he had deeply studied Shastras and Puranas. He had studied Sanskrit and Persian classics also.

Though a Sivite by faith, he has yet composed songs in praise of other devas, believing that Siva is the tree of life and other devas are the branches of the same tree.

Razdan was a great Yogi and Sadaka of his time. His greatness as a Yogi and Sadakha became a legend in his life time. People from here and there used to come to be blessed with his darshans. Maharaja Pratap Singh used to come for his darshan twice a year, in spring and autumn, on the occassion of Darbar move. Razdan was not in favour of renouncing the world for the attainment of the spiritual exaltation. In his spiritual quest, he was initiatied in 'Siva Yoga' by Mukand Ram Ji, a nobel soul and saint of his times. But the 'Siva Yoga' of Razdan is the Siva Yoga of Sugun Vada which is somewhat different from the monistic 'Sivism of Kashmir'. Some people have said that he was the disciple of Paramanand but there is neither any direct nor indirect evidence to substantiate this statement. As a matter of fact, Paramanand and Krishan Razdan are poles apart from each other. Paramanand is a perfect Krishna Bhakta while Razdan is a Siva Bhakta from the begining to the end. Razdan had a deep interest in music and used to play the sitar on particular occasions. His love for music is reflected in his poetry also, which is full of music and is an embodiment of sweetness.

A large part of his compositions in Kashmiri and Persian is yet to be published. His first verse collection '*Siva Parinayah*' was first of all published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1914 to 1924 in six different volumes in Devnagri script. 'Harihar Kalyan' is the only anthology of his poems published in Persian-Arabic script in 1930, posthumously. Krishan Razdan is basically a singer of melodies. In the words of Coleridge, his poetry is 'the best words in the best

order'. In his popularity, he is second to none and excels even Paramanand. He imitated none, but those who followed him are one and all his immitators. It will not be out of place to mention here that in the field of Bhakti poetry, all those poets who followed Paramanand and Krishan Razdan look like dwarfs excepting 'Masterji'.

The compositions of Krishan Razdan deserve a special place in Kashmiri literature. His description of nature, local colour and musical quality deserves particular study. His melodies have the cooling effect of summer torrents and are as refreshing as the perfumed spring breeze of Kashmir.

In the handling of language, he is a master-mind. He has made the full use of mythological symbols in his compositions. The masterly use of the symbols has added to the grace and meaning of his poetry. It is because of his poetry that a number of mythological symbols and terms have gained popularity among the common masses of the valley including Muslims.

His popularity can be judged from the fact that some of his songs have now become a part and parcel of Kashmiri folk literature. His songs though composed in old folk form, are penetrating, soothing and pregnant with meaning. After enjoying the music of his melodies, they make the listener think and reflect. This in itself is a sign of greatness in Krishan Razdan, the singer of love and a devotee of Siva.

The Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art Culture and Language has published the complete Kashmiri works of the poet-in 1985 but his Persian poetry is yet to be seen through the press.

Pushkar Bhan

Bhan, Pushkar (born 1926 at Shihili Teng, Srinagar) belongs to a middle class Kashmiri Pandit family. After passing his B.A. from Punjab University he started his career as assistant accountant modern Mills, Bombay. During his stay in Bombay he used to write in Inqlab. During the tribal raid on Kashmir in 1947, Pushkar joined the Cultural Wing of patriotic forces and participated in the revival of cultural movement launched by the cultural front as a stage actor. He joined Radio Kashmir in 1951 and is, at present, working on its staff as a Selection Grade Producer.

Pushkar started his famous satirical Radio Serial 'Machama' (P.1967) in fifties and till date 54 instalments of this serial have been broadcast by the Srinagar Station of All India Radio. This drama

serial brought Pushkar both name and fame and its characters Machama, Sula Gota, Rehman Dada, Khatig, Kak and Kak Ded are the house hold names in Kashmiri families. A selection of this serial was published in book form in 1978 under the caption "Machama". This book contains the stage version of some of his 'Machama' series plays. 'Machama' bagged the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1978.

His famous family serial "Zonadab" in which he was assisted for some time by his friend and college late S.N.Sadhu fetched him the distinction of Pudam-Shri in 1974. This family serial is considered a land mark in the history of All India Radio and was being broad, cast almost daily for the last twenty years.

Pushkar has acted in two Kashmiri films "Manzi Rat" and "Mehjoor" and has delivered his goods to perfection. Pushkar is a humanist and satirist and both these elements are evident in his prose, plays, and poetry.

The famous counter propagada serial "Wutal Buji", which was broadcast by Srinagar Station of A.I.R. 1965 was a joint venture of Pushkar and Sadhu. Besides producing plays for radio, he has successfully produced plays on stage also. He is a polished radio voice and a stage actor of standing.

In collaboration with late Som Nath Sadhu he wrote a number of stage plays. One such play "Grand rehearsal" won the first prize in play script competition in 1967, awarded the State Cultural Academy.

Pushkar has written a number of popular series for Radio Kashmir which include "A Sun Ta Gindun" and `Posha Gund".

Pushkar's contribution to Kashmiri language and literature is in every respect Commandable.

Pushkar has written a lot, but most of it is still unpublished in the archives of Radio Kashmir Srinagar.

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(Moti Lal Saqi)

Chaman Lal Chaman

Chaman, Chaman Lal (b. 1937 Sheshiyar-Srinagar), a reputed Kashmiri poet was born in a middle class Kashmiri Pandit family. He passed his B.A. from J&K University as a regular student of Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar in 1957. Chaman worked for some time in the Administrative Section of Jammu and Kashmir University. Latter he joined J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Language and worked on the staff of Kashmiri-Kashmiri Dictionary in various capacities. He worked for some time as the under Secretary of Cultural Academy. At present Chaman is the Editor of a bi-monthly Kashmiri Sheeraza, which is published by the Cultural Academy. He has remained affiliated with various literary and cultural organisations of the state, these organisations include 'All State Cultural Conference' and Kashur Markaz.

Chaman made his appearance as a poet some where during 1954-55 and very soon attracted the attention of literary circle in the Valley. Some of his compositions appeared in monthly 'Kong Posh' and 'Tameer' when he was still in teens. He represented Kashmiri language in the National Symposium of poets at Delhi in the year 1960, when he was only twenty three.

Chaman publishe : his first verse collection '*Shabnami shar*' in 1963. His very first verse *anthology* brought him state culture Academy award in 1964. Some of his poems have been translated in Hindi and Punjabi and have appeared in various anthologies.

Besides Sheeraza, Chaman edits 'Son Adab' the annual anthology of Cultural Academy for the last eight years. He has also edited an anthology of patrotic songs *'Yi Chu Soun Vatan'* (This land of ours). He is the co-author of *'Ahwal Nama'*, the first biographical dictionary of a Kashmiri writer. This book was published by the Kashmir Department, Kashmir University in the year 1978.

Besides Kashmiri, Chaman has a good command on English and Urdu as well. He is a journalist in his own right and worked on the staff of Daily 'Aftab' a reputed Urdu newspaper published from Srinagar for about six years.

In his earlier days he was influenced by the progressive writers

movement and composed a good number of poems in progressive strain. At present he is not attached to any particular school of poets, but human kindness flows through his poems even now. He has great symathy for the poor and down trodden and is unable to compromise with tyranny and injustice. His poetry is like a gushing mountain torrent, which makes way through the rocks and boulders. Some of his earlier poems like *'Miyon Muhabal Kamyab'* (My love is destined to be victorious) are glowing with the sweet longings of youth and the lovely memories of the yoga.

Chaman is basicully the poet of 'Nazm' and his thought content is more objective than subjective in nature. In blank and free verse there are only a few others who can be ranked with him. It is only two or three years back that he took to the composition of Gazals and made his way in this genre also, but judging on the merits he will always retain his position in the field of narrative (Nazm). His full command on language has added grace and charm to his style of composition. It goes to his credit that he never suffered stagnation and utilised his creative energy to the best of his capacities.

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Chapter - 40

INDIRA GANDHI ON SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SELF-RELIANCE WITH A TRIBUTE

T N Khoshoo

A Tribute

Shrimati Gandhi led the nation successfully through very turbulent times and has left behind an indelible mark on history which few world leaders can equal. With the passage of time, people will judge the contributions she made in many fields for the country and humanity at large. One such area is science and technology. Both her father, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and she were convinced that the major difference between the developed and the developing countries lay in the extent and nature of application of science and technology to the good, welfare and the benefit of human-kind. She followed the tradition that Panditji started of addressing the Annual Sessions of the Indian Science Congress Association (ISCA).

ISCA is 73 years old and is unique in as much both the young students of science and the most renowned scientists can share the same platform and express their views unreservedly. It caters to all the basic and applied sciences and engineering through its 13 Sections together with two Statutory Committes on Science and its Social Relations and Science and Economic Development and one Forum on Home Science and Nutrition.

The speeches of Panditji to the ISCA have been brought out in one volume by the Nehru Memorial and Museum and Library and those of Shrimati Gandhi, at present lying in the archives of ISCA, have been put together in this volume for the benefit of our younger generation of science and technologists as also to serve as a reminder to the older generation.

During her tenure as the Prime Minister of India (1965-77 and 1980-84) she addressed ISCA 14 times, first time in 1967 at Hyderabad and the last time in 1984 at Ranchi. In brief these speeches reveal her faith in science and technology as an instrument of socio-economic change and her belief in the capabilities of scientists and technologists of India to bring about such a change. Over the years, there was established a close bond between her and the scientific community of the country and also with the ISCA. In fact, she looked forward to be with ISCA every year.

Shrimati Gandhi never regarded her annual address to ISCA as a routine ritual or obligation, but as "recognition of the importance of science and technology" in our society and the implementation of our plans. According to her, Panditji wanted the country to become science-minded and Indian scientists to become nation-minded. She often said that attached deep meaning to her being with scientists of the country at the beginning of the year and considered an "exciting event". In the later years of her association with ISCA, she made it a point to announce policy decisions of her Government in the area of science and technology at the annual sessions. At these sessions, the scientists and technologists got from her their share of public appreciation and encouragement as also advice and spanking for any shortcomings. It was a wonderful relationship which many of us will cherish till the end of our lives.

A perusal of her speeches shows the length, breadth and the depth of her vision of Indian science and technology together with its strengths and weaknesses. While being indulgent towards us, she remainded us of our responsibility towards the country and the people in general and rural community in particular. She talked of the revolution of rising ex-pectations of the people which she, as a politician, had to face. She felt that we should be very integrated in our thinking and not remain isolated in our ivory towers but work within India's particular social, cultural and economic milieu. She felt that while science knew no barriers, it could not serve the desired purpose unless it developed an insight into our history and culture and cooperated with socio-economic scientists. She laid stress on the problem of the common people, and solving them should not be regarded as "too humble a science". She often stressed that scientific temper must permeate down to the village level and science cannot remain oblivious of the stark realities, and needs of the suffering people. She felt that science and technology had not helped the poor, but recognised that it had the potential to transform rural life from its present drudgery (particularly women folk and children) to a situation where economic regeneration takes place through application of science and technology. She quoted Mahatma Gandhi who had said, "If villages perish, India perishes". According to her, there is enough room for application for very sophisticated science in the solution of rural problems. She advised us to take up work on local materials and not be obsessed to take to the consumption-oriented societies of the West.

According to her, Indian science must be planned on Indian needs and priorities and not be unduly influenced by the technological styles of the West. Indian science must be harnessed to the betterment of our people, therefore, scientists and technologists, have to be ever-vigilant and bring in self-reliance in S and T. She felt that we might progress by borrowing advanced technology from other nations but no truly independent nation can live by continuous borrowing. It must have something to give to the world if it wants to attain a degree of economic and political freedom of action in an interdependent world. Self reliance according to her is not something "inward looking isolationist approach but a policy which ensures that decision making and key aspects of the pattern and content of development will remain firmly in national hands". She further said, "scientists complain that our economic tradition is weighted against Indian technology". The ethos of the private as well as the public sector is for entrepreneurs and managers to look for short cuts, and using foreign technology as the "soft way out". They forget that "ease of the initial stage often leads to difficulty later on". Self reliance must lead to self sufficiency, particularly in food and energy which have the potential to become instruments of "pressure" by the food exporting nations. She remarked that "political freedom would be incomplete without economic independence, and that economic independence would be beyond our grasp without scientific self-reliance". However self-reliance should not mean "inordinate delays and consequent cost escalation or refusal to innovate". She also felt that "our ability to safeguard national interest by maintaining true independence of judgement, of decision and of action, depends on our progress in science". Such a reliance in science and technology must make scientific community "partners" in this endeavour and in what her father called the "great endeavour of building a new India".

Thus she felt that "no scientist can afford to ignore socio-economic forces and no politician or economist can ignore science and technology and their implications". From this, we must emulate the concept of partnership between scientists and the government and infusing science consciousness in the decisions of the Government.

As a natural corollary she encouraged scientists to get involved more actively with planning process and in decision making. She talked of both science in planning and planing in science. Towards

this, she took some very practical steps and opened several science based departments manned by scientists and technologists and also appointed a Member (Science) in the Planning Commission and a Science Advisory Committee to the Cabinet. She was the Cabinet Minister in charge of the science departments and in fact many of the scientists who headed these departments were irresistibly drawn to her, cutting short their own flourishing scientific careers. She once said that "it is not because I am an expert on them (departments) but because sometimes certain subjects and departments need special nourishment and it was felt that if the Prime Minister was in charge they would get that extra attention".

She felt that research and development had not given sufficient returns by way of economic growth. This in fact goes against self reliance and development of indigenous technology. "What is science for, if it does not equip us to face and absorb the shock of the future-whether of aberrant weather of anything else".

She talked of science and technology in environment; how carelessness in application of technology had led to environmental degradation as also the disproportionate use of resources in developed vs developing countries and urban vs rural communities. She pointed out the urgent need to conserve our national resources and take to the use of renewable resources including bio-energy. In order to minimise environmental degradation, she felt that planners must always call for an unbiased environmental impact assessment and that there was need for a fresh approach in almost all our areas of work, ranging from health, nutrition, education, agriculture, irrigation, coal, petroleum, transport, engineering, defence industries and to all other ventures that generate employment. In fact she regarded scientists and technologists in themselves a great resource, one which can bring strength to the nation. She pointed out that while scientists have a right to ask for better working conditions, how many times had they asked themselves what they could do for the country and the people.

She had a particular concern for the young scientists and that they should play an increasingly greater role in scientific and technological planning. They must get adequate facilities to do work. She was cognizant of the fact that a large number of scientific and technical personnel were drawn to other countries not so much for the reason of the lack of encouragement and denial of facilities

here and high salaries abroad, but because of a persistent non and misutilisation of their work. Very careful planning is needed to remedy such a situation. It is equally important to care for and nurse those who resisted all such inducements to go abroad but serve, under not so ideal conditions, and contribute their mite towards the nation.

She cautioned us that universalisation of science should not lead to "homogenisation" of human beings, because it is diversity that is the basis of all evolution. At no cost this should be allowed to be dispensed with. She also felt that as Indian science will grow and come of age, rivalries will build up against us. Thus while welcoming international cooperation, "we should learn to rely increasingly on recognition and reward at home".

She talked of connections between science and spirituality because both, according to her, aimed to uncover truth. Truth, she said, is the "basis of all religions". Taken in their pure form, science and religion share common goals which are never at variance with each other.

With her untimely and unnatural death, there is no doubt that science in India has lost a great benefactor. Today the only hope for us is to emulate her example. Her life was full of crises and challenges which she won, by facing them with redoubled courage. She belonged to a generation where sacrifice was regarded as the supreme honour, she has left us a great heritage in the country's science and scientific institutions. Her martyrodom should bring us together to realise her cherished ideals regarding the welfare of our countrymen. Let us all dedicate ourselves to do our best to complete the unfinished tasks lying before us. This, I think, is the best tribute that we can pay to her, and here also lies the way to the solution of India's problems.

New Delhi, 31 October 1985 T N Khoshoo, General President
Indian Science Congress Association
(Presidential Address)

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Chapter - 41

INDIRA GANDHI A TRIBUTE

T.N. Kaul

Indira Gandhi is no more with us physically, but her memory will always inspire us. Like all great personalities in history such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and before them Abraham Lincoln, Joan of Arc, Gautam the Buddha and Jesus Christ, she will exercise an even greater influence on succeeding generations than she did on her own when she was alive.

Never before in our country, or the world, has one individual done so much for so many in his or her life time as Indira Gandhi did for the 850 million people of India. She lived and worked for us all, irrespectivie of caste or creed, and gave her life in the cause of her secular ideals. I hope we will prove worthy of her, sink our petty and parochial differences and make India a strong, stable, united, prosperous and peace loving country, as she would have liked us to do.

Though frail of body, Indira Gandhi was a person of undaunted courage and determination. She was at her best in times of difficulty and adversity. She was not afraid to face any challenges, because she had faith and confidence in her country and people, in the oneness of humankind, and in the goals and ideals that unite world nations and peoples. Few statesmen in the contemporary world have shown the courage and capacity to overcome opposition and defeat and emerge stronger after every crisis, as Indira Gandhi did. I recall, in particular, her visit to the Valley of Kashmir after she had been defeated at the polls in 1977. It was like a home coming for her and the men and women of Kashmir rose to the occasion by singing the famous Kashmiri song to welcome her "Malinyo Ho". The song relates to a married woman who has been ill-treated by her in-laws and goes back home to her mother's house. It was a moving scene and Indira Gandhi was deeply touched by it. She vindicated the faith and affection that the people had shown her by fighting the next elections successfully and coming back to power in 1980.

Looking back a few decades, one cannot fail to recognise the sterling qualities in the frail little girl who organised the Vanar Sena during the 30's when her father and grand-father, and even her ailing mother and grand-mother had been jailed by the British and she was left alone in the house. These qualities blossomed forth as she grew up and faced bigger challenges.

When her father was at the height of his glory, she sacrificed her own family life and comfort to stand by him as a gracious hostess, as a shy, quiet lady, not throwing her weight about, but helping her father in his splendid solitude. In this respect she was perhaps more like her mother who had played a similar role when she was alive and sacrificed her health and family life to stand by her husband during India's freedom struggle. Indira Gandhi was the only person I know, apart from Mahatma Gandhi, who could and did control her father's anger and outbursts when he saw injustice or cruelty of society to man, or of man to man. She exercised a soothing influence on his transparently child-like temperament and helped to calm his troubled mind. I saw this first hand during Panditji's travels in the North-East in 1953 and during his visit to Iran in 1959. Indiraji saved many difficult situations through her affectionate and gentle interventions with her father.

Perhaps the greatest challenge she faced was at her father's death in May 1964. She was grief stricken and disinclined to join politics. She told me she wanted to live a quiet life on the mountains, far away from the political scene, doing social welfare work for women and children. It was the plea of her friends and well wishers, including Lal Bahadur Shastri and others, that persuaded her to join the Cabinet, after some initial hesitation, in order to give a composite character and continuity of Panditji's policies to the new Government.

Indira Gandhi was not a person to shirk or shy away from responsibility once she had accepted a challenge. Having joined active politics she threw her heart and soul into it and conquered the many difficulties she had to face especially in 1966, 1969, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1980 and thereafter. This was Indira, the brave and courgeous fighter for freedom, for the cause of the poor and oppressed in her own country and in the world.

The abolition of the privileges of the princes, nationalisation of major banks, imposition of ceiling on land holdings and urban property are some of the many bold measures she adopted in the teeth of opposition and at a considerable risk to her own position in the Party. She was not rash nor afraid to take calculated risks. She had a perfect sense of timing as was seen during the Bangladesh struggle for freedom and the 1971 conflict.

Indira Gandhi was magnanimous in victory as she proved during the Simla Conference in 1972. She looked at national

interests first and foremost, not in a narrow and short-sighted perspective, but in the larger context of peace and harmony in this region and the world. In some ways she was even more courageous than her father, faced graver crises and difficulties with greater determination and boldness. The Simla Agreement could not have been signed by a lesser person or statesman. In the Simla spirit lie the seeds of peace, friendship and cooperation which alone can keep out great power interference in the affairs of this region and promote a peaceful solution to its problem. Indira Gandhi believed in secularism, socialism and democracy, peaceful co-exisitence and non-alignment, not as a dogmatic or doctrinaire policy, but as a pragmatic and practical way of enlarging the areas of peace and co-operation, safeguarding security and promoting development. Hence her readiness to sign the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR in August 1971 and Bangladesh in 1972. She offered a similar treaty to Pakistan and other countries because she believed in peace and friendship with all. She played a leading and important role in the Non-aligned Movement from the Lusaka Summit in 1970 to the New Delhi Summit in 1983 when she was unanimously elected its Chairperson. As she said then, "NAM is the greatest peace movement in history".

Her worthy successor, Rajiv Gandhi, carried on with even greater vigour and determination, the policies that his mother and grand-father enunciated and followed under the inspiration of the goals and ideals that Mahatma Gandhi had set before us. Rajiv Gandhi was born and bred in the Gandhi-Nehru tradition and had a modern scientific and rational attitude to life and things. He had every success in the service of the nation and of all mankind.

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Chapter - 42

PROFESSOR JAYA LAL KAUL

M.L. Saqi

Jaya Lal Kaul (Born in 1900, Srinagar) was born in a respectable Kashmiri Pandit family. His father Pandit Lal Kaul was an educated person and a lover of Kashmiri poetry. Kaul inherited his love for poetry from his father. After passing his M.A. in English he joined J&K Education service as lecturer and retired as Principal of Government Partap College Srinagar in 1957. Later he was Advisor Radio, Kashmir Srinagar from 1958 to 1962. Kaul was appointed the Member Secretary of J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages and served in this capacity from 1963 to 1966. Prof. Kaul was the member of Executive Board and Convenor of Kashmiri Advisory Board of Sahitya Akademi for several years.

Kaul has done a lot for the furtherance and development of Kashmiri language and literature. It is because of his efforts that people outside Kashmir could gather information about the developments and trends in Kashmiri. His regular contributions to Indian literature and other reputed journals aroused interest in non-Kashmiri scholars to know more about the literature produced in Kashmiri. Kaul had a masterly command on English language and has translated a number of selected Kashmiri poems in English. His rendering of Kashmiri poems "*Kashmiri lyrics*" was published in 1945. This book was warmly received by common people and scholars. Besides English, Kaul had a good command on Urdu and Hindi. He could read and understand Sanskrit and Persian at the same time.

Kaul was also an interpreter and communicator of Kashmiri. There is no doubt that he has written quite a number of research and critical essays in Kashmiri, but his role in Kashmiri has been that of a translator and interpreter. His capacity as a research scholar and translator is undoubtedly outstanding.

Kaul published his "*Studies in Kashmiri*" in 1968 and in the same year this book brought him the coveted State Cultural Academy award. Before this he was awarded by the Tagore Centenary Committee for his small book "*Genius of Tagore*" He was elected the Fellow of State Cultural Academy in 1973. Kaul was the member of Editorial Board of Kashmiri- Kashmiri Dictionary from 1972 to 1976. He was the member of the first script committee of Kashmiri which was constituted by the State Government in 1948.

The publications of Jaya Lal Kaul include "Kashmiri Lyrics" 1945, Lal Ded (Kashmiri), 1964, Lal Ded (English), 1973', "Studies in Kashmiri" 1968, "Genius of Tagore (1961), interpretations of Galib, (1964). Besides he has published a number of articles in various journals. He has also contributed to anthologies and research journals.

Prof. Kaul passed away on 31st December 1986. He will be always remembered as a defender and crusader of Kashmiri language. His English version of Lalla Vaksh speaks of his depth of thought and power of communication. Always alert, Prof. Kaul passed his last days of life in perfect peace and tranquality. He was a polished and a cultured scholar to the core of his heart. I had the privilege to work with him as a co-editor of complete works of Paramananda and I will always cherish his company in my sweet dreams. His English style of working was unique.

People of his calibre are hardly seen these days. Thus his demise has created a gulf in the cultural fabric of Kashmir, which I feel will always remain there.

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Chapter - 43

PROFESSOR J.L. KAUL : AN EMINENT EDUCATIONIST

Prof. S. Bhatt

Professor J.L. (Jayalal) Kaul was born in Srinagar on 6th November, 1900 and passed away there on 31th December 1986. He passed his M.A. in 1922 and LL.B. in 1923 from Allahabad University.

Professor Kaul's range of scholarly works extends to all walks of life. He was not only an educationist, but a man of letters. He was founder-Principal of Karan Singh College, Mirpur, 1944-46, Deputy Director of Education, 1950-52, Principal of S.P. College, Srinagar, 1958-62, Secretary, Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages 1963-66.

He was member Jammu & Kashmir University Re-organisation Committee, 1964, Member Executive Board and General Council of Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1958-67, Member, Government of India delegation of writers to USSR, 1960. He was awarded fellowship by Jammu & Kashmir State Academy, 1973. He was also for several years a member, Selection Board, of Bhartiya Jnanpith.

Professor Jayalal Kaul had several publications. In the educational field, he published *Applied English Grammar, Shalimar Readers* - those very popular books for young and impressionable students, *New Kashmir English Readers,* and *An Intermediate Book of English Poetry*.

In the literary field, Professor Kaul published *Kashmiri Lyrics,* translated in English, *Interpretations of Ghalib, Lal Ded, The Genius of Tagore, Studies in Kashmiri,* "*Kashmiri in the anthology of Indian Literature*" ed. by K. Santhanam, *Kashmiri Literature*, etc.

Professor Kaul also contributed substantially in the college discourses. His classes were overcrowded with devoted students. He also wrote many articles on various social, cultural and literary subjects in college journals.

In 1976, ten years before Professor Kaul passed away, a book on the selected writings of Professor Kaul entitled "*Mottoes on Sundials*" was published by his grand children and edited by S. Balu Rao, Assistant Editor Sahitya Akademy, New Delhi. This book has a variety of thought-provoking chapters written by Professor Kaul.

In the "Mottoes on Sundials" Professor Kaul writes on the educational vocation, on seminar discourses, on books, library

reading, on a reading club, on taking rest, home thoughts, winter in Kashmir, Nehru - some facts, modern European civilisation, teaching poetry, contemporary trends in Indian writing, and, Indian prose today, etc. He has also written an auto-obituary.

Writing about the teaching profession, Professor Kaul says, "...we should do well to admit that in the present-day race for money and yet more money, there is no place for us, and, in this respect at least, contentment, the virtue of a bygone age, must continue to be our virtue still". - p. 4. He ended his discourse to the Teachers Training College students at Srinagar in 1963 with the vedic mantra of "Sahanavata Saha nau bhunaktu ..." which reads as : May we live in harmony together, May we enjoy our days together, May we do great deeds together, May our studies be light and strength unto us, And may we not bear ill-will towards anyone.

Professor Jayalal Kaul was a sage, a poet and a doyen among our intellectuals. His life will inspire all for a long time to come. He has a permanent place in the history of Kashmir.

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Chapter - 44

PROFESSOR JAYALAL KAUL

Maj. Gen. A. Kaul (retd.)

When I think of father, Tathaji, many memories and events come rushing back to me. What stands out is that but for him I would not have developed love for books. I recall he encourged me to read the book "The Pilgrims Progress" at a young age of 11 or 12; and after reading it made me to write a short note on it. That started my love for books.

Later when I grew up he taught me the art of speaking, and my ego gets bloated even at this age (of 68) when I am complimented on the content, and the manner in which I speak. I recall that when I was feeling proud about my achievement of having bagged the first prize in All India Inter University debate in early forties, father teased me and made me read a paper in his file with a remark by Prof. S.G. Dunn, former Head of the English Deptt., Allahabad University about himself "J.L. Kaul's expression will put any Englishman to shame".

Later came a stage when I could hold my own against him in scholarly arguments, but his deep scholarship and wide and varied knowledge about almost any subject was too staggering as not to leave a great imprint on me.

Lastly, I must say that he taught me to stand for our School Motto, "In all things be Men", and to have moral courage to stand for what is right irrespective of consequences. This was his greatest legacy to me - and am proud to say I have been able to do so in life so far. My father inspired his children as also his students to do great deeds in life. He was an intellectual and a genius and an exceptional teacher. He interpreted life in a creative and cheerful manner for us all and expanded the frontiers of knowledge.

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Chapter - 45

ZINDA KAUL : THE POET IN URDU AND PERSIAN

Dr. Arjan Nath Raina

(I have nothing more to say except that all the poems of this collection are a treat to the eye and the ear. On publication, these will surely find a place in the heart of all). Comments of Josh on Deewan-i-Sabit by Zinda Kaul.

-Josh-19.3.51

The available Urdu and Persian poems of Pandit Zinda Kaul "Masterji", were collected by me and published in a book form. *The Deewan-i-Sabit*—in the year 1951. *Sabit* was the pen-name of Pandit Zinda Kaul. Most of his Urdu poems have this pen-name well set in the closing couplet. As many as seventy-one poems in Urdu were collected from different sources besides his ten Persian poems. A revised edition of the booklet is about to appear in Persian and Devanagri scripts under the auspices of the Jammu and Kashmir Akademi of Art, Culture and Languages. The orignal manuscript of the *Deewan-i-Sabit* was corrected by the Late Pandit Zinda Kaul himself.

Born in August 1884 A.D., Zinda Kaul got his early schooling in a Maktab, a private house-school of Pandit Balak Kaul Jan who taught him Persian. With a thorough grasp of the Persian alphabet, the precocious boy made speedy progress. The musical rhyme of Persian poetry interested Zinda Kaul who read the "Kareema" in one breath. He wrote Persian verse long before he attempted to write in Urdu. When his teacher, Pandit Damodar, a vetern scholar in Persian, saw a couplet in his note book, he was agreeably surprised. Khwaja Mohiuddin, who taught Urdu, later took Zinda Kaul directly, under his charge and shaped his studies further. Fond of rhythmic diction, he began to weave verse in Urdu to express his thoughts. His first known attempt at versification in Urdu is given below :

What can give Joy?

And end the conflict of minds?
That is unity and sympathy :
The 'market of which is never cold',

His Urdu poems may be divided as under :

Prayer	-	7 poems
Nature and Love	-	25 poems
Helplessness	-	15 poems
Functional	-	31 poems

Prayer :

It will be proper to term the early poems of Zinda Kaul as songs. The theme is a universal prayer to God for virtue and light in this dark world. Lost in the mist of ignorance and uncertain moods of time, the poet seeks God to guide him on to a virtuous life. He feels helpless and caged as it were in this frame of flesh and bone. He craves for wings to soar higher and higher. Pleading thus:

Thou art the knowledge of seekers
Thou art the trance of mystics
Thou art Brahm, thou art Yazdan.
The worshipped and the desideratum of all

Bewildered with the Maker's magnificence and all-pervading nature, the poet craves for a drop of bliss towards salvation :

Unwilling to come, I wept
My first breath-cry you heard
When you promised salvation
Fulfil that promise, O Lord.

He insists on selfless devotion and on work being its own reward. His prayer is :

O god, lead us
To the path of meaningful life
So that we pray
In the temple, our country.
Cramped in this frame
Of flesh and bone
The wings are broken
Come. save me, O God.

Humanity a Passion :

Work be joy, a beautiful experience
With no compulsion
Not tiring labour
And no iron wage.

Regarding ownership :

I pray not to get the whole world,
But a selfless feeling,
that all is mine
Though having nothing.

All through his songs of prayer, the expulsion of the ego is the characteristic mood of the poet. Whatever the language, this attribute is common to the poets of Kashmir. Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi and Urdu poems of Zinda Kaul have stressed this as a pre-requisite for attaining peace and happiness. Urdu poetry, if taken as an offshoot of Persian poetry, harps on this very tune as is seen in the Persian verse of Mulla Mohsin Fani, Mulla Abdul Satar, Sheikh Rahmtullah Tarabali, Khwaja Qasim Tirmizi, Mulla Mohammad Qaus, Mir Syed Ali Hamdan and Mulla Mohammed Tahir Ghani. Chaste and powerful dictions of these *sufi* poets describe the spiritual excellence in expelling the ego. Mulla Mohammed Tahir

Ghani says thus :

"Your lips are wet
Make me drink this sealed wine
To out the ego
Out of my mind".

(Ghani)

It is this tradition which Zinda Kaul continues in his Urdu songs :
O Lord, no purpose was served
By granting lite to me, a useless one!
Nothing would suffer in the scheme of things
If I were not born.

In keeping with the mystical tradition, a few early Urdu poems of Zinda Kaul aim at knowing the Reality. These songs of prayer will never become stale. Their freshness and appeal will always last.

Nature, it is not to be forgotten, is a manifestation of *Iswara* described as *ras-lila.* Zinda Kaul brings this out in his poems with his characteristic mystic touch. Even in Urdu, in a ghazal like "The Dal Lake : Its Joy", the poet dives deep into the inner layers of consciousness where Krishna and Radha dance in the form of Faith and Love.

Oh all sides is the Dal
A lake of joy for ever
A meeting place of those who drink
    and enjoy life to its full.
Purity and solitude of its waters,
Can clean one's heart and mind,
Unburdened transparent waves,
Lend divine charm to its water
Sabit's tongue is sweeter
Than waters of the Dal
Enjoy this ghazal of his
With mystic rhyme divine.
The dark cloud in the sky
Is Love in the form of Krishna
The lovely lotus below
Is Faith in the form of Radha.

Even all objects of beauty in Nature have His sparks only to be

discerned with the eyes that have power to see :

Look where He will in Nature's floral world,
The man who truly sees will fine distinct
O, Painter, of Thy great and good design.

Nature and Love

In these poems there is a sudden change in theme, the diction and the approach. These twenty-five poems are classed as poems of Nature and Love. There is little of the music of Lord Krishna's flute in them nor is there any stress again on either the teachings of the Bhagwadgita or the Upanishad. Youth pervades throughout with its emphasis on love and beauty. Yearning runs all through and the mind of the poet longs for contentment and happiness.

Take all you gave me
And let me alone
Back to my land I go
I was not made for you
Bewitch me not,
O Unreal beauty.
Thine whims I despise
I belong to God and have everything.

Nature is described by the poet in simple words. Imagination soars high and apt metaphors and similies have been used. The sun, the moon, stars, forest, waterways, hills, mountains and birds appear in his verse to add scenic symphony to his thoughts. Breezes, rushing brooks, snowy peaks, green glades, tall deodar trees, massive chinars, beautiful gardens, flowers; lakes and lotuses appear breathing the aroma of the land and its landscape : Kashmir's many-sided beauty,

The poet stresses on Love as the path to bliss. Divine Love, not the love of senses, which is ridiculed thus :

All are intoxicated with love
Love lane is now a public place.

Even about the end of his life he says :

On my pillow sat the physician
Watching my last breath

But anxious to examine
The effect of Love on me.

Zinda Kaul's beloved appears to be not of this world but something celestial, not encased in flesh and bones and governed by the senses. Even though the Lover is ready to sacrifice himself to attain his Love, his Beloved is far away :

No joy in flowery glades
How can my free heart
Get content
In spotted flowers.
Divulge not the secret
O Sabit,
Dry lips and pale cheeks
Have killed thee.

In his poems of Love, the poet mentions the heart very often. At times it appears that he is facing a crisis and his heart is not under control. He often blames his heart for his desires. The heart is the precious jewel in man, and this precious jewel is the seat of the luminosity of the love given by God, says the poet.

Fate finds its due place in the Urdu verse of Zinda kaul. Fate and God's will are not different for purpose of his understanding. The voyage of life has suffering as its hall-mark but suffering purifies men to attain something higher and even divine. To lose one's heart is a sin. Birth and death are cyclic. Conscious effort to shorten the radius of radiance connecting the source with the mortal being, is possible with love and renunciation. There is, therefore, no rose-and-the-nightingale theme in his verse. Psychological observations and emotional experiences mostly figure in his poetry. This is because he draws for his thoughts upon his conscience and his inner self. Deeply philosophic, the mind of the poet lives in a world of its own, visible, perhaps, when the eyes are closed. There is little mention about his times; of turbulent history when two world wars were fought and revolutions took place in India and abroad. There is no mention of issues generally engaging the attention of intellectuals of this age. Often enough, these questions were put to the poet who did not like to dilate on these subjects. With a soft, sweet smile he hinted at their insignificance in the scheme of universal changes.

Of the eight *ghazals* mentioned already, *Napasand* (Dislike), *Khamosh Hun* (Quiet Am I), *Chalo ghar* (Go Home), *Khayal-i-kham* (Raw thought), *Achha Hua* (Well Done!) *Kya Karun* (What to do?), *Nikal Gaye* (They Left), show how the theme of love and nature has widened in its scope in keeping with the true renaissance in Urdu *ghazal* after 1898 A.D., when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan brought in that freshness which saved Urdu literature from decay. In these *ghazals* and some other there appears a sensitive and humane reaction to life. The language is so simple that thought and sentiment combine in easy expression.

Mirth waxes with thoughtful emotion and subdued sorrow lurks in the mind : a characteric feature of the *ghazals* of Zinda Kaul. There is some divine despair somewhere for what is not.

Even in Kashmir
My heart burns in sorrow
Even in *Chinar* shade
And spiritual sunshine.

The poet often argues with himself about idol worship. The beauty of idols is transient.

Functional

The fourth part of his Urdu poems can be termed as functional or ceremonial : partings, welcome to eminent persons, death, marriage or such social events in which the poet was personally interested. Here too his diction is sincere, simple and direct. Hints appear about cruelty, slavery, helplessness, poverty, bad customs and disunity. Selfishness and ego come up again and again as the ugly influence on man which the poet wants us to discard. He extolled good women. He mourned their death. In one such elegy of his on the early death of the mother of Shri Daya Kishan Kachru, in July 1937, he wrote :

A dear and ideal one
Is no more
She left behind a happy home
Of which she was the light
Mourn her death

But she attained Nirvana
Like the Goddess "Sati", that she was,

The wit of Zinda Kual was always alive. Some of his witty remarks will never lose their charm. In Urdu, brevity was the soul of his wit. Sometimes, the use of a single word raised his humour to heights. The well-known poem 'Clerkee', is a satirical masterpiece. Besides showing the wit of the poet, this poem made Zinda Kual a popular Urdu poet, Says the poet :

Milk, butter and fruit
We like not, knowingly though,
But feast on forced content
A cup of potatoes and peas.

Zinda Kaul tried his hand at writing blank verse in Urdu. He was inspired by the writings of Munshi Bhavani Das Kachru who wrote blank verse in Persian. His well known and oft quoted *Bahr-Taveel* is, perhaps, the only such attempt. Zinda Kaul, while writing "New Year's Day Glamour' in Urdu, admits that he follows the style of Munshi Bhawani Das. Except this brief composition of his, there is little he wrote in this style.

This brief composition in rhythmic prose is a pen-picture of the beautiful landscape of Kashmir in early spring. All elements of Nature awaken to the joy of life after a long dull, dreary cold winter. Spring brings freshness with the flowers and fruits when life pulsates through nature. The Nauroz (New Year's Day) is celebrated as a harbinger of beauty, love and joy. The author appeals to all faiths to join in a common prayer to get the human heart cleaned of its hate, fear, greed and revenge. Thus, according to the poet, will then contentment satisfy every human heart and make this world of woes a place of bliss. The cup of life gave him many bitter draughts to drink. It is, therefore, perhaps that he wrote in his reply, in 1960, to Shivaratri greetings from the Shri Daya Kishan Kachru:

Shivaratri may be a great day
But not for me!
When my heart is
Numbed with Pain!

There are only a few ghazals and Nazms worthy of mention that

Zinda Kaul wrote in Urdu. For the rest it will be no impertinence to call his Urdu versification as a hobby only to allow "the wind of his genius to blow where it listeth". The well-known Professor of Urdu language and literature, Shri Ali Ahmad Saroor, approved of these Urdu poems. The reputed poet Josh Malihabadi insisted on the publication of the Deewan-i-Sabit, without altering its idiom and metre as he felt that would spoil the indigenous style with its local colour.

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Chapter - 46

MASTER ZINDA KAUL : SOME REMINISCENCES

Prem Nath Bazaz

It was thrilling to know that Master Zinda Kaul would come to take our class for one period in the absence of our permanent teacher. We had heard senior students, whom he used to teach, pay glowing tributes to his gentleness and method of teaching. No sooner, therefore, had he entered our classroom than all boyish frolics stopped as a mark of respect to his personality. There was pin-drop silence for the full hour that he was among us and every word he spoke was noted with reverence. No harsh word did he utter and no rod did he wield to command obedience. It was a novel experience in learning which remained inscribed on juvenile minds for years afterwards. The event took place nearly sixty years ago when I was a student of fourth primary class in the State High School at Dilawar Khan Bagh in Srinagar. It was the first time that I made the acquaintance of Master Zinda Kaul though only from a distance. Soft spoken, sparing in words and reserved in speech, he was a teacher who belonged to that rare class of teachers who ruled the hearts of the pupil through sheer moral force. I was impressed by the sublimity of his character.

For the following fourteen years, I had no occasion or opportunity to come closer to Masterji. In 1928, by a fortuitous combination of circumstances we were, however, thrown together enabling us to know and understand each other on intimate terms. In order to better his future prospects in government service he had relinquished the teaching job and joined as Surveyor in the Archaelogical and Research Department of the Kashmir State. He had developed a

fascination for ancient monuments and was avidly interested in the books and manuscripts lying in the State archives. I had graduated from the Punjab University and was employed in the office of the chief engineer, P.W.D. Both of us had moved down to Jammu with the central offices and, as good luck would have it, we joined the same mess of government employees. Though no longer a professional teacher, he continued to be affectionately called "Masterji" by the messmates and others. Actuated by a desire to learn and be benefited by his company, I chose, with his willing approval, to be a partner of his room. It afforded us ample time during the few months we were in Jammu, to exchange our ideas and know each other's beliefs and ideals.

What assessment Masterji had, at that time, of me-my smallness, deficiencies and capacities-I cannot say, because, he seldom gave expression to his estimate of other people. As a university student, my literary interests were confined to my text-books. I could claim no intellectual attainment and was woefully lacking in general knowledge. I knew next to nothing about culture, humanities or science; I was an ignoramus. Realizing this soon after I left the portals of the S.P. College, I worked hard to make up the deficiency by omnivorous reading and by some exercise in thinking. I was still groping in the dark for a ray of light when I was suddenly confronted with the scholarship of Masterji. I found him like an ocean with precious stones deep down at the bed, on the brink of which I played with pebbles.

Master Zinda Kaul did not read lots of books but whatever he chose to study became a part of his life; to him a good idea was meant not for idle intellectual recreation but for practice. He had matured his beliefs and chosen his ideals.

Three powerful forces influenced him and moulded his character : Theosophy to which he was attached; Buddha and his philosophy, for which he cherished great admiration and, poet Parmanand, to whom he was devoted as a humble disciple. In our talks and discussions he frequently quoted the Poet and used to recite some of his selected verses by way of his morning and evening meditations. "*Hi Kesh chatti kesht mata mandachhavtam havtam me pan-ne Ishwar gat*", was his most favourie couplet. He would also every now and then utter the well-known Buddhist prayer : "*Buddham Charnam gachhami, Dhammam sharnam gachhami, Sangham sharnam gachhami* (I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in

Dharma, I take refuge in Sangha)". A god-fearing man, he refused to believe that any one religion possessed the monopoly of truth. Eclectic in his choice, he had imbibed the best, as he thought it, from different philosophies of great teachers.

At his instance, I read Sir Edwin Arnold's 'Song Celestial (Translation in English verse of the Bhagavad-Gita) and the *Light of Asia* which whetted my appetite for a study of oriental philosophies.

Masterji neither supported rank orthodoxy nor upheld indiscriminately all traditional Hindu beliefs. He did not hesitate to denounce evil custom, rituals and rites which he thought were eating into the vitals of the community. In his younger days he was something of a young Turk who fought for reforms in the personal and communal life of Kashmiri Pandits. Though by 1928 he had settled down to a quiet, reflective life, I often detected the reformist zeal in his talk.

I immensely enjoyed the company of Masterji-his literary pursuits, his flashes of wit, his moral scrupulousness, his sarcasm and his subtle humour. What surprised me and what I liked most was his appreciation of dissent and the other man's right of disagreement. Being a religious man, his belief in the existence of Superhuman Power was unalterable. Through my critical study of religious books coupled with reading of rationalist literature, my mind was being assailed by powerful waves of agnosticism. My faith in God had received first jolts and begun to shake. I had started doubting everything held sacrosanct. We tried to avoid any serious discussion of religious subjects but sometimes we did have an argument or two over them.

In October 1932, I started the first daily Urdu newspaper, the *Vitasta*, from Srinagar. The dust raised by the opposition to my role as a member of the Grievances Enquiry Commission (popularly known as Glancy Commission), had not yet completely settled down. But the scathing tirade of opposition did not carry conviction with Masterji. He gave me a pleasant surprise by volunteering to assist me in making the journal a success. He had been unhappy in the Archaeology and Research Department and had, therefore, got himself transferred to the Publicity Bureau of the State Government. The report of my journalistic adventure had enthused and stirred him to action. He not only wrote articles and some of the editorials of the *Vitasta* but also composed poems in Urdu for publication in it. These were eagerly read and helped me to enlarge the circulation. But the

Vitasta shortlived, Masterji's contributions notwithstanding. Instead of feeling dejected or depressed by the gloomy perspective, Masterji came out with a vigorous piece in defence of the shortcomings of *the Vitasta,* one verse of which still lingers on in my memory :

Vitasta bhi kisi kam na hoga hussan-o-seerat main
Abhi aane to do iska shabab ahista ahista

But neither my resources, hard work and dexterity nor Masterji's zeal could save *the Vitasta* which became extinct only after a year or so of its publication. Three years later, having created the wherewithal, I embarked, in 1935, upon a second adventure by starting the weekly *Hamdard.* Though the aims and the policy of the weekly were the same as of the defunct daily *Vitasta*, it caught the imagination of the Kashmiris of all religious persuasions and shades of political opinion. Once again Masterji girded up his loins and sent his contributions so that the new venture may not suffer the fate of the earlier one. He was a regular reader of the *Hamdard* and keenly watched its rise to the top most position in State journalism. When I opened a section for Kashmiri poetry in the *Hamdard*, one day to my great joy he handed me a poem in Kashmiri beginning with the words "*Vadihe manush cheyi he na osh vadnas vuchhun taseer kya*". It was a mournful piece full of pathos bewailing the helplessness of the individual before the imponderables of fate. Great tragedy had befallen Masterji; his elder son had died in the prime of life; the poem ventilated his pent-up grief. The artist-thinker in him had sublimated the personal misfortune by drawing a lesson from it for the whole of humanity. Many more poems followed in the same philosophical strain. It enhanced the reputation of the *Hamdard* in the intellectual classes and extended its sphere of influence and circulation. A large number of Masterji's Kashmiri poems which subsequently appeared in the collection entitled *Sumaran* for which Sahitya Academy Award was conferred on him in 1956, had been published in the *Hamdard* in the 1940s.

I wrote *Inside Kashmir*, my first book in English on Kashmir affairs in 1941, when the *Hamdard* was at the zenith of its glory. Having completed the manuscript, I submitted it to two of my friends-Professor J.L. Kaul and Master Zinda Kaul-whom I considered competent to critically examine it and suggest any alterations or additions that they might think advisable. I need not refer to the

valuable work Professor J.L. Kaul did in this behalf. For here we are interested in what part Masterji played. Even the first reading of the manuscript charmed him. In his behaviour he often displayed child-like innocence but not where literary matters were concerned. He used to be very discriminative in scrutinizing even small essays by pointing out their defects such as grammatical mistakes and shallowness of thought. *Inside Kashmir* had, in his own words, "captivated his hearts by its simple language and bold expression". "Now you have risen to my expectation", he told me affectionately with a glow of pride when I met him after he had gone through the manuscript. "I cannot help admiring your daring expression and maturity of views". It was a recognition I had longed to receive. But Masterji also felt apprehensive about the fate of the book and its author. "Having exposed the rotten core of Kashmir administration it was too naive to believe that *Inside Kashmir* would be allowed to circulate or its author left scotfree", he uttered repeatedly in a way as if he was voicing aloud what was passing in his mind.

Masterji did not propose any noteworthy alterations in the manuscript. But when he returned it to me it was accompanied by the following epilogue written by him in verse, which he insisted, despite my protests, should appear at the end of the book. The Epilogue ran:

> Thus have I said what others also felt
> But would not say, or could not. Truth must wound
> Although I never meant it should. But if
> By some unconscious error I have caused
> One smart, I crave forgiveness on my knees
> Untruth must die and truth prevail at last.

Obviously, Masterji was solicitous about my welfare after the publication of *Inside Kashmir.* In the form of the Epilogue he had tried to put a shield over me to protect me from the inevitable onslaught of the all powerfull despotic State.

Some of the hostilely-disposed officials in the Secretariat jumped at the report and toyed with the idea of proceeding against all the three of us. Not even remotely connected with politics, least of all with any anti-Government move, Masterji was upset. But he tried to maintain his balance and composure of mind. Approached to give his reactions to the imminent danger of arrest, he succinctly and calmly observed : "It is a good cause to suffer for", and then in the

resigned spirit of a yogi, added : "If it comes, let it come". But I felt very miserable indeed to see him passing through mental distress for no fault of his.

In the end, however, better counsels prevailed with the State authorities. Mr. Peel, Inspector General of Police, brushed aside the foolish idea that the government should act on no firmer ground than an idle rumour. "If action has to be taken against anyone for expression of seditious views contained in *Inside Kashmir*", he was reported to have stressed,' it should be the declared author and not the two gentlemen supposed to be ghost writers". And that finally set the matter at rest to the relief of all of us. The banning of the book was considered sufficient to appease the majesty of law.

The mutual suffering strengthened our bonds of intellectual affinity. Masterji was, no doubt, shaken but nothing diminished his regard for me and my journalistic probity. In the following six years he continued to specially compose poems for the *Hamdard* singing his philosophy of life and dilating on his broad human interests.

It was during this period that Masterji completed the translation and annotation of Poet Parmanand's works in three volumes-a work nearest to his heart. He beamed with joy when he made his appearance in my office with a copy of the first volume for me. Now, on the whole, his life remained unexcited and uneventful. He was contented to enjoy the company of his numerous admirers.

The cataclysmic changes which occurred in Kashmir at the time of India's Independence in 1947 saw me in prison for three years after which I was externed from the State in 1950. Against my intense desire to return to my homeland, I had to settle down in New Delhi. I got an opportunity to pay a brief visit to the Valley in 1964 when I called at Masterji's home. Fortunately, he happened to be there at the time and I was ushered into his presence. Sitting cross-legged, Buddha-like in a room on the first floor, he was as usual absorbed in his writing work. He could recognise me with some difficulty, my complexion with advanced age, having undergone a change. Visibly moved to receive me after over 17 years of upheavals and far-reaching changes, he felt overwhelmed by affection and pressed me close to his bosom. It was a happy reunion of akin but separated souls. I presented him a set of my autographed books which were published during the long interval and which I had specially carried for him. He peered through a few pages of each volume with attention and care. Then sizing me up as if for the first time, he said

with a Mona Lisa smile : "After all you had not been idle. I was wondering how your brain could stop producing non-conformist ideas. I knew it would not".

Our meeting did not last for more than an hour in which we reviewed the cultural developments in the State and touched upon the political changes. When I sought permission to depart, he showered blessings on me and then, as was not his wont, he stood up and accompanied me for a few steps to the door of the room. Coming down the flight of stairs into the courtyard I look up and was astonished to see him reclining at the window watching me disappear round the corner and into the bylane. Why did he cast this last look at me? Did he have a premonition that our eyes would never meet again? I did not realize then that we were not destined to have another meeting. Two years later, in 1966, he passed away.

I cannot say what he thought about me, my unconventional views and my political theories which I espoused after India's Independence. I had left far behind the days of my agnosticism and doubt and had become a confirmed atheist while he had remained steadfast on the path of complete faith in Transcendental Power. He had flowered as a mystic. Nevertheless, in his large-heartedness he continued to trust my *bona fides;* for, among the few tolerant persons in the contemporary Kashmir intelligentsia who conceded the sincerity of other man's motivies with whom they profoundly differed, Master Zinda Kaul was one. I never heard him denouncing anyone for holding uncommon views however distasteful to him. He would either calmly hear what was said or when provoked merely observe that these were rather strange notions.

Master Zinda Kual was a noble specimen of Indian culture. A Hindu to the core of his being he was neither dogmatic nor fanatic. He detested philistinism and sarcastically referred to ochre-robed sadhus and professional saints as the custodians of truth and guardians of morality. Nothing raised his ire more fiercely than the practice of hypocrisy and sanctimoniousness. He found virtue in living a simple, unostentatious and upright life. He was a Theosophist, a *bhakta, a Vedantin* and a Buddhist rolled into one. And the dominant passion on him to be a humanitarian concealed the weakness of his logic. Truth and Justice were his ideals and when either was violated to his knowledge, he felt deeply pained.

Masterji was a diminutive polyglot; he knew English, Persian, Urdu, Hindi and Sanskrit, besides his mother tongue, Kashmiri, and

could write in all these languages both in prose and verse.

Masterji loved man as man, irrespective of his creedal tenets or political objectives. His affection for children was great. He worshipped beauty; some inner urge dragged him to its propitiation wherever he found it.

Amusingly simple in behaviour, his naivete deceived not a few about his appraisal of developments around him and of those who came in contact with him and their behaviour. But Masterji possessed a keen and observant eye which could scan the environment and take things quickly in its grasp though he seldom gave out the opinions he formed in his mind.

Taking undue advantage of his meek and submissive nature, bosses in government service exploited Masterji and earned fame at the cost of his merit and work. He spent his life at the lower rungs of the ladder when others with inferior worth climbed to upper rungs and even to the top. He felt mortified and murmured but never asserted himself to secure the full fruits of his labour.

Such was Master Zinda Kaul whose pleasant talk, punctuated by subtle humour, was enjoyed by those who belonged to the inner circle of his admirers. Among them he came to be called and remembered as a saint, but to me he will ever remain as a man of sterling character, an intellectual companion and, above all, a sincere, dependable friend.

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Chapter - 47

PANDIT IQBAL NARAIN GURTU

Mr. Bhavanesh Kaul

"Likho gey pado gey banogey Ustad
Khelo gey kudo gey banogey Nawab"

The above verse Gurtuji recalled in a function in the University where the then Nawab of Chattari was the Chief Guest. Gurtuji's conversation was always full of wit and humour. He was a lover of poetry and well known for his recitation of Persian poem, often quoting Persian couplets extempore.

I arrived in Benaras towards early July, 1943, having secured admission to the College of Mining and Metallurgy and a residential seat in Dhanrajgiri Hostel. After settling down to the college and Hostel routine, I went to pay my respects to Gurtuji at his residence in the campus, on a Sunday morning. I was carrying a letter of introduction. The moment I was shown in, Panditji remarked, "you have taken long to come, where were you all this while?" Obviously, the gentleman whose introduction letter I was carrying had earlier written to him about me. I was instantaneously attracted to him, since I found remarkable facial resemblance with my grand father, same complexion, same light eyes, a typical aquiline nose, brownish moustache, bushy eye brows and the same large ears. He, like my grand father, radiated serene peace with ever ready smile. Even in old age he retained great beauty of figure, even grave and serious in gait and demeanour. His face so ever shining, simple and unostentatious he radiated geniality, his spartan simplicity and extreme candour put one at once at ease completely. He had a magnetic personality and drew people to him. His loud, deep laugh was infectiously endearing. About his personality Princess Sigpid of Sweden during her visit to CHC Girls' School at Benaras remarked: "who is that light-eyed Englishman in Indian dress".

After asking me a few questions about my background etc., he remarked "Ustad Key Betey ho, tue kam key ho". There were a few other older people sitting with him amongst them I remember Pandit Raghunandan Lal Dave, Pandit B.K. Zutshi, Pandit Razdan, Shri Mehta (Registrar) and others. They were engaged in an animated conversation, appeared as if pulling each others leg, and I vividly recall on a remark from Shri Dar, Gurtuji burst into a song and in his melodious voice sang some thrilling lines from Khake-Hind by Pandit Chakbast. The time still rings in my ears.

When I got up to take leave, Panditji got up and took me to the back verandah facing enclosed backyard and there introduced me to his wife Shrimati Saraswatiji, affectionately called by all Bhabiji. She was sitting there supervising the work of domestic helpers and giving instructions. She welcomed me with motherly affection and insisted on my taking more home made sweets. She was an embodiment of best of Indian womanhood. She came from an illustrious and distinguished family, daughter of Pandit Prithi Nath Chak, a leading lawyer of Kanpur. She had early home education, cultural training, intellectual exposure, with strong common sense. Their tug

was irresistible and I became a regular visitor to their place - a home, away from home - and was always received with open arms and affection.

It is said that behind every successful man is a women and Gurtuji would not have achieved all he did in life, but for deep devotion, sacrifice, cooperation and helping hand from his wife. She consigned herself to a life of abnegation, self denial and severe austerity. She was an unfailing source of encouragement to Gurtuji. She was, above all, a deeply religious noble lady.

When I met Panditji, he was pro-Vice Chancellor of the Benaras Hindu University, after having done two terms as Vice Chancellor of Allahabad University. In early 1940, at the earnest and insistent request of Mahamana Malaviyaji and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan he took up the pro-Vice Chancellorship of B.H.U. and came to live on the campus. He took all the load of all official, administrative work and total responsibility, and worked in a honorary capacity, letting the University pay his ex-officio expenses, only. Not only did he serve honorarily but also paid rent of the house in the form of a scholarship for students.

Young Gurtu won his laurels early enough at Muir Central College, where he was reckoned as a brilliant student, exceptionally fine speaker, who dominated debates with forceful arguments. He had a razor sharp intellect, an exceptional accuracy of thought and expression, a sweet tone, powerful eloquence. He spoke Urdu and English flawlessly, was elegant in his diction. His perfect pronunciation and correct accent would surprise any Englishman. He was a very popular figure as a student, life and soul of Literary Institute. In the University he taught History to B.A. students, but only for a short while. After obtaining Law Degree he shifted to Kanpur Bar and worked as an assistant to his father-in-law. Soon he established himself as a very successful lawyer with a lucrative practice. He had an extraordinary precocity, an innate quality for making a successful lawyer. He was thorough in the study of a case and it was said of him that he knew the opposite view point better than his own, and in discussions brought out all possible arguments before coming to a decision. He was also independent in his findings and judgment.

He attended a few lectures of Dr. Annie Besant. When he found how devotedly Mrs. Besant worked for the all round upliftment of India, his sensitive conscience would not let him continue in his personal worldly prosperity and felt it was shameful for any Indian

to do so. These lectures kindled a fire within him which drove him to Benaras, leaving behind his lucrative legal practice and ancestral property. About this urge Dr. Bhaghwan Das quoted a Persian verse of Hafiz.

"Man na mi goyam, ki aqil bush ya faizana bash,
Har chi bashi bash, lekin Andake diwana bash"

"I do not say be thoughtful or be wise.
Be whatever you like, but be also a little mad in search of what you like"

According to Dr. Bhagwan Das, Gurtuji illustrated this in his life.

In 1905 Iqbal Narain came to work in CHC at Benaras. Not finding any accomodation in the Hostel he went to live in a Dharamshala. This was the first trial for him till the then Assistant Secretary of Indian Section of Theosophical Society gave a room to him in the building housing Tara Printing Press. Ultimately, a house was secured on rent, sufficient for him and his family. It was close to CHC on Eastern side.

While in Benaras Iqbal Narain came increasingly under the spell of Dr. Besant, and become a zealous worker for Theosophical Society and CHC. In 1905, G.S. Arundale, Hony. Head Master went on six months leave and Panditji officiaited in his place. Later, during 1908 to 1913, he worked as full fledged Head Master when Arundale became Principal. This was a challenging but responsible work in an expanding school, yet he discharged his duties exceedingly successfully. He was a strict disciplinarian but was respected and feared and loved by teachers, students and all staff alike. If he was lacking in anything, it was his interest in games and sports. He never did physical exercise, though he managed to preserve his health fairly well by careful and regular food and other habits.

In 1913 he resigned the Head Mastership to take up the work of General Secretary of Indian Theosophical Society which had its Head Quarters in Benaras. Besides, his education and Theosophical work, he plunged into political work as well and became active and ardent worker in Annie Besant's Home Rule League. He did a lot of touring and lecturing for this organization.

In 1927/28 Annie Besant started a Montessori School at Rajghat, besides the Women's College and Boys College which had been set up earlier. And whenever Panditji was in station he used to devote lot of his time to these institutions and gave away large sums of his

savings to them. He did not believe in joys of retirement but dedicated his entire time, energy and resources for the development of the Educational Institution's under the Rishi Valley Trust, to which he bought his past glorious record of work and vast store of experience and knowledge.

During his early years of association with education in CHC, he imparted broad, noble, cultured and cosmopolitan approach to the system blending the best in Indian tradition and Western culture.

For a brief period he worked in Provincial Legislature as an elected member from Registered Graduates Constituency. After the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Iqbal Narain was elected member of U.P. Legislative Council. Later, he resigned during non-cooperation movement. In politics he held a liberal outlook. He had a short stint into the official life - as Council Secretary to the Minister for Local Self Government, Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain Mulla. On his appointment, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru quoted the following couplet of Ghalib :-

"Hua hai shah ka musahib, phir hai itrata
Wagarna shahr mein ghalib ke abroo kya hai"

He became the President of Provincial Conference of the Liberal League held in Agra. In December, 1931 he was elected Chairman of Benaras Municipal Board. He took up this work and applied himself with unparalled devotion, energy, dedicating all his moral and intellectual gifts in cleansing corruption, with vigour and without fear or favour. He exhibited strange combination of obstinacy and understandidng, a mosaic, a conglomeration bright and effluent, smooth but hard and impervious. He had a soft and sweet kernel inside with a hard shell outside. He publicly spoke with sternness, sometimes verging on fierceness, but he exhibited a sense of great warmth when dealing with people individually or in small groups.

He was appointed the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University on the retirement of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. He served as Vice-Chancellor for two terms and in 1937, the Golden Jubilee of the University was held under his stewardship.

As V.C. Allahabad University and later PVT, Benaras Hindu University, he never identified himself with any party or group within the Universities, but served with great distinction and com-

plete impartiality. Everone trusted and respected him for his sincerity of purpose, transparent honesty. He was unpopular among small groups because of being a strict disciplinarian. He was ever vigilant to the rights of others. He was hard working, conscientious and a dutiful officer. He signed no paper without examining the contents. He was meticulously clean in his personal life, anonymous in his generosities and charities, thrifty in finances, appreciative of good and hard work. While in BHU, one of the unique features and great achievements of Iqbal Narain Gurtu's administration, was to hand over a balanced and debt free budget to his successor for the first time in the history of BHU; after having taken reins during critical days when the University was in deep debt.

In appreciation of the valuable services rendered to BHU, the members of the Court and Council not only conferred honorary D.Litt. on him but also perpetuated his memory in the university forever by associating his name with one of the large Hostels on the campus. Earlier, the Allahabad University had conferred the Honorary Doctorate on him. The citation stated that this was in recognition of his high character, selfless public service and his great and memorable work in the field of education. In the field of education, Iqbal Narain fulfilled in fullest measure, Emerson's famous dictum that "the secret of education lies in respecting the pupil".

Son of Rai Inder Narain Gurtu, sub-judge Allahabad, who died at an early age, Gurtuji had to shoulder burdens and responsibilities from an early age. But by dint of his own ability and merit, his material sacrifice, his adherence to high principles, he won for himself an enviable place of honour amongst his peers and countrymen. Panditji was a perfect gentleman, an embodiment of a true nineteenth century produce, now practically extinct. Always dressed in spotless white, he was a walking monument of good manners, old time grace and courtesy. One was stuck by his deep devotion to duty, complete absence of self interest. Ceaseless activity was the main characteristic of his life and it was that which kept him so fit and fresh always. He only worked for works sake, and honour and recognition came to him absolutely unsolicited. He had strong traits of aristocracy and yet was polite, witty and openly friendly but modest. He was able, methodical, never late for an appointment, never forgot a courtesy due to him or failed to reply to a letter promptly. He won hearts of all by his persuasive manner, innate kindness. He never brushed aside any difference of opinion. A man with iron will, strong

conviction and sincerity, he had adaptability to adjust to work with all. He was known for his humanism, his brotherliness towards all, rich and poor, high and low, his extraordinary sympathy to the distressed and suffering people. He had vigorous mental powers, clear thinking, forceful expression and upright and clear hand-writing.

Little is known about Gurtuji's accomplishments as Homeopath. He had deep clinical acumen, his acute power of observation and depth, through the study of a case-history, resulted in his Homeopathic doses working miraculous cures.

Iqbal Narain Gurtu, in short, was a multi-faceted person, an educationist, an institution builder, an organizer, administrator, a staunch nationalist and philanthropist. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan formerly the President of India paying tribute to him said "my very deep appreciation of the great qualities of integrity, independence and selfless service to the cause of education which Gurtu rendered for many years. I am proud to call him my friend".

To sum up it all, the combination of "Iqbal" and "Narain" in his name was essentially a combination of Persian manners and dynamic Hinduism.

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Chapter - 48

SOME WELL KNOWN KASHMIRI PANDITS

Dr. Brij Premi

Khasta, Hargopal Kaul

Pandit Hargopal was born at Lahore in 1848. He started his career as a school teacher at Lahore and later at Patiala. His stay at Lahore provided him ample opportunity for his intellectual growth. He was introduced to the renowned Colonal Holride, the then Director of Education, Punjab, who encouraged his literary pursuits.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was the ruler of Kashmir then. He was a patron of oriental learning and a reformer of administrative system.

This inspired Hargopal Kaul and his brother Salig Ram Salik to return to their native land, Kashmir.

In the begining Khasta spent a lot of time visiting places. This helped him to write his book *'Guldastei Fawid'*. Major Huson, officer on special duty for Kashmir affairs then, introduced him to Colonal Hunsri, the Resident of Kashmir. This helped him to enter the Maharaja's court. For some time he wielded tremendous influence in the court, which ultimately involved him in many intrigues. His outspoken and critical nature added fuel to the fire and he along with his brother Saliq Ram Salik was subjected to imprisonment in Bahufort for 3 years. During his confinement in prison he wrote his famous Masnavi '*Gopal Nama*' in which he versified the condition of Kashmir and exposed the court intrigues. He also composed a poem entitled '*Narsingh Autar*' which is a satire on political system.

After his release Khasta went to Lahore and started writing in Urdu weekly '*Kher Khah Kashmir*', the paper started by his brother. After the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Khasta returned to Kashmir.

Khasta was a social reformer too. He made pionering efforts in launching a movement for social reform and education of women. He started a school for women and appointed his only daughter, Padmavati as its Headmistress. He also started the first school for boys namely Hindu school in Srinagar. This school later on came up to be known as S.P. College of Srinagar, Kashmir.

Khasta was a good nationalist. He fought all along for the identity of Kashmir. He always craved for the unity of Kashmiri Pandits. He was known as '*Shei-i-Kashmir*' during his time. He died in January, 1923.

Besides being a dedicated leader to the cause of Kashmiri Pandits, he was a very good writer, poet and a reputed journalist.

He has a number of books to his credit. His *'Guldaste Kashmir'* is the first ever history of Kashmir in Urdu from the ancient time till the age of Maharaja Partap Singh, It was published in 1883 at Lahore.

'Gulzari Fawaid' is a sort of a long story written in a lucid and simple style. He has some other books also. The fate of these books and compilations is not known.

Khasta was a poet too. He composed verses in urdu and Persian, both. He was connected with a number of papers, Ravi, Reformer, Public news, 'Kher-Khah Kashmir, 'Desh Ki Pukar' are some to mention. Most of these papers appeared from Lahore.

Salik, Pandit Salig Ram

Born in 1856 at Lahore, Pandit Salig Ram was younger brother of Pandit Hargopal Kaul Khasta. He had his early education at Mission School Lahore and received higher education at Patiala.

Salig Ram returned to his native land Kashmir during the rule of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. He took employment with a Pashmina firm and later in the State Residency, his services were terminated for his being implicated in a case against the British. He was put behind bars at Bahufort along with his brother, wherefrom he managed his escape and took shelter at Sialkot.

During this period of turmoil he completed his two Masnavis: *'Sunder Badanu* and *'Sisi Panu'*. He also wrote a substantial portion of his book in prose entitled *'Dastani Jagat Rup'* which speaks of men and matters of his time.

Salik attempted to seek permission for bringing out a paper in 1880. This request was turned down. He however started his own paper - *'Kher Khahi Kashmir'* an Urdu weekly from Lahore. This paper fought for the philosophy of Sanatan Dharm in particular and for the interests of Kashmiris in general.

Salik was a staunch Hindu. Besides writing extensively on Hindu themes he wrote two small booklets viz 'Murti Mundan' and 'Dharm Updesh', fighting valiantly for the interest of Sanatan Dharm faith.

He wrote 'Maharaj Gulab Singh' in English, which he rendered in to urdu also. This earned him a reward of Rs. 1000/- from the Kashmir Government.

Salik liked the religious Maharaja Partap Singh. He wrote extensively in his favour in *'Kher-Khaki-Kashmir'* and other papers. He also started an English paper and criticised the atrocites committed by Sardar Mohammad Hayat Khan, the then Revenue Minister of the State. This made him to quit the State. Salik was later invited by the Residency to live in Kashmir and was honoured highly. In Kashmir he managed the affairs of 'Tufie Kashmir' for some time. In his last days he took to practicing law. Being basically a 'writer, he could not confine himself to precticing law only. He wrote the Interpretation of *'Ranbir Penal Code'* in Urdu. Besides, he compiled the interpretations of Law of Registration, Civil Procedure code, etc.

He functioned as Public Prosecutor for some time. But his first love was writing and reading.

He published his paper 'Vahil'. Salig Ram died in 1929 at Srinagar. He was a great Hindu, a great Patriot, a great Kashmiri writer and poet.

Salik was possessed of a powerful pen. He wrote a number of books in prose and poetry. To mention some:-

1. Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh
2. Danger of Education.
3. Shastra Arath
4. Murti Mundan
5. The trouble of Dayanandis
6. Dharm Updesh
7. About half a dozen books on law and its interpretation.
8. Kashmiri Reader, (1927).
9. Gangenie Fitrat (Essay and articles)
10. Dastan jagat Roop
11. Tufie Salik
12. Dewan-i-Urdu (Poetry)
13. Masnavi Sunder Badan,
14. Sisi Pano.

Pardesi, Prem Nath Sadhu.

Prem Nath Sadhu was born in 1909 at Srinagar. He matriculated from Govt. State High School, Baghi-Dilawar Khan. His father Pandit Mahder Kaul was an ordinary employee in the Department of floods. His services were terminated at an early stage, this barred Pardesi to receive higher Education. He was brought up by his grand father Pandit Makund Kaul, a Tehsildar of his time. Pardesi known as Madhusudhan at his home, enjoyed a comfortable childhood. He was admitted to his school as Prem Nath. After the death ofhis father, young Prem Nath had very hard days ahead. He took employment as an agent with a local lawyer. Thus he joined as a clerk in a Railway Agency. He got an employment as sub Inspector in the State customs and Excise Department where he spent almost all his life. He was later promoted as Inspector. During the last few years he served as Programme Assistant in the newly installed Radio Kashmir.

He was a chronic ulcer patient, and died in January, 1955 after being operated upon for the stomach ailment.

Pardesi, picked up the first lesson of writing and composing

verses in the lap of his grandfather Pandit Mukund Koul, who was a great lover of Urdu and Persian literature. He organised meetings of writers and poets often at his house, where poems would be recited and articles would be read and discussed. It is here that Pardesi was acquinted with the names of Mulana Hassan Nizami, Ehakhast, Hali, Prem Chand, Iqbal, Josh and others. This went a long way in awakening the dormant poet and writer in Prem Nath Sadhu.

Pardesi started his literary career as a poet in 1924 with Rounaq as his Takhalus. He composed verses from 1924-1932 when he felt that this was not his right field, he gave up composing of verses and took to writing of short stories with the pen name of Perdesi. In the begining he published his poems and stories in Ranbir, Jammu and Akhbari - Aam of Lahore, untiil Vistasta, Hamdard and Martand appeared in Srinagar.

The first collection of his short stories was *'Sham-u-Saher'*. He had not attained command over his pen yet. His themes were mostly romantic.

With the passage of time, Perdesi himself experienced ups and downs of life. His movements in the remote areas of the state during his service career gave him a first hand information into the real life of the Kashmiri people. The atrocities by the feudal regime of dogras, and his study of the national movement changed his outlook. His idealism was smashed and he became a realist. The progressive movement in literature also helped a lot in changing his ideas.

He said, he could not be proud of what he wrote from 1932-1938. He could not visualize what his duties were. Would he be a wriiter of short stories, or would he work for the beloved country whose 400 million masses remained enslaved for 400 years and whose roots had been full of poverty and exploitation.

The second collection of his short stories entitled *'Duniya Hamari'* is with a different tone. It is devoid of sentimentalism and romanticism.

His third collection *'Bahtay chilay'* appeared after his death. It is a fine literary work.

During the freedom struggle Perdesi wrote under the pen name of 'Balak Ram bari'. Some of the stories of this period speak of a rebellion, an outburst of an exploited and tortured people.

Perdesi wrote a number of plays as well, which were staged. His first ever Kashmiri stage play 'Bata-her' was confiscated by the Dogra Governor, in 1945.

Rightly known as Prem Chand of Kashmir, Perdesi had a powerful pen. His role is like Munshi Prem Chand. His short stories and other writings helped bring about a change in social and political attitude of the Kashmiri people, from whom he received inspiration. All along he exposed the astrocities committed on the people and gave vent to their aspirations.

Perdesi was one of the pioneers to lead the movement for social and political causes in 1948. With a rifle on his shoulders, and along with some handful artists he guarded the streets of Srinagar against the Pakistani raiders. His patriotic song was sung by all people :-

Kadam Kadam Challaine gae hum
Mahaj Par Ladain gae hum
was on every lip those days.
He wrote a lot for Kashmir.

Pardesi name in Urdu fiction and in the history of Urdu literature will be remembered for long. He was also a great freedom fighter for India.

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Chapter - 49

PANDIT ANAND KAUL BAMEZAI THE PIONEER OF MODERN RESEARCH IN KASHMIR

Prof. Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

Pandit Anand Kaul was the pioneer of modern research on the history and folk-lore of Kashmir. His own publications on history of Kashmir and anthropology of Kashmiris are enough to perpetuate his memory for the posterity. This becomes evident from his well-received book *'The Kashmiri Pandit'*, in which he records social as well as physical features of the evolution of Kashmiris, development of art and charm of folk-lore in Kashmir. His other works are : *'Jammu and Kashmir State'*, *'Archaeological Remains in Kashmir'* and *'Lalla Yogishwari'*.

Along with Dr. Grierson, Dr. Barnett and Sir Richard Temple, Pandit Anand Kaul made considerable efforts in collecting and publishing the sayings of Lalleshwari and her yogic attainments which, besides touching the tenets of Vedanta and the Saiva Philos-

ophy of Kashmir, bring forth the synthesis of cultures for which Kashmir has always been noted. "It was he who," in the words of P.N.K. Bamzai 'recognized early the importance of such a work to the study of the history of India".

When some people interested in anthropological or geological research, described the lingam of Amarnath cave as a geological matter, Pandit Anand Kaul made the following observations :-

"This lingam is not impregnated with any matter but is composed simply of pure water turned into ice, Nor is it an ice spring, as some say, for on *Amavas* days the ground in which it stands is found dry. There is, of course, gypsum in the cave but it does not form the ingredient of the ice-lingam. This ice lingam waxes and wanes with the moon, as stated above, which has been observed by several reliable persons who have stayed at *Pancatarni* for a full month and have visited the cave from there daily.

This phenomenon is considered wonderful by not only Indian scientists and seers like Swami Vivekananda, who says in his book that he was all ecstasy on seeing it, but also by Europeon scientists who must have been aware of the formation of rock-matters.

Pandit Kaul's magnetic personality and pioneering research ability introduced his worthy son P.N.K. Bamzai to Kashmir and its cultural heritage. This enabled the latter to write a comprehensive history of Kashmir to which Jawahar Lal Nehru wrote the illuminating introduction which begins with the singing note "This book is a welcome addition to the long story of Kashmir". Pandit Anand Kaul, therefore, formed a connecting link between the past and the present history of Kashmir with reflection on the development of social life of the common people along with their religious beliefs and practices.

On the historical visit of the great spiritual personality, Swami Vivekananda, towards the end of the 19th Century, Pandit Anand Kaul was the prominent figure among the group of Kashmiri Pandits who received him and his Europeon disciples with great love and reverence. This illustrious son of the valley lived between the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning half of the 20th century. He had a very important position as President of the Srinagar Muncipality, besides being honoured socially. He was an important citizen of Kashmir, and a great Kashmiri Pandit.

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Chapter - 50

PROF KAILASH NATH KAUL (F.L.S, LONDON)

Prof. S. Bhatt

Professor Kailash Nath Kaul was born on February 12, 1905. He passed away on February 22, 1983. His great grandfather was Dewan of Jaipur State (Rajasthan). This office was held in the family for three generations. His wife is Smt. Sheila Kaul, currently a Cabinet Minister, in the Government of India. He has one daughter, Smt. Deepa Kaul, formerly Minister of State, U.P. Professor Kaul has two sons, Sri Gautam Kaul, IPS, and Sri Vikram Kaul, who is in business.

Education:

Professor Kaul left studies to join Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement and worked in the villages adjoining Delhi under the guidance of late Sri Asaf Ali. He was a keen student of science and nature study; especially studies of 'Snakes of India' and kept snakes as a hobby. He organised a serpentarium and Aquarium in Lucknow zoo in 1954.

He joined Jamia Milia Islamia (National Muslim University), Aligarh.

After withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement by Gandhiji, he joined Delhi and later Lucknow University to continue studies,.

Important Events of Life

In 1928, Prof. Kaul saved Sri Jawaharlal Nehru when he was heckled during Simon Commission's visit to Lucknow.

In 1929, he stood first, getting first class in M.Sc (Botany) from Lucknow University. He joined Research as a Fellow and worked on the 'Alkali Soils' of Uttar Pradesh. He did independent work in Kashmir on Artemisia Brevifolia, the Santonin yielding medicinal plant. Later 'The Santonin Factory' was organised at Baramula (Kashmir). In 1930 he left studies to join the National Movement started by Gandhiji.

He Organised a Village Uplift Society in Lucknow District (Charkha Pracharak Sangh). He was sent by All India Congress Committee to help Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in organising village uplift work in Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu Districts. In 1933, he was

arrested for hoisting the National flag in Aminabad, Lucknow, having been a member of the then outlawed Indian National Congress. He was sentenced for 6 months. He organised in jail a school for literacy amongst the 'C' Class prisoners.

Academic Career

In 1934, Prof.Kaul was appointed as a Research Assistant in the Botany Department, Lucknow University. He did independent research and joint work with the late Prof. Birbal Sahni, F.R.S. on the 'Fossils and the Living Palms of the World'.

With the help of the late Prof. Birbal Sahni, Prof. Kaul organised the 'Palaeobotanical Society' in Botany Department. The society later organised the Palaeo-botanical Institute, Lucknow. In 1939, he was appointed as 'Assistant for India', Herbarium, Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew (London). He worked at Kew for over five years. He then worked in the 'British Museum' (Natural History). During the above period he visited different universities of U.K. and gave talks on his researches at Cambridge. In 1944 he returned to India and joined Botany Department, University of Lucknow.

In 1947 he surveyed Jodhpur State, Western Rajasthan desert by air and land and discovered underground water resources for desert reclamation. He was appointed as Professor of Botany, Government Agricultural College, Kanpur. In 1948, Prof. Kaul was appointed as Hon. Director of the National Botanic Gardens (Sikanderabagh) by the Government of Uttar Pradesh, besides being Professor at Kanpur.

In 1949-50 he was appointed as Officer-on-Special-Duty, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India to organise the 'Underground Water Board for Rajasthan', Jaipur. In 1953 Prof. Kaul was appointed Director, National Botanic Gardens, (Sikanderbagh), one of the National Laboratories under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. He established the Botanical Garden, laboratories on all the branches of Botany, Herbarium and a Botanical Library at Lucknow. In 1953, he initiated work on over 1000 acres of alkaline lands at Banthra and Karauni villages. The work was highly appreciated by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. Government of India especially sanctioned a scheme for the training of villagers in the reclamation work.

In 1953-65 he surveyed botanically the whole of India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and N.E.F.A., Assam to Gujarat. He organised a sub-station for research on ornamental plants at Verinag

(Kashmir). He attended, as a delegate the International Botanical Congress at Paris, Montreal, Edinburgh, Hawaii; worked at the Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya, Ceylon, Singapore (Malaya), Bogor (Indonesia) Bangkok (Thailand), Hong Kong, Tokyo (Japan) and Manila (Philippines). He also organised research and publication of scientific literature at the National Botanic Gardens.

Besides the scientific activities, he organised the following cultural, educational and social activities:

- (i) School of Botany
- (ii) School of Languages.
- (iii) School of Science (Vigyan Mandir), a scheme started for the whole country.
- (iv) Constructed an open-air-theatre in the garden and organised a cultural society (Kala Kendra).
- (v) Organised a Society for poets.
- (vi) Organised Film Society of Lucknow.
- (vii) Organised Garden Lover's Society (Mali Singh), Lucknow.
- (viii) Constructed tube-wells in surrounding villages of Banthra.
- (ix) Established a nursing home at Banthra.
- (x) Established 'Jawahar Krishi Pathshala' at Aurawan village.

In 1965 Prof. Kaul retired and was appointed as Emeritus Scientist by CSIR. He worked at the Central Drug Research Work, Institute Lucknow. He also organised a 'School of Botany and Gardening' under the auspices of Garden Lover's Society.

In 1969 Prof. K.N. Kaul was asked to help the State Government of J&K in revitalising the existing moghul gardens in the State which were showing signs of wear and tear due to heavy influx of tourists visiting these sites.

Prof. Kaul studied the history of these gardens from the persian texts of the mughal period and restored the old glory of these gardens. He escavated the site of the old Pari Mahal complex to discover an old mughal garden and reconstructed it. He gave to the State and the country its first alpine botanic garden, better known later as *Mamaji ka Bagh*. He was on his way to reconstruct another mughal garden near Rajouri developed first by Nurjahan, when his local detractors succeeded in getting him to call it a day in the State.

Awards & Honours

Prof. Kaul was elected as President, Indo-Iranian Society, Member of the Governing Body of the Palaeobotanical Society, Lucknow, and Member of the Lalit Kala Academy of U.P. Government. In 1968, he was elected President of the Palaeobotanical Society. In 1969, he joined as Director, Gardens, Parks and Floriculture in the State of Jammu & Kashmir. In 1975, he was appointed as the first Vice-Chancellor of Chandra Shekhar Azad University of Agriculture and Technology, Kanpur.

An authority of palms

In 1977 he demitted office of the Vice Chancellor and moved to become the Agricultural Advisor to the State of Madhya Pradesh.

Sir Edward Salisbury F.R.S. Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, (Ex-Secretary Royal Society) wrote about Prof. Kaul in these words: "Prof. K.N. Kaul is one of the two living world authorities on palms and the Ministry will do well to encourage him to continue this work and maintain his world status".

In 1977, he was conferred the high distinction of "Padma Bhushan", by the Government of India.

Some Conclusions

The above chronicle of events in the life of Prof. Kaul reflects his multifaceted and many splendoured personality, moulded by the confluence of many influences and currents of thought and action. His botanical interest had been shaped by his association with the late Prof. Birbal Sahni, F.R.S. and accelerated by his accredition to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, England. His scientific contributions to the study of palms and his conception of 'Usar' land reclamation through biological means won him international acclaim.

The scientific accomplishments of Prof. Kaul, together with his versatility in the pursuit of knowledge and service to the society earned him a pride of place in India and else-where. His academic interests included snakes, deserts, philosophy, anthropology, comparative religions, world history and geography. He was an integral part of India's freedom movement, and never compromised for

anything short of national benefits. He even worked among the Pakhtoons for their social uplift in the Frontier Province of undivided India in the years 1930-31. As special Officer-in-Charge, Rajasthan Underground Water Board (1947-48), he contributed much towards desert irrigation technology. While at the National Botanical Gardens (now National Botanical Research Institute) Lucknow, he organised the 'Vigyan Mandir', the science oriented open air school to carry the message of science to the uneducated. He organised a chain of cultural and literary societies at the various places he served. In honour of his services, the Lucknow University instituted a Professor's Chair bearing the name of Prof. Kaul at the Department of Botany, Lucknow University, with the support from the Ministry of Education and Culture (now Human Resource Department), Govt. of India. Similarly, the Kanpur University established the Kaul Institute of Life Sciences.

The State Govt. of Madhya Pradesh also established a chair in Bhopal University in the name of Prof. Kaul.

Thus, Prof. Kaul, played an important role in the building up of the tempo of science and development in modern India, with a mission and vision beyond his times, which now is the proud heritage of the Kaul Science Foundation.

Indians in general and Kashmiris in particular are proud of this great son of India. He loved the country and worked for the social, educational and scientific progress. He was a builder of creative institutions.

Prof. K.N. Kaul died in 1983 aged 78. He left behind a host of scientists trained to give inputs to his specialisation in sciences. To keep alive his objectives the Kaul Science Foundation was established in Lucknow which holds memorial lectures on science topics and is undertaking various projects in developing a scientific temper amongst the younger generation.

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Chapter - 51

KASHMIRIS IN THE SERVICE OF URDU

Z. L. Kaul

In early forties, at an all-India gathering of Urdu scholars, the delegates were asked to draw a panel of names of people, who wrote correct idiomatic Urdu. Surprisingly, the panel which consisted of four names, included three Kashmiri Pandits. The panel consisted of Maulvi Abdul Huq, of the Anjuman-i-Tarqi-i-Urdu, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Raja Narendra Nath and Pandit Brij Mohan Datatriya 'Kaifi'. That was the measure of proficiency achieved by the Kashmiri Brahmins in Urdu language.

Court Language

When Islam was introduced in Kashmir in early fourteenth century, Persian became the court language. The Kashmiri Brahmin, with a remarkable flair for adjusting himself to the changed scenario, switched over from Sanskrit to Persian. The speed with which Kashmiri mastered this foreign language was extraordinary. Overnight, the court circulars, the *firmans* and the judicial pronouncements were written in chaste Persian by Kashmiri Brahmins with the same ease with which they wrote Sanskrit.

But Kashmiris not only mastered the art of the official language, they also tried their hand at literary forms, notably poetry. Scores of local poets sprang overnight, but their literary output never won any recognition outside the valley. The only exception was Ghani, whose fame transcended India and reached Iran. Even today Ghani is regarded as a greater Persian poet in Iran than Iqbal. Kashmiri Brahmins, continuing the tradition of Kalhana, wrote history of Kashmir in Persian. They are Anand Kaul Ajaz and Birbal Kachroo, whose Persian chronicles are a valuable source of Kashmir history.

When the Mughul empire decayed, Urdu was born in the twilight of the decandant Mughul culture. It was in Urdu that the literary genius of Kashmiris flowered and attained heights never before achieved in Persian.

Mother-Tongue

Kashmiris, who migrated to India in the wake of Pathan repression, made Urdu their mother-tongue and soon forgot Kashmiri. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru once proudly declared: "Urdu is my mother-tongue and I am proud of it". Almost every town in India had minor Kashmiri poets, especially in Indian States where they emjoyed royal patronage.

The four Kashmiris who have earned for themselves a niche in the history of Urdu literature are Mohammad Iqbal, Ratan Nath Dhar 'Sarshar', Daya Shankar Kaul 'Nasim', and Brij Narain 'Chakbast'.

There can be no two opinions that Iqbal is one of the greatest Urdu poets of all time. His forefathers came from Kulgam from the family of Saprus. Iqbal was proud of being a Kashmiri.

Literary Giant

The first and foremost Kashmiri to win recognition as a literary giant in Urdu was Pandit Daya Shankar Kaul 'Nasim' of Lucknow. He was born in Lucknow in 1811 and died in 1845 at the young age of 34. He was a disciple of the great Urdu poet, 'Atish'. Nasim's 'Gul Bakawali', a versified version of the famed love story, made him immortal. His fame caused envy to many Urdu novelists. Sharar came out with a fantastic story that Nasim was not the real author of the book, but Atish, but Chakbast wrote a spirited defence of Nasim and silenced Sharar and his supporters. This controversy, which has now been settled once for all, was an event of great literary battle in the early part of this century.

Ratan Nath Dhar was the celebrated author of *Fasana Azad,* which is regarded as the forerunner of the Urdu novel. He died in Hyderabad in 1904 under mysterious circumstances. The story of his coming to literary prominence is as fascinating as his works. He was a school teacher and wrote a piece for the famous Urdu paper *Oudh Punch*.. The editor at once realized the potential of the writer and invited him to write regularly for his paper. Ratan Nath, with prosperity coming to him, become an alcoholic. Accordidng to tradition he was paid not in cash but in bottles of whisky for each piece. The messenger of *Oudh Punch* used to come to him with a bottle of whisky and Rattan Nath Dhar used to write while sipping

pegs. He wrote four volumes of *Fasana Azad*, and the amount of alcohol he must have consumed is anybody's guess. His mastery of the Urdu idiom and dialogues of butlers, begums and courtiers is remarkable for its authencity. His humour and wit is there for all to see. His characters are as well drawn as of Dickens and *Fasna Azad* is akin to *Pickwick Papers*.

The last great Kashmiri poet was Brij Narain Chạkbast, who died at the young age of 44, in 1926. His poetry is full of patriotic fervour, and is devoid of love and romance. Chakbast was an ascetic and a liberal in politics like Sir Tej. But Chakbast was master of diction, idioms and the classical Luknavi Urdu.

Our Own Time

In our own day Pandit Anand Narain Mulla, a former judge of the Allahabad High Court & an M.P., is a poet of standing.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's services to the cause of Urdu literature are too well known. Raja Sir Kishen Prasad Kaul, of the erst-while State of Hyderabad, was a great patron of Urdu poets. Among the lesser known poets one can mention Amar Nath Madan 'Sahir' and Tribhuvan Nath 'Hijar'.

In the valley itself, Kashmiris have served the cause of Urdu literature well. Nand Lal Kaul Talib, Dina Nath Mast and Nand Lal 'Begarz' are well known names, among many.

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Chapter - 52

KASHMIRIS IN THE SERVICE OF URDU

D. K. Kachru

Kashmiris can justifiably be proud of their great contribution to the development and enrichment of Persian in India from the fourteenth century of the Christian era onwards. Earlier they had already carved out a special place for themselves in the realms, among others, of Sanskrit language and literature.

The Persian poetical works of some of them had been adjudged, in their times, to be as good as those of the best poets of Iran itself. Habib Ullah Ghanai, "Hubbi" (1556-1617), Mulla Muhammad Tahir, "Ghani" (d. 1669), Mirza Darab Beg, "Juya" (d.

1707) and Mirza Beg Akmal, "Kamil" (1645-1719) of the Mughal period are in the opinion of Dr. G.L. Tikku of the University of *Illinois* (U.S.A.) only four poets who are, so to say, landmarks of Persian poetry in Kashmir'. Their name and fame travelled as far as Iran in their day.

During almost a century of Afghan and Sikh rule from about the middle of 1700 A.D. to about the middle of 1800 A.D., Mulla Ashraf, "Bulbul", Abdul Vahab, "Shaiq", Daya Ram Kachru, "Khushdil", Mulla Hamid Ullah, "Hamid", Birbal Kachru, "Varasta" were equally outstanding and far-famed. One could with apologies to chronlogy, add the distinguished name of Bhawani Dass Kachru `Neku', Raja Kaul Arzabegi, Chandra Bhan "Brahmin", Lachi Ram "Saroor", Narain Dass "Zamir" and a host of others.

Some of these distinguished men of letters rose to sublime heights of accomplishment which won them deserved acclaim. To those friends who would like to know a little more on the subject I would recommend a study of "*Persian Poetry in Kashmir*" by Dr. G.L. Tikku. He has called it only "an Introduction". But it is much more than that, and provides educative and excellent reading. Dr. Tikku has rendered a signal service to his old, home-land and to all lovers of Persian by bringing out this excellect "introduction".

Persian, however, slowly ceased to be the language of the court and of the elite with the eclipse of the Moghuls. Urdu took its place steadily and step by step. The part that Kashmiris played in its development and enrichment has again been historic and all-important. In point of fact Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Moslem, who migrated to various parts of India from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards and settled down in Punjab, Delhi, Rajasthan, Central India, U.P. and even Eastern India, slowly forgot their mother-tongue, Kashmiri and used Urdu as such. They ultimately, came to regard Urdu as their mother-tongue. In Kashmir itself, Urdu was the court language and therefore in full bloom.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the very foundations of the Urdu novel and of its fiction were laid by that great but tragic genius, Rattan Nath Dhar "Sarshar". His classic "Fasanai Azad" was universally acclaimed as a great work of art and charted new paths in virgin soil. He was followed by others. These included in recent days Prem Nath Sadhu "Pardesi", and my dear old class mate, Prem Nath "Dhar" who wrote "*Kagaz-Ka-Vasudeva*", among others.

In the field of Urdu prose stalwarts like Tribhuwan Nath "Hajar", Shiv Narain "Shamim", Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to name only a few, rendered yeomen's service. In Urdu drama Agha Hashar Kashmiri was the path finder and pioneer. His '*Yahudi-Ki-Beti*' has not lost any of its lustre even yet. I will not talk of later day men of letters in these fields.

Again in the development of Urdu journalism Kashmiris have played a significant role. In the Kashmir State itself the legendary Har Gopal Kaul, "Khasta", was almost the father of Urdu journalism. In Lahore, others apart, the name of Gopi Nath Gurtu of "*Akh bar-i-am*" fame was one to conjure with to be followed, with passage of time, by Dina Nath Chikan "*Mast's*" "*Subeh-i-Kashmir*". "*Kashmir Darpan*" of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, "*Morasala-i-Kashmir*" and "*Subeh-i-Umed*" of Brij Narain "Chakbast" and '*Bahar-i-Kashmir*' could again well be mentioned in this connection as specimens from U.P. and Lahore.

Urdu poetry owes a significant debt to Kashmiri genius. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a migrant Kashmiri whose family had left Kashmir & settled in Sialkot. The "*Masnavi*" of Daya Shankar Tikku, "Nasim", holds its own even today. Brij Narain Chakbast-a great poet who died young touched the very heights of poetic genius. His "*Khak-i-Hind*" and poems of the same genre should be read with Iqbal's "*Mera Wattan Wohi Hai*" and '*Naya Shawab* written very much later. His mastery of Urdu prose was equally superb. The diction, repart and thrust of "Maarika-i-Chakbast-o-sharar" are a delight, Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatriy, "Kaifi", was till recently-he died full of years and honours-a venerable name in Urdu literary and cultural circles all over India. My old and revered teacher in S. P. College Srinagar, Pandit Nand Lal Kaul "Talib" and his friend and contemporary, Pandit Dina Nath Chikan, "Mast", my earlier and very revered teacher at School, Pandit Nand Lal Dina `Begaraz'-again to name only a few-also made their valuable contributions to both prose and poetry in Urdu and Persian. My old collegemate, that great shining star of Kashmir poetic, literary and cultural firmament, Pandit Dina Nath 'Nadim', initially wrote his poetry in Urdu. Some at least of these, which be sweetly recited decades ago, seemed to me then to nearly touch the stars. Again the great Kashmiri seer and Savant Masterji', Pandit Zinda Kaul, also started as an Urdu poet. Some of his Urdu poems won the applause of old masters. That great nightingale of Kashmir, Ghulam Ahmed

'Mahjur' also started with Urdu and made a brillant success of it. Among living Urdu poets today Pandit Anand Narain Mulla is still acknowledged as the unchallenged high-priest.

Many Kashmiries had invaluable treasures of Persian and Urdu manuscripts with them. They were loath to part with these and unable to preserve them either with tragic consequence. I remember-and this is a child-hood memory-that my grand-father, Pandit Nanak Chand, he had a lovely hand, had copied two rare and lengthy Persian manuscripts on fine Kashmir paper with illuminated margins which were kept in a small wooden box. He died in the prime of life and these could subsequently never be traced.

Most Kashmiris were aware of this continued and wanton loss of a valuable heritage but seemed either helpless or indifferent. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and some other distinguished Kashmiris of Allahabad, however, decided to cry a halt, to the extent possible to further ravages of this nature. They, therefore, organized with a rare missionary zeal, a collection drive in the fields of Persian and Urdu poetry by Kashmiris in Northern India. This was indeed a Herculean task.

The dedication and self-less enthusiasm of this small band of lovers of Urdu poetry and of Kashmiris, headed in the field by Pandit Jagmohan Nath Raina, "Shauk", resulted in the publication finally by 1932 of two excellently brought out volumes of a classic in Urdu, "*Bahar-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmir*". It is a monumental work and received a most enthusiastic reception. It earned for Kashmiris not only numberless bouquets, but also warm admiration for their great literary contributions to both Persian and Urdu poetry in a most outstanding manner. Extracts from the "*Kalam*" of over three hundred twenty-five Kashmiri poets in Persian and Urdu figured in these two volumes. Peer Pandit Padshah and Rup Bhawani are included amongst a host of others. There are also photographs of the Poets/Poetesses in plenty-a great labour of love. Prose, Drama and fiction could not be covered. The canvass would have been too vast. Nearly half a century has elapsed since many Kashmiri flowers have bloomed in the interval in the enchanting gardens of Urdu literature in prose, poetry and drama. But most of us are unaware of this scattered treasure of beauty and this cultural legacy. A fresh band of re-incarnated Jagmohan Nath Rainas has to be born to take up the thread and bring out another volume to span the uncovered interregnum. This is a labour of love which could again be resumed

at Allahabad or at Delhi before it is too late. Lovers of Kashmir, of Kashmiri culture, and of Urdu ought surely to spare some thought for this and put their heads together to evolve an effective plan of action. Surely what some of us could do and achieve in this direction more than fifty years ago can be attempted by some more of us again with equal success given the spirit and the dedication.

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Chapter - 53

DR. A.N. RAINA: THE FIRST KASHMIRI POET IN ENGLISH FROM JAMMU & KASHMIR

Prof. Jayalal Kaul

Dr. A.N. Raina, a valued friend of mine for over forty years, has been not only a well-known and respected teacher of History and Geography but also a man of many interests. We owed it to him more than to any one else that Geography was established as a subject of study in the colleges of the State. What is more, we owe him gratitude for producing an excellent book on the "*Geography of Jammu and Kashmir*", as desired by our revered leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was the first book of its kind and has passed through three editions.

From his younger days Dr. Raina was a fighter. He could never take it lying down. He fought the school bullies on behalf of weaker and defenceless class fellows. Later he had to fight his circumstances and even the Jammu and Kashmir Government; and he did fight and showed grit and gusto to the admiration of his colleagues and friends. He fought valiantly and vindicated his honour. I have read a High Court Judgement which made very uncomplimentary observations against the Government of the day (The Education Secretariat). Then in the words of the Poet:

(Is Ghar Ko Aag Lag Gayee Ghar Ke Chirag Se) 'The lamp which lit the home burnt the house'.

It was a harrowing experience for him to quote Ahad Zargar 'tall and robust deodar was felled and axed down and cut into logs'. For many months it looked that he had gone under. We feared the worst.

Then he made a remarkable come back, and this small book of

verse "*Back to Life*" enshrines the very come back of his and is, therefore, doubly precious for those who have known Dr. Raina. His eye is made quiet and his fancy less frolicsome by which he has been through. He will not believe that:

"All that is, is a dream
And will hold on to what is
Believe it to be real".

A sensitive poet with broad outlook, his poems have an universal appeal. His philosophical approach towards life has given many of his poems a fine touch to make them superb. His picturization is vivid and he knows the fine art of twisting, the ancient with the modern and creating a new sequence.

Will you blame God still
Though he never killed but expelled man
with his woman from heaven.

For him the *Chinar* is still stately:
A majestic peacock
Green, purple and golden.
But time must soon come
When its colours must fade,
And leaves flow down and die".

A great sadness hides behind the surface beauty,
Nevertheless it is most welcome that he can again stand and stare, and watch how soft the moon lies upon the landscape.
'And shadow folds in moonlit quilts".

His having won a National Award in Hindi for his "*Kesar ke phool*" was a pleasing surprise to his friends. And then his '*Zinda Kaul*' in the Sahitya Akademi series: Makers of Modern Indian Literature, is known for its abiding value.

We find his old love, the sages and saints of Kashmir, the legends and myths weaving a halo round their heads and, generally, their *sufi* poetry. We have here, now half-forgotten Rishi pir and Mian Shah and of course Lalla who can never grow old or stale. We have lovely little poems on "The Haunted Hill", The 'Satisar' "The Apple and the Alamgir". And there is nature:

The clouds with many hues
From silver grey to nimbus dark
Wholly white to golden copper,
The love-play in the multicoloured west
This light and fire as if to recreate
This very world, this *dying* day (Italics mine)
But why this gloom?
Life pulsates with joy of the infinite.

This poet has now learnt to love the world as it is:

'Flowers he loves but thorns as well
For the garden is his love".

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Chapter - 54

CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIRI PANDITS IN THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

Major S. L. Dar, Retired Registrar, BHU

When we think of the contribution of Kashmiri Pandits in the birth and growth of the Banaras Hindu University, the first person who comes in our minds is Pandit Ajudhia Nath who was known as the 'Lion of the N.W. Provinces' later known as Uttar Pradesh. Pandit Ajudhia Nath was one of the leaders of the High Court Bar at Allahabad, a member of the Provincial Legislative Council and a leader of the Congress movement. The 'Father of the Congress', Mr. A. O. Hume described him as follows :

"By decent a Kashmiri Brahmin, a man of large means, a member of the Legislative Council, the most distinguished legal practitioner-probably in the United Provinces-and unquestionably the leader of his own section of the bar, he is with it a most cautious man, deliberating long in every case before he moves. He actually considered over our aims and objects and pondered over our methods for nearly two years before he concluded that he owed it to his country to join our movement".

Pandit Ajudhia Nath was the Jt. General Secretary of the Indian National Congress from December 1890 till his death in August/ September 1892.

As is well known, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made his maiden speech before the distinguished assembly of national leaders in the Calcutta session of the Congress held in December 1886 and came to be regarded as a national leader from them. Like all other eminent leaders, Pandit Ajudhia Nath was also greatly impressed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and took him under his wings. Malaviyaji was closely associated with Pandit Ajudhia Nath not only in the work of the Indian National Congress, but he came into contact with Pandit Ajudhia Nath at Muir Central College, Allahabad, where Pandit Ajudhia Nath was Professor of Law. Malaviyaji also joined as Assistant Editor of the English daily 'Indian Opinion' of which Pandit Ajudhia Nath was the Editor. Thus, Pandit Ajudhia Nath had an important part in moulding the life of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. As Malaviyaji himself had stated once that he had not come across a more impressive personality than Pandit Ajudhia Nath in the whole of his life.

The idea of a Hindu University was mooted by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the year 1904. Pandit Ajudhia Nath passed away many years before that date and so it cannot be said that he made any direct contribution to the establishment of the Hindu University. Nevertheless, it would not be incorrect to say that Pandit Ajudhia Nath played an effective role in moulding the life of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and in developing his ideas out of which was also born the Banaras Hindu University.

The Hindu University movement started in full swing in 1911. One of the persons who immediately joined the movement with Malaviyaji was Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu. Pandit Gurtu was a student of the Muir Central College, Allahabad. During that period he used to go to Malaviyaji almost every week for inspiration and guidance. When the Central Hindu College was established in Varanasi in 1898, Pandit Gurtu came in close contact with Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant and he associated himself with the Theosophical Society. He also served as the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School from 1908 to 1913. Responding to the call of Malaviyaji, he joined the deputations organised for collecting funds for the Hindu University. The very first public meeting in support of the Hindu University which was held at Kheri on the 21st May 1991 was addressed by Gurtuji also. Subsequently when the Hindu University Society was established and registered under Act XXI of 1860, in December 1911, the Committee of Management to

whom the management of the affairs of the society was entrusted, included Gurtuji as one of the Honorary Joint Secretaries.

Later due to his other occupations, Gurtuji was away from Varanasi. He had to take up the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University which he held from 1932 to 1938; but during all these years his connection with the University continued, In 1939 Malaviyaji retired from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Hindu University and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan took charge of the University as its Vice-Chancellor. Malaviyaji then approached Gurtuji to accept the Pro Vice-Chancellorship of the University. Malaviyaji felt that being an eminent educationist and public worker for over forty years, rich with experience, endowed with learning and alive to the sense of duty, Pandit Gurtuji's joining the University as its Pro. Vice-Chancellor with Dr. Radhakrishnan as Vice-Chancellor, would yield good results in the growth and development of the University. It was a great satisfaction to all concerned that Gurtuji responded to the request of Malaviyaji and accepted his proposal. So at the meeting of the Court of the B. H. U. held on 30th November 1940, on the motion of Malaviyaji, Gurtuji was unanimously elected as the Pro. Vice-Chancellor of the University. Owing to certain personal preoccupations Gurtuji could not take up the office immediately. He actually assumed charge of the office in April 1941 and served the University as its Pro. Vice-Chancellor till the beginning of April 1944. Gurtuji's services as the Pro. Vice-Chancellor of the University, particularly during the August 1942 national movement, are memorable. In recognition of his great and devoted services the University conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of D-Litt. in 1946. During his life-time the University named one of the hostels after him, as Iqbal Narain Gurtu Hostel, which now perpetuates his memory in the University.

Pandit Gurtu also served the University as its Honorary Treasurer from December 1945 to December 1947 and rendered outstanding services in that capacity also in safeguarding the interests of the University in every possible manner.

All the services of Pandit Gurtu were not only purely honorary but he also made his personal donations to the University for the endowment of a scholarship.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was an elected member of the first University Court constituted in 1916.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was another stalwart who was associated

with the University from the days the Hindu University Society was established in 1911. He was a member of the Committee of the Management of the Society, later a member of the Court of the University, Dean of the Faculty of Law from 1919 to 1920 and again from 1924 to 1938. The eminent position that he held in the country helped the University in many ways. He was awarded the Honorary degree of D-Litt. by B. H. U. in 1937.

His son, Justice P.N. Sapru, was also a member of the Court for a number of years and rendered valuable services to the University.

Next to the services of Pandit Gurtu, we can mention only those of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, who was Member of the Court, Executive Council etc., till the end of his life.

During his student life itself Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru took a vow to serve under the leadership of Gopal Gokhale and threw himself in the service of the nation. He was a member of the Indian National Congress also, but in 1920 he left the Congress and joined the Liberal Party. The services rendered by Pandit Kunzru to the country in various fields—educational, political and social—are so great that they cannot be mentioned in this small article. The 'Indian Council of World Affairs' and 'Indian School of International Studies' are his creation. He was also the President of the Servants of India Society from 1936 till the end of his life.

Kunzruji came in contact with Malaviyaji in 1908 and since then he was a great source of strength to Malaviyaji in every work that he undertook. He contributed to the growth and development of the Hindu University in several ways. In recognition of his valuable services, the University conferred upon him the Honorary degree of D-Litt. in 1955.

Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, younger brother of pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru was also an active worker of the University. He first joined as a Secratary of the Vice-Chancellor, Malaviyaji, and served the University in that capacity for some years. He later continued as a member of the Court, Executive Council and various other bodies of the University and took keen interest in its affairs. He was also the Legal Adviser of the University in the Courts. He was ably assisted by Shri A.N. Kaul, Advocate in legal matters. Shri Kaul looked after the work with great devotion.

Pandit Kailash Nath Katju was a member of the Court and other bodies of the University for a number of years and in that capacity he rendered valuable services in recognition of which, the

University conferred upon him the Honorary degree of LL.D. in 1950.

Pandit Raghunandan Lal Dar was a member of the Court from the Donors' Constituency (nominated by the Maharaja of Kashmir) and he rendered valuable services. His very presence in the University campus radiated a spiritual atmosphere.

The first Registrar of the University was Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi who held this office from July 1917 till he was asked to take over as Principal of the Teachers' Training College in July 1918.

The University was fortunate in getting Pandit Brij Narain Gurtu as the next Registrar. He had offered his honorary services to work as the Registrar but in order to satisfy the requirements of the Statutes he was offered an honorarium of Re. 1/- per month. His appointment was made for a term of five years, but circumstances deprived the University of the services of such a devoted worker, much before the expiry of his term.

Shri B.K. Zutshi, son of Pandit Manoharlal Zutshi, was the Assistant Registrar of the University for a number of years before he left for Baroda where he joined as Registrar, S. C. University.

Major S.L. Dar was the Registrar of the University from September 1955 to August 1967, the longest period anyone held that office in the University. He carried on the functions of his office with dignity in the midst of tremendous difficulties and served the University with singleminded devotion. The University made allround progress during this period.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru became an alumni of the University in 1946 when the University conferred the Honorary Degree of D-Litt. on him. As the Prime Minister of India, he did not leave any stone unturned to bring glory to the University.

Pandit K.K. Shukia was the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School (which was nurtured by eminent persons including Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu) from 1921 to 1923.

Prof. P.N. Razdan held the office of the Principal, Teachers' Training College and of the Central Hindu School.

Pandit K.L. Kitchlu was the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School for a number of years.

Shri R.N. Zandchole served the University as Secretary, Estimates Committee, for a number of years, during the Vice-Chancellor of Mahamana Malaviyaji.

Pandit T.N. Munshi was the Superintendent of the Hostels at Kamachha.

Last, but not the least, was Dr. Moti Lal Dhar, who was the Vice-Chancellor of the University from 2-2-1977 to 15-12-1977. After serving with distinction as the Director of the Central Drug Institute at Lucknow, Dr. Dhar joined the University as Vice-Chancellor. But unfortunately for personal reasons he could not stay at Banaras for long and the University was deprived of the services of an eminent scientist.

We have not mentioned here the contribution made to the University by the Kashmiri Pandits on the teaching-staff of the University. Some of the teachers have held other offices also and have rendered yeomen services to the University. The first name to mention in this connection is that of Prof. P.N. Kaula, who was the Librarian of the University for a long period. Being an outstanding person in his field, his services were more required as a Professor of Library Science. The University Library made a significant progress during the period Prof. Kaula held the office of the University Librarian.

Professor B.B. Dhar held the office of Chief Proctor and Head of the Department of Mining, and is currently Director of the Central Mining Institute of CSIR at Dhanbad.

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Chapter - 55

SOME EMINENT KASHMIRI PANDIT SCIENTISTS

Prof. Sudhir K. Sopory

For centuries Kashmir has nurtured learning and creativity. Great saints, and scholars have through the ages made it their place of abode and enriched the knowledge and philosophies. All spheres of public life have been enriched with their achievements and they have taken up challenging professional and academic careers. This intellectual fecundity has found different avenues. Study of sciences and exploration of the mysteries of the universe have engaged the attention of inquisitive minds. Our religious and spiritual background have exposed us to scientific way of life. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan once

wrote that religion is not a matter of rites and rituals, dogmas and beliefs but it is a search for truth. This search for truth forms the basis for all scientific endeavour.

"*Pratyaksha numana gamah pramanani*"Proof lies in direct perception and deduction and not in indirect evidence.

With such a rich fare of scientific knowledge available in Kashmir it seems a paradoxical situation that structural evidence of these scientific activities was not largely visible. We had some very devoted Kashmiri Pandit teachers of science in School and Colleges who guided many students to take up science as a career. For example, Pt. Samsar Chand Koul was one of the first to have taken interest in the field of behaviour of birds. At a time when the University of Kashmir was established in the valley some spurt to research activity was provided essentially when some of the University Departments started research work in various disciplines. Some of the well-known scientists, who worked in these Departments, made sizeable contributions in teaching and research. The names that come to my mind are of, Prof. A.K. Koul, a well recognised plant cytologist and Prof. P. Kachroo, an ecologist, of the Botany Department; Prof. D.N. Fotedar of Zoology Department who earlier was at S.P. College and obtained his Ph.D. from London, Prof. P.N. Kotru, in Physics Department, and Prof. M.L. Dhar, Chemistry Department at the University of Jammu.

Despite the presence of such eminent personalities, the scientific activity in Kashmir remained at a low ebb and even today not much has changed. One remarkable achievement in setting up centres of scientific research and development in Jammu and Kashmir has been the setting up of the Regional Research Laboratory at Jammu. It was primarily through pioneering efforts of Dr. C.K. Atal a well-known pharmacist that, Regional Research Laboratory at Jammu attained its present status.

Although the science in the valley did not flourish as well (I do not wish to go into the reasons for this in this chapter), many Kashmiri Pandits, who left the valley and worked outside the state or outside the country in various labaoratories, did highly commendable work and many of them occupied high positions as Directors, Heads of the Departments, Professors etc. in various Institutions and made their presence felt through their contributions, and the awards and honours which they received from various agencies.

It would be difficult to enlist the contributions or names of all the scientists here in this chapter. My list is a representative one and suggestive of efforts made by the community in the scientific endeavour and significant contributions made to the society. My bias in this chapter is also for scientists from the streams of Biology and Physical Sciences. Some of the names described here in some detail are of those who have reached to the top positions in their fields or have received highest honours and recognition for their work.

The foremost name that comes to my mind is of Dr. Moti Lal Dhar, ex-Director of Central Drug Research Institute (CDRI) Lucknow, President of Indian Academy of Science and winner of Padma Shri. Dr. Dhar was born on 22nd October, 1914 at Ganpathyar. He had his early education at Govt. High School, Srinagar and S.P. College, Srinagar. After obtaining his B.Sc. (Hons.) and M.Sc. Degree in Chemistry from Punjab University, Lahore, he went to London where he worked for his Ph.D. After taking up various assignments which included among other his work stint at Drug Research Laboratory, Jammu and later at Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow, where he became the Director and continued in that position from 1963 to 1974 and gave a new direction to that Institute. Many of his colleagues even today remember his dynamic leadership. In a recent letter, Dr. M.M. Dhar, Ex-Director CDRI wrote to me. "It is to him (Dr. M.L.Dhar) that Dr. Nityanand, I and others of this Institute owe a very great deal because he gave us freedom and encouragement to develop as scientists.

Dr. M.L. Dhar has received a number of awards and occupied very prestigious positions and made significant contributions in the field of medicinal chemistry. He has published over 150 papers in this field. He is a member of the Indian Academy of Science, Indian National Science Academy and National Academy of Sciences. In 1971, he was elected the President of National Academy of Sciences of India and received Padmashri from the President of India. From 1976-77 he became Vice Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University and even after his retirement he has continued to be the Chairman of many Governing Bodies and has been involved in various activities.

The other Kashmiri Pandit Scientist who has received accolades for contributions in the field of Plant Cytogenetics and Environment Management and who rose to the level of Secretary to the Govt. of India and was conferred Padma Bhusan is Prof. Triloki Nath Khoshoo.

Dr. Khoshoo was born on April 7, 1927 at Srinagar and obtained his early education in S.P. High School and S.P. College at Srinagar. For higher studies he went to Punjab University, Lahore, where he obtained B.Sc.(Hons.) in Botany. Later he got his Ph.D. from Punjab University, Chandigarh. Starting his career at Chandigarh, Dr. Khoshoo became Head of the Department of Botany at Jammu and Kashmir University in 1962 and later moved to National Botanical Garden (CSIR) at Lucknow, in 1964. In 1976 he became the Director of the Institute and continued in that position till 1982 when he was appointed by the Govt. of India as the Secretary in the Department of Environment. Dr. Khoshoo has worked predominantly in the field of cytogenetics as related to plant evolution and improvement. He also worked in the field of biodiversity, biomass production in relation to environment and energy, resource management and environmental R&D Policy. He has published over 200 scientific papers and written or edited about 10 books. Besides, he has written over 20 popular articles for bringing home the concepts of environmental science to the common people.

Dr. Khoshoo has received recognition from all quarters. He is member of all the 3 academies of India. He was President of the National Academy of Sciences from 1985-1986, General President Indian Science Congress, 1985-1986, President Indian Society of Genetics and Plant Breeding in 1986 and of Tree scientists from 1988-1991. He has received a number of awards and medals. To name a few, Sanjay Gandhi Award in 1986, Bhasin Award in 1989 and Distinguished Service Award of Indian Society of Genetics & Plant Breeding in 1991.

Dr. Khoshoo has widely travelled all over the world and has given lectures in various fora. Married to Mohini he has two sons. Even today Dr. Khushoo is an active worker at the Tata Energy Research Institute, Delhi.

Scanning through the various resource material I found that 3 Kashmiri Pandit Scientists have received Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar Award, the highest coveted award of CSIR.

Dr. Prediman Krishan Kaw received Bhatnagar Award in 1986 in the area of Physical Sciences. He has made vital contributions to our present understanding of (i) non-linear collective effects in plasmas especially those that are inertially and magnetically confined and (ii) instabilities and current maintenance in tokamaks.

Son of Mr. Premnath and Mrs. Somawati, Prediman was born on

15th January 1948 at Srinagar. After obtaining M.Sc. and Ph.D. he worked at I.I.T., Delhi and later at Princeton University where he also later on worked as Principal Research Physicist and Professor from 1975-1982. Dr. Kaw is also Fellow of National Academy, Fellow of Academy of Sciences and received Padmashri in 1985. He received 'honoris causa' from University of Ghent, Belgium, in 1991. Dr. Kaw is the Director of Institute of Plasma Research, Gandhinagar since 1982. he is married to Saroj and has two sons and one daughter.

The other Kashmiri Pandit who received Bhatnagar Award is Dr. Maharaj Krishan Bhan, currently Additional Professor at the Department of Paediatrics, AIIMS, New Delhi. Dr. Bhan's main area of activity has been aetiology, pathophysiology and treatment of persistent intestinal injury in children. His work has led to the identification of the aggregative *E. Coli (bacteria)* as a major causative organism of diarrhoeal disease in India. He has developed starch based oral rehydration solutions for control of diarrhoea. Maharaj was born in 1947 at Srinagar. He had his early education in Srinagar at S.P. College. He obtained his M.B.B.S. from AFMC, Poona and later his M.D. from Delhi. Dr. Bhan has also worked on a number of World Health Organisation sponsored projects in various countries. He is also an elected fellow of the Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore. The third Bhatnagar Awardee is myself. I also had my earlier education at D.A.V. School and S.P. College, Srinagar.

Another Kashmiri Pandit who is also an elected fellow of the Indian Academy is Professor Ramesh Kumar Kaul. Born in 1952, Ramesh obtained his Ph.D. from Delhi. His contributions are in the field of particle physics, quantum field theory and mathematical physics. Dr. Kaul has now become the Professor at the Institute of Mathematical Sciences, Taramani Madras. In the field of theoretical and experimental physics there are a number of Kashmiri Pandit scientists at the TIFR, Bombay, like Dr. Ashok K. Raina, Dr. Avinash Dhar and Dr. S.K. Dhar. Dr. Ashok Raina has recently written an authoritative book in *Kac-Moody* and *Virasoro algebras* written with Kac.

The contributions of Dr. Puskar Nath, Ex-Director of Central Potato Research Institute are too many to afford mention here. He developed a large number of Potato varieties in the country and brought world fame to his Institute in a short period.

In the area of Geology the name of Mr. M.K. Kaul figures prominently. Mr. Kaul is currently the Director of Geological Survey of India, Antarctica Division, at Faridabad. Dr. Kaul was born on May 9, 1940 at Srinagar. He studied at D.A.V. High School, Rainawari and later at Amar Singh College, Srinagar. He passed his M.Sc. in Geology in 1961 from Jammu and Kashmir University and got field training at the Indian Bureau of Mines from 1962 to 1965 and then joined GSI.

During the last 30 years Mr. Kaul has done pioneering work in geology and mineral resources of hitherto unsurveyed areas in the Himalayas. He participated as a member of the 2nd expedition to Antarctica in 1982-83 and subsequently was selected as leader of the fifth Indian expedition to Antarctica in 1985-86. In 1987 he received National Mineral Award. Married to Nirmala he has one daughter and a son.

Mr. V.K. Raina Director Glaciology Division, GSI, has also made significant contributions in the field of Geology. Born on December 19, 1933 at Srinagar, he obtained his B.Sc. and M.Sc. degrees from Jammu and Kashmir University and later obtained various certificates and GSI field trainings. He was also member of Indian Scientific expedition to Antarctica in 1982. He has travelled widely all over the world. His main studies are related to glacier ice, snow and avalanche of the Himalayan glaciers and on fossil finds in various valleys of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir etc. Married to Mohini, he has one daughter.

In the field of veterinary research I wish to record the contributions made by Dr. Pushkar Nath Bhat, Director, Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar. Born on 9th October 1937 at Nunar (Kashmir) he finished his B.V.Sc. and AH, M.V.Sc. and Ph.D. He has been invited to give talks all over the world. His work mainly relates to breeding of dairy cattle in tropics, blood group in Biochemical polymorphics, and goat production in the tropics. He has been the President of Indian Society of Animal Genetics and Breeding and an Advisor to Government of Iraq during 1974-1975.

Born on 13 March, 1924, at Srinagar, Dr. Prithvi Nath Kaul is a known name in the field of Library Science. Starting his career at D.A.V. College Srinagar, he rose to become Reader, Department of Library Science, Delhi University in 1958-60 and later became University Librarian and Head of the Department of Library Science, Banaras Hindu University and then Dean, Faculty of Arts at Banaras

Hindu University. As a UNESCO expert he visited a number of countries and has been a member of many library associations. He is Editor of a number of journals and has authored 48 books and 43 Bibliographies and has written over 300 technical papers and over 400 book reviews. He was honored by International Festschift Committee in 1974 and 1982. He received Pro Mundi Beneficio Medal from Brazilian Academy of Humanities in 1985, Indian Library Movement Award in 1974, Plaque from International Biographical Centre, Cambridge, Deutsche Bucherei Medal, International Role of Honor Plaque and Gold Medal of Honour (1987) from USA. He has established Kaula Endowement for Library and Information Science.

Mr. H.K. Koul has also made a mark in the field of Library Science. Author and co-author of a number of books and editor of number of journals he is currently Librarian at India International Centre. He was born on December 21, 1941 at Srinagar.

Many of our scientists have taken up various administrative assignments to serve the Govt in formulating its Science and Technology policies. Dr. J. Dhar, until recently in Department of Science and Technology, is one example who has been involved in developing bilateral relationship between various developed countries and ours on science education and development. Dr. J. Dhar was originally at the Department of Physics at the University of Delhi before joining DST. He is currently a National Professor.

As I mentioned in the beginning the idea to pick-up some names, who have made significant contributions, in their field of study was to show that Kashmir Pandits Community has not lagged behind in the field of Science and Technology. The names are those which have come to limelight. There are many other scientists from the community who are occupying various positions in Research Institutes, Central and State Universities and have been contributing their best to the society. For example, Dr. B. Jalali, a well known phytopathologist is now Director of an ICAR Institute at Faridabad; Dr. Bhan is Director of Weed Science Laboratory at Jabalpur, Prof. M.L.H. Kaul is Head of Botany Department at Kurukshetra University, Dr. S.N. Raina and Dr. R.N.K. Bamezai are well known cytologist and human geneticist at Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University respectively, Prof. S.N. Kaul, a known Physicist is at the Central University, Hyderabad, and Dr. Lokesh Koul, Dean of Studies is at H.P. University who recently wrote a book on

research methodology. The names are many, the limitation is space and source material. I feel someone should compile a directory of all Kashmiri Pandit Scientists in India and abroad.

I am happy to say that a large number of younger Kashmiri Pandit boys and girl scientists are now making a mark in their respective fields and I am sure more and more of such talent and scholarship will get due recognition from their peers in near future.

I am thankful to Mrs. Geeta Bamezai for her help in correcting the manuscript and bringing it to its present form.

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Notes and References

Chapter - 34

1. Pet name of Sri Swami Lakshman Joo.
2. Incomplete in Yoga in the previous birth.
3. The Ashrama still exists with a regular programme of activities at Fateh Kadal. Anniversary 'Jag' is performed there.
4. Sri Jagannath Kaul, the father of this writer of this write-up was also initiated by Swami Mehtab Kak.

Chapter - 37

1. There are four volumes of his speeches between the period 1947 to 1963, issued by Publication Division of Government of India, hereafter cited in this by vol. and page number.
2. Professor Humayun Kabir, in preface to publication by Indian Council of Cultural Relations dated 10 April 1962. See, India and the World (Sagar Publications, New Delhi). p.v.
3. See Toynbee, ibid., p. 50.
4. Toynbee, ibid., pp. 50-51.
5. Toynbee, A Study of History: Reconsiderations vol. 12 (London, 1961), p. 6.
6. See Professor Humayun Kabir, n. 2, p. vi.
7. See generally Arthur Koestler, The Act of Creation (London, 1964).
8. Koestler, ibid., p. 402.
9. Toynbee, "One World and India", n. 2, p. 113.
10. See W. Heisenberg, "The United Field Theory", in Science and Synthesis, a UNESCO Symposium on the 10th death anniversary of A. Einstein and Tielhard de Chardin (New York, 1971), p. 12.
11. Julian Huxley, "Science and Synthesis", ibid., p. 29.

[illegible]

International Roll of Honor Plaque and Gold Medal of Honour (1983) from USA. He has established Kaula Endowment for Library and Information Science.

Mr. B.K. Kaul has also made a mark in the field of Library Science. Author and co-author of a number of books and editor of number of journals he is currently Librarian at India International Centre. He was born on December 21, 1941 at Srinagar.

Many of our scientists have taken up various administrative assignments to serve the Govt. in formulating its Science and Technology policies. [illegible]

[illegible] was originally at the Department of Physics of the University of Delhi before joining DST. He is currently a National Professor.

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PART III

(Chapters 56 to 78)

KASHMIRI LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITIONS

G.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu.
Acc. No. 5646
Dated. 18.5.03

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Chapter - 56

ON KASHMIRI LANGUAGE

Professor Omkar N. Kaul

Kashmiri and its dialects

The Kashmiri language is primarily spoken in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. It is called *ke:shur* or *ke:shir zaba:n*-by its native speakers and the valley of Kashmir is called *keshi:r*. The Kashmiri language is called *kashmi:ri:* or *ka:shi:ri:* in other language. As per the census figures of 1981 there are 30,76,398 native speakers of the language.

There is no consensus of opinion regarding the origin or genealogical classification of Kashmiri. There are basically two schools of thought one places Kashmiri under the Dardic group of languages and the other places it under the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Grierson (1919) has placed Kashmiri under the 'Dardic or Pisacha' family of languages. He has classified the Dardic language under there major groups: 1. The Kafir Group, 2. The Khowar or Chitrali Group and 3. The Dard Group. Accoring to his classification the Dard Group includes Shina, Kashmiri, Kashtawari, Poguli, Siraji, Rambani, and Kohistani- the last comprisisng Garwi, Torwali and Maiya.

Grierson considered the Dardic language a sub-family of the Aryan languages "neither of Indian nor of Iranian origin, but (forming) a third branch of the Aryan stock, which separated from the parent stem after the branching forth of the original of the Indian languages, but before the Eranian language had developed all their peculiar characteristics" (1906:4). He has further er observed that "Dardic" was only a geographical convention. Morgenstierne (1961) also places Kashmiri under the Dardic Group of languages alongwith Kashtawari and other dialects which are strongly influenced by Dogri. Fussman (1972) has based his work on Morgenstierne's classification. He has also emphasised that the

Dardic is a geographic and not a linguistic expression. It is only in the absence of reliable comparative data about Dardic languages, a geographic or ethnographic label is frequently applied to a group of language or dialects.

According to Chatterjee (1963:256) Kashmiri has developed like other Indo-Aryan languages out of the Indo-European family of languages and is to be considered as a branch of Indo-Aryan like Hindi, Punjabi etc.

The classification of Dardic language has been reviewed in some works (Kachru 1969, Strand 1973, Koul and Schmidt, 1984) with different purposes in mind. Kachru laid stress on the linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri. Strand presents his observations on Kafir languages. Koul and Schmidt have reviewed the literature on the classification of Dardic languages and have investigated the linguistic characteristics or features of these languages with special references to Kashmiri and Shina. The classification of Kashmir under the Dardic group of languages needs further elaborate investigation.

There has been no serious linguistically oriented dialect research on Kashmiri. There are two types of dialects- (a) regional dialects and (b) social dialects. Regional dialects are of two types-(1) those regional dialects or variations which are spoken within the valley of Kashmir and (2) those which are spoken in the regions outside the valley of Kashmir.

Kashmiri speaking area in the valley of Kashmir is ethnosementically divided into three regions: (1) Maraz (southern and south eastern region), (2) Kamraz (northern and north-western region) and (3) Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. There are some minor linguistic variations in Kashmiri spoken in these areas. The main variations being phonological, and in the use of certain vocabulary items. Some of the main characteristics of these speech variations are as follows :

(1) Kashmiri spoken in Maraz area retains the flap /R/ which is replaced by /r/ in Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz area and Srinagar.

(2) The progressive or Indefinite aspect suffix *an* is added to the verb roots in the Kashmiri spoken in Mara:z which is replaced by *a:n* in other two varieties.

(3) Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz distinguishes itself from the variety spoken in the Maraz as well as Srinagar mainly in the use of peculiar intonation and stress.

(4) A number of vocabulary items are different in Kashmiri spoken in the above three regions.

All the above linguistic variations are not very significant. Kashmiri spoken in the three regions is not only mutually intelligible but quite homogeneous. These dialectical variations can be termed as different styles of the same speech. Since Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar has gained some social prestige, very frequent "style switching" takes place from *Marazi* or *Kamrazi* styles to the style of speech spoken in Srinagar. This phenomena of "Style switching" is very common among the educated speakers of Kashmiri. Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and surrounding areas continues to hold the prestige of being the standard variety which is used in mass media and literature. In the literature available on Kashmir (Grierson 1919, Kachru 1969, including the census reports, following regional dialects of Kashmiri spoken outside the valley of Kashmir have been listed:

(1) Kashtawari,
(2) Poguli,
(3) Rambani,
(4) Siraji, and
(5) Kohistani.

Out of these dialects indicated above, Rambani and Siraji do not share any of the typically linguistic characteristics with Kashmiri. Rambani and Siraji are closely related dialects which share features with Dogri and other Pahari group of language. They do share some features such as the semantic dimensions of the pronominal system, some morphology and a substantial portion of their vocabulary (mostly borrowed from common sosurces) with Kashmiri. The term "Kohistani" has no precise linguistic significance. It probably refers to languages of the Shina group. It cannot be therefore recognised as a dialect of Kashmiri. This leaves out Kashtawari and Poguli as the only two regional dialects of Kashmiri which are spoken outside the valley of Kashmir.

Poguli is spoken in the Pogul and Paristan valleys bordered on the east by Kashtawari, on the south by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahanda and Pahari. The speakers of Pogul are found mainly to the south, south-east and south-west of

Banihal.Poguli shares many linguistic features including 70% vocabulary with Kashmiri. Literate Poguli speakers of Pogul and Paristan valleys speak standard Kashmiri as well.

Kashtawari is spoken in the Koshtawar valley, lying to the south-east of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi, and on the east by the Tibetan-speaking region of Zanskar. According to Grierson (1919:233) Kashtawari is "one true dialect" of Kashmiri. It shares most linguistic features of standard Kashmiri but retains some archaic features which have disappeared from the latter. It shares about 80 per cent vocabulary with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984).

No detailed sociolinguistic research work has been conducted to study different speech variations of Kashmiri spoken by different communities and people who belong to different professions and occupations. In some earlier works beginning with Grierson (1919:234) distinction has been pointed out in the speech variations of Hindus and Muslims-the two major communities who speak Kashmiri natively. Kachru (1969) has used the terms *Sanskritized Kashmiri* and *Persianizied Kashmiri* to denote the two "style differences" on the grounds of some variation in pronunciation, morphology and vocabulary common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary is common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary used by Hindus is derived from Sanskrit and that used by Muslims is derived from Perso-Arabic sources. On considering the phonological and morphological variation (besides vocabulary) between these two dialects, the terms used by Kachru do not appear to be appropriate or adequate enough to represent the two socio-dialectical variations of styles of speech. The dichotomy of these social dialects is not always significant. One can notice a process of style switching between the speakers of these two dialects in terms of different situations and participants. The frequency of this "style switching" process between the speakers of these two communities mainly depends on different situations and periods of contact between the participants of the two communities at various social, educational and other levels.

2. Linguistic Characteristics

Some of the important phonological and grammatical characteristics of Kashmiri are pointed out in this section.

Kashmiri has following vowel phonemes :
(1) Front Vowels: / i, i:, e and e:/ (2) Central Vowels / I, I:, e, e:, a and a: /; and back vowels / u, u:, o, o: and c /. The nasalization is phonemic in Kashmir. All the nasals can be nasalized. The high and mid central vowels in Kashmiri / I, I:, e and e: / are not found in any other Indian languages. Kashmiri has also developed unrounded back vowels / U, U: and O: / which are not found in any other Indo-Aryan or Dravidian Language.

Kashmiri has following consonant phonemes:
(1) Stops: Bibabial / p, ph and b /, dental / t, th and d /, retroflex / T Th and D /, Velar / K kh and g /;
(2) Affricates: dental / ts and tsh /, Palato-al veolar / c, ch and j ;
(3) Nasals /m n and N / (4) Fricatives / s, z, sh and h /,
(5) Lateral /1/, (6) Trill /r/ and (7) Semi-vowels /v and y /.

It may be observed that Kashmiri does not have voiced aspirated stops. Palatalization is an important feature of Kashmiri. All the consonants, excepts the palatals, can be palatalized. The denial affricates / ts and tsh / are not found in Hindi-Urdu and many other Indian languages.

Kashmiri has borrowed, with adaptation, a large number of vocabulary items from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic sources and most recently from English. These borrowings have resulted in various phonological changes and the development of certain morphological characteristics and registers as well (Koul 1986).

Kashmiri shares a number of grammatical features with other Dardic languages (Koul and Schmidt 1984), but it also shares some characteristics with modern Indo-Aryan languages. Some of the peculiar morphological and syntactic characteristics are pointed out here. Nouns are declined for number, gender and case. There are four cases : a direct or nominative and three oblique cases - a dative, an ergative and an ablative. Different case markers are added to the nouns in oblique cases. Various postpositions govern two different oblique cases: dative and ablative.

Pronouns are declined for person, number gender and case. There is a three term distinction in the demonstrative pronouns: (1) proximate (2) remote (within sight) and (3) remote (out of sight). Pronominal suffixes are very frequently suffixed to finite verbal forms to indicate personal pronouns. The usage of pronominal suffixes is optional in the case of first and third person but their use

is obligatory in the second person.

There are two sets of adjectives (1) declinable and (2) indeclinable. Declinable adjectives are declined for number, gender and case, and indeclinable adjectivies do not decline for number and gender. A distinction is being maintained between the base adjectivies and derived adjectives.

Verbs are inflected for person, number, gender and tense. All verbs are conjugated and can be classified in different sets according to the sentence patterns. All but seven verb roots end in consonant.

In the conjugation of past tense, three distinctions are made : (1) simple or proximate past, (2) indefinite past and (3) remote past. They are formed by adding different past participles to the verbs.

Main verbs are classified into copulative, intransitive and transitive. Verbs are causativized by adding causative suffixes to the verb stems. Conjunct and compound verbs are very frequently used in Kashmiri. Compound verbs have their own characteristics.

Kashmiri has a different word order from other Indian languages at the surface level. The verb in Kashmiri always comes in the second position in a sentence. Kashmiri is therefore characterised as a verb 2 language.

3. Script

Various scripts have been used for Kashmiri. The main scripts are : Sharda, Devanagri : Roman and Persio-Arabic. The Sharda script, developed around the 10th century, is the oldest script used for Kashmiri. It is now being used for very restricted purposes (for writing horoscopes etc.) by the priestly class of the Kashmiri Pandit community. The Devanagri script with additional diacritical marks has also been used for Kashmiri and is still being used by some writers. The Roman script has also been used for Kashmiri but could not become popular. Ther Persio-Arabic script with additional diacritical marks has been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and is now being widely used. Most of the books are being printed in this script.

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Chapter - 57

PROMOTING MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION : A CASE FOR KASHMIRI

Prof. Omkar N. Koul

Mother tongue education has lately attracted serious attention of psychologists, educationists, language curriculum planners and applied linguists. The teaching of mother tongue is considered essential for concept formation and for building the communicative and creative ability of a child. Besides the teaching of mother tongue as a compulsory subject, its use as the medium of education is considered important in early childhood education.

The primacy of the mother tongue education and its use as the medium of instruction has widely been accepted by educationists and linguists alike. The UNESCO press release of the Nuwera Eliya Conference (1953) states that on the educational grounds and in the interest of the cultural enrichment of the world, the medium of instruction in all countries should be the mother tongue. The report states - - - - it is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind work automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (Koul 1983:9-10).

In India after independence, the importance of adopting mother tongue as a compulsory subject of teaching and as medium of instruction has been stressed by various committees and political parties. The Congress Working Committee in resolutions of 1949 and 1953 urged the then government that to provide for instruction in mother tongue at the primary level in all the schools. The Conference of Education Ministers of all the states of India in 1949 and the States Reorganization Commission appointed by the government of India also made similar recommendations. It was on the recommendation of the Commission, that Article 350A was added to the Constitution of India by the Parliament. It reads "It should be the endeavour of every state and every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups . . . ". Realizing some

practical difficulties, the Conference of Chief Ministers of all the states of India said in a joint statement in August 1961 that the mother tongue formula could not be fully applied for the use of medium of instruction at the secondary level of education. At this stage more advanced education is imparted to enable students to follow a vocation after a school leaving age and also to prepare them for higher education in Universities. The languages used should be modern Indian languages mentioned in the Eighth schedule of the constitution and as well as English. It is true that there are bound to be problems in the use of all the mother tongues of minority groups in each state as the medium of instruction for higher education. The children of the minority mother tongue groups are to be brought to the mainstream of the particular state's educational system. The bilingual transfer model (Pattanayak 1981) can be used which would facilitate the children of minority language groups to switch over to the regional language as the medium for learning.

Recognizing the multilingual character of the country, fifteen languages (fourteen modern Indian languages and Sanskrit) have been recognized as the major official languages of the country and have been listed in the Eighth schedule of the constitution of India. The constitution provides for the use of all the regional modern Indian languages in administration and education by the concerned states where these languages are spoken natively. Besides the use of major modern Indian languages in the use of education, the constitution protects the right of the native speakers of all the minority languages to learn their mother tongues as subjects as well as their use as the medium of instruction in the early childhood education.

Keeping in view the constitutional provisions, most of the states of the Indian Union have chosen languages of their regions as the official languages and have made provisions for their effective use in administration, mass media and education. Kashmiri spoken as a mother tongue by 30,76,398 native speakers (as per 1981 census) in the Kashmir Valley of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the major modern Indian languages included in the Eighth schedule of the Constitution. It was due to some political reasons that the state of Jammu and Kashmir chose Urdu instead of Kashmiri as the official language in the state and it was introduced as a compulsory subject of study and the medium of instruction in

government schools. A simple but unconvincing political reason put forth is that the state is divided into three language dominated regions: Kashmiri is spoken primarily in the valley of Kashmir, Dogri (alongwith Punchi, Bhadarwahi etc.) in the Jammu region and Ladakhi (alongwith other minor languages) in the Ladakh region: Hence the choice of Urdu, as a link language, though it is not spoken as a native language anywhere in the state. The Kashmiri speaking population forms the largest linguistic group in the state. Actually the linguistic situation in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not very different from other states. Keeping in view the similar multilingual character of all other states of the Indian Union and their successful choice of the main regional languages as the official languages, it would not have caused any problem in adopting the major regional language i.e. Kashmiri as the official language of the state. Its use in administration, education and mass media would have been as successful as is evident in other states of the Union.

Kashmiri has been unnecessarily denied the right of an official language in its home state. It is also unfortunate that the children in the valley of Kashmir have been mercilessly denied their fundamental right (protected by the Constitution) of learning their mother tongue as a subject and through their mother tongue learning other school subjects. Kashmiri was introduced as a school subject at the primary level after independence and it continued to be taught upto the year 1953. It was suddenly scrapped from the school curriculum under the pretext of reducing the language load of the children.

The recent years have witnessed language movement in favour of Kashmiri in the valley of Kashmir and in favour of Dogri in the Jammu province. It is very recently that a post-graduate department in Kashmiri was set up at the University of Kashmir, Srinagar. The department offers instructions in a post-graduate diploma and M.A. in Kashmiri. Kashmiri has recently been introduced as a subject of study in some colleges in the valley of Kashmir. The Board of Secondary Education, Kashmir has made a provision for its study as an optional subject in the two years of secondary education. A text book has been prepared and published by the board for this purpose. But as long as Kashmiri is not introduced as a subject of study right from the primary level, it will not serve any useful purpose. Kashmiri also must be used as the medium of

instruction in the early childhood education. A recent sociolinguistic survey of Kashmir has overwhelmingly supported the use of Kashmiri in education in the valley (Koul and Schmidt 1983).

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Chapter - 58

THE IMPACT OF SANSKRIT ON KASHMIRI LANGUAGE

Moti Lal Saqi

Sanskrit has played a key role in the formative stage of Kashmiri language. It owes the tradition of 'Vakh' "Vatsun" "epic, 'Pad', and marriage songs to Sanskrit. In fact in the earliest phase Sanskrit has served as a source of inspiration for our language and literature. In its prakrit stage Kashmiri is so akin to Sanskrit that it is very difficult to differentiate between the two languages. *Mohanay Prakash*' the earliest written manuscript available in Kashmiri in 13th century has almost 60 percent words in its text which have their origin in Sanskrit. The vakhs of Lal Ded (14th century) also fall in this category.

The reign of Budshah (1420-1470 A.D.) is a landmark in the history of Kashmiri literature. He established a translation bureau and appointed scholars to translate classics from one language into another language. Thus the tradition of translations made their appearance in Kashmiri. It is recorded in the annals that 'Yog vaishastaa' had attracted the attention of the king and he got it translated into Kashmiri. But the manuscript of this translation has not come down to us.

Bhat Avtar a famous scholar, poet musicologist and a courtier of the king Budshah, who hailed from Lar (Ganderbal) translated the first story from Sanskrit into Kashmiri. The story he selected for Kashmiri version is "*Banasur Vadkatha*' which he took from '*Hari Vamash Purana*' which is a supplement to the world famous epic the '*Mahabharata*'.

This long descriptive poem is the versified form of the love story of Usha and Aniruda. Lord Krishna, the hero of '*Mahabharta*' plays a leading role in the development and furtherance of this story. It is Dr. Buhlar who for the first time made a mention of this

poem in his book, "*In search of Sanskrit manuscripts*" in 19th century. The only available manuscript of '*Banasur Vad Katna*' is at present preserved in Bhandarkar - Oriental Research Institute Pune (Maharashtra). Mr. Sheshi Sheshkar Toshakhani obtained his Ph.D. degree on the linguistic study of this narrative. But his thesis is yet to be published. This poem is to be seen through the press and only a few portions of it have appeared in the press.

"*Banasur Vad Katha*" has an indisputable place in the linguistic evoluation of our language. Recognising its importance the State department of research and publications has obtained a microfilm of the manuscript to cater to the needs of research scholars and linguists. The language of "Banasur Vad Katha" has close affinity with the language used in the work entitled, '*Mahnay Prakash*".

The '*Mahabharata*" inspired many creative expressions; especially it constituted the base of many more translations into Kashmiri. Another epoch making attempt in this direction is the translation of Mahabharata itself. In eighteenth century 'Mahabharata' was translated into Kashmiri by some unknown poet. Thus the tradition of epic in Kashmiri owes its origin to Sanskrit and not Persian language. The versified version of the great epic is partly preserved in the research library of University of Kashmir. The numbers given on the top of the chapters indicate that the poet had rendered it in full in Kashmiri. The available portion of this translation has not been printed so far. Prof. G.M.D. Hajini (b. 1917) has published chapter 288 of the epic in his book "*Kashmir Shayiri*' which he compiled for Sahitya Akademi and was published in 1959 A.D.

Another important translation from Sanskrit is the story of "*Nala and Damyati*" by Bul Bul Nagami (B: 1812 A.D. Sgr. D: 1900 A.D. Nagam). This story is included in the '*Vanaparyan*' chapter of '*Mahabharta*', Bulbul has presented this story in the form of a Masnavi. His masnavi has only a few parallels in the Kashmiri language. It has been published partially. The complete manuscript has not yet been published though some excerpts have been printed. It enjoyed great popularity in the past and hand written copies of this manuscript were purchased at handsome rates. The author has not altered the original story at all but his style of composition lends it a unique quality . Bulbul has many more things to his credit but "Nala and Dayanti", will make him a poet for all times to come.

A drama based on an episode of '*Mahabharata*' is '*Drupdi Laj*' written by Tarachand Bismil (B: 1904 Karam Shora D: 1948 Tral). The story of this drama has been taken from the '*Sabha-Parvan*' of the epic. It is this episode which has been versified by Subramaniam Bharti (Tamil poet) under the caption "*Drupti Shaptam*".

"*Mahabharata*" has been the sole source of inspiration to Bismil. His drama "*Preamich Kahvat*" (The touchstone of love) is based on another story of the same epic. Based on the "*Mahaprasthani Parvan*' this drama has something peculiar to communicate. Bismil's great contribution to Kashmiri is his prose translation of the "*Gita*" which is awaiting publication. The song celestial (Gita) has been translated in Kashmiri verse by Krishan Joo Dhar (D-1974) and Sarva Nand Koul Premi. (B: 1924 Soof Kurkarnag) also. The story of "*Sativan and Savitri*' has been versified by Pt. Anand Bhat of Katraso. It is the story of Harish Chandra which has been tackled by a number of Kashmiri poets and dramatists. This story is based on two earliest written Kashmiri drama's '*Satich Kahavat* by Nand Lal Koul (B: 1877 Sgr. D: 1940 Sgr) and "*Satichvath*' by Tara Chand Bismil. Others, who versified the story include Pt. Balak Ram Bhat (B 1894 Nagam D: 1929 Nagam) and Pt. Anand Bhat of Katraso (Kulgam). Some portions of Pt. Anand Bhat's versified version of Harish Chandra appeared in weekly *'Chaman'* in 1971-73. Pt. Suna Ram Razdan Musafir (B: 1918 Drusu) has translated `Mahabharta' in full in the Kashmiri prose. The manuscript of his translation was purchased by State Cultural Academy some years back, but its publication is awaited.

Pt. Nila Kanth Sharma (B.1881 Dab D.1970 Sgr.) too has translated Gita in Kashmiri. His translation ranks higher as it is very close to the original and speaks of his scholarship. His translation of *Valmiki Ramayana* in Kashmiri is the only translation which is true to the original. It took him eight years to translate it in Kashmiri. There are other versions of Ramayana by Prakash Ram (B 1819 D 1979 AD), Shankar Nath (D: 1870), Anand Ram (B: 1881 D.1889), Vishnu Koul (D: 1918) and Amar Nath (D:1908): But Sharma's Ramayana alone is close to the original Sanskrit version of this epic. So far as the other versions are concerned we cannot class these translations as original. The authors have taken the central theme from Valmiki's version and have made additions

and alterations in accordance with their choice. Kalidasa's world famous poem *The Meghduta* was translated in Kashmiri by Arjun Devma. (B. 1923 Zainapora) and was published in 1974-75 from Srinagar. Mohan Nirash (B: 1934 Srinagar) has translated famous Sanskritdrama's "*Malvika Agni Mitram*". Kashi Nath Dhar (b: 1914 Srinagar) has recently translated famous master piece of Kalidasa "Shakuntala" in Kashmiri. This book is expected to be published by the State Cultural Academy in near future.

Others who were inspired by Sanskrit literature include Paramananda (B: 1794 Seer D: 1879) and Mana Joo Attar (D: 1964 Sgr). Parmananda based his "*Sudam Chrit*" and "*Radha Suyanvara*' on Bhagvat Purana. Manjoo Attar too based his "*Krishan Avtar Charit*" and *Rukhmani Mangal*, on *Bhagvat Purana* itself.

A.K. Rehbar	Kashri Adbick Tareekh	Srinagar
B.B. Kachru	Kashmiri literature	Weisbadan 1981
Chaman/Bashir	Awhal Nama	Srinagar 1978
J.L. Kaul	Studies in Kashmiri	Srinagar 1968
Naji/Shouq	Kashri Adbuk Tariekh	Srinagar 1978
Suniti Kumdar Chatter ji	The Cultural heritage of India.	(Calcutta) 1978
Toshakhani/Saqi	Paramanda 2 vols.	Srinagar 1972-74

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Chapter - 59

NAMING IN THE KASHMIRI PANDIT COMMUNITY : SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND ANTHROPONYMY

Professor Braj B. Kachru

In earlier research on onomastics the concentration has been on two types of studies: One type focuses on the data on naming processes with reference to a well-defined social, regional, or religious group. The other type is essentially comparative, and has implications for defining and illustrating concepts such as "linguistic area" or "sociolinguistic area". There is a profusion of studies of the first type but rather few on the second type. An example of a comparative study with typological and sociolinguistic interest is Emeneau 1978.

In this preliminary investigation in anthroponomy of a small community of India, generally known as Kashmiri pandits and

locally known as *bati* (Skt. *bhartri*), I have attempted to combine these two approaches. The pandit community forms an extremely small minority in India, not exceeding over seven hundred thousand people. Of this total, a significant number lived in the Kashmir valley, mainly in Srinagar, and the rest have settled in the major cities of Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Lucknow and Jaipur in northern India.

During the last seven hundred years, this minority community has passed through a series of social, political, and cultural vicissitudes.[1] Traces of these changes are naturally present in their language and in their naming system. The language of Kashmiri pandits is called kesur (or Kashmiri). This language has traditionally been treated as a member of the linguistic sub-group termed "the Dardic family", which is the Indo-Aryan branch of languages. The Dardic family has been identified on the basis of several phonological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics of three language groups: the Kafiri-group, the Khowar-group, and the Dard-group.[2]

However, the classification of Kashmiri continues to be controversial: There still is a need to draw evidence from those areas of language and culture which might throw more light on the controversy concerning the affiliation of Kashmiri language, and the types of convergence it has gone through. A study of names should provide evidence to show that Kashmiri forms a part of South Asian sociocultural and linguistic area. In a stimulating paper "Toward an onomastics of South Asia" Emeneau (1978) has rightly suggested that, in the case of South Asia, onomastics provides interesting enthnographic, cultural, and historical evidence. In his paper Emeneau examines "... features of the naming system and their spread in the South Asian linguistic area" (128). There is evidence that the patterning of the naming system, the choices available within the system, and the functional use of such choices provide insightful data for characterizing South Asia as a "sociolinguistic area".[3]

The first issue one faces in a study of onomastics is to determine the proper approach. The body of literature on onomasticis is awe inspiring, with a long tradition of research from various disciplines: among others, anthropology, (e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1948), etymology (e.g., Bradsley 1915; see also for a bibliography Smith 1950, 277-282), linguistics, (e.g., Algeo 1973; Uhlenback 1969) and philosophy (e.g., Donnellan 1970). There are also several

studies which provide useful theoretical discussions from various viewpoints (e.g., Gardiner 1940, Pulgram 1954, and Sorenson 1963). In addition, there are numerous atheoretical studies. However, the sifting through of this abundant body of material is not always rewarding. Zgusta (1974: 819) rightly warns us that "the study of names is plagued with imaginative and fantastic, but unfounded and unscholarly, publications; therefore, caution should be exercised in the choice of sources".

In earlier literature very little attention has been paid to the linguistic aspects of onomastics and its contribution to linguistic and sociolinguistic theory and description, since linguists have considered onomastics "etymologically explanatory rather than systematically descriptive" (Allen 1968: quoted in Uhlenbeck 1969:321). There are very few attempts by linguists, like that of Uhlenbeck (1969: 321-335) who make an effort to show "that the synchronic study of proper names may be an interesting and rewarding subject for the linguist as well as for the ethnographer and that at least in some linguistic communities personal names may form a well-defined subsystem within the whole of the linguistic structure" (321-322).

In his detailed study Utley (1963: 145-176) draws attention to the linguistic component of onomastics and the neglect of this field by linguists. He observes that "... the responsibility for correction lies not only on the historian, logician, and etymologist, but also on the modern linguist, structural or transformational, who has been slow to plow on onomastics pastures" (145).

The Indian languages are no exception to this general neglect by linguists.[4] The result is that the linguistic aspects of onomastics in these languages have not attracted serious attention of linguistis, and no attempt has been made to provide typological statements which contribute to our understanding of India as a linguistic area or a sociolinguistic area (Emeneau 1978 is an exception). There are, however, several language-specific studies which provide useful data and descriptions (e.g., Dutta 1981; Jhungare 1975; Sjoberg 1968: and Temple 1883). There are not many observations in earlier literature on Kashmiri or Kashmiri pandits, except in Koul (1924: 18-23). This study, therefore, is one of the first attempts toward understanding anthroponymy of Kashmiri pandits in relation to sociolinguistics.

Naming and Gotra

It is claimed that traditionally Kashmiri Pandit last names indicated *gotra* (exogamous groups); these *gotra*-making names were initially restricted to three names which Koul (1924:20) terms the "three principal divisions", i.e., *bhat, pandit* and *razdan*. According to him, from these three "are derived the distinctive appellations of Koul, Sopori, Pandit, and Raina. From these three families. [bhat, pandit and razdan] as each took to a particular occupation, or by adoption or intermarriage with other gotras, other gotras came into existence" (20). These *gotras* bear the names of *risis* ("sages"), and to some extent, as Koul says, they form a hierarchy. In this hierarchy the *Kol* (Kaul or Koul) are considered very high (Koul 1924:20). It is claimed that by intermarriage and intermixture "with other Brahmins the number of *gotras* multiplied to 199" (Koul 1924:20). As time passed, the number of last names substantially increased.

The ritualistic aspects of naming among the pandits are not significantly different from the brahman groups of other parts of India. In a traditional pandit family the naming-ceremony (Hindi, *namkaran*) takes place on the eleventh day after a child's birth. It is called *kahnether* (*kah* "eleven" and *nethir* "wedding"). At this ceremony a child is expected to receive his or her given name.

The names of the new-born may be chosen by various methods. In certain families the family priest *pandith* (Skt. *pandit*) or *gor* (Skt. *guru*) might suggest the first letter of the name. The suggestion of the *koligor* (Skt. *kulguru* "family priest") is based on clues from the horoscope of the new-born child. Suggestions may be made by relatives from the mother's side or the father's side. Naming after parents, or grandparents, as is common in the Western world, is not practised among the Kashmiri Pandits. The earlier practices of *namkaran* ('naming-ceremony') are, however, slowly changing as we will see in the following section.

The two productive processes for naming are Sanskritic and Persian. The Muslim first names do not show the process of Sanskritization. However, a number of Sanskrit last names (Kashmiri *zath*) have been preserved by some Muslims after their conversion to Islam, for example, *bath* (Skt. *bhatta*), pandit (Skt. *pandit*).[5] On the other hand, Hindu given names and last names show the influence of both Sanskritization and Persianization. The result is;

as Emeneau (1978:117) also attests in another context, "Hindu names of hybrid form" such as *jawahar* ("jewel"). In Kashmir, this hybridization of names still continues.

Dynamics of Kashmiri Pandit Names

The dynamics of the pandit names show mainly three types of changes. *Generation-distance* is the main factor in the changing pattern of the given names. As in other language areas, the changing social, political, and linguistic influences on the land and the people of Kashmir have left their impact on naming patterns. Consider, for example, given masculine names such as *aftab* 'the sun', and *toti* 'parrot' (as sin *totikakh*), or feminine names such as *goni* 'virtue', (as in gonivati (the possessor of virtues'). These given names are now only of antiquarian interest and form part of the diachronic onomastics of the pandit community. These names suggest a distance of more than one generation. Names such as *makhni* (Hindi-Urdu, *makkhan* 'butter') and *muti* (Hindi-Urdu, Moti 'jewel') are much less frequent in the present generation.

Components of a Pandit Name

The naming system of the pandits follows the pattern of other Indo-Aryan languages. A pandit name has three components: The first name or given name, the middle name, and the last name (*zath*) or 'family' name. The first and last items are obligatory and the middle item is optional.[6] (For example, *madisedan* (Skt. *madhusudan* ("the killer of the demon Madhu"), *roginath* (Skt. *raghunath* "master of Radhu dynasty"); *omkar* (Skt. *omkar*).

The given name has the structure of a noun phrase in which the family name occupies the position of head, unlike names in the Dravidian languages in general. In Telugu, as Sjoberg (1968:314) shows the Family names appear to stand in an adjectival relationship to given names. That is, as an adjective in the Telugu language precedes the noun it qualifies, so too the family name precedes the given name, which is clearly a noun.

The types of compounds and modifiers which form a given name again fall into a typical Indo-Aryan pattern as does the constituent structure of names.

The lexical sets which occupy the modifier and head positions

may be characterized in terms of semantic sets. These sets provide attitudinal, locational, and other clues. These sets are discussed below.

Given Name and the Kram

The given names are chosen out of a variety of lexical sets, the most common being theophoric names, or names which refer to various gods of the Hindu scriptures and mythology. As mentioned earlier, a new-born child is not necessarily given a name at its birth. A name may be given to the child at his *kahnethir* "naming ceremony" or at a convenient later time. In the meantime, a child may be called *niki* (fem. *nic*) `baby' until it is given a name. In certain cases *niki (nic)* may continue to be used as an alternate name, both for reference and address.

The term kran (a class name) is traditionally used to make a distinction between the nick-names and traditional last names or *zath* (e.g., last names such as Koul, Bhatt). The *kram* slowly gets institutionalized as the last name. The last name, therefore, need not be an indicator of *gotra*, but might develop out of the subriquets (nick-names) acquiried by the family for various reasons. Sobriquets are acquired in numerous ways: occupation, color, physical characteristics and so on.

Toward Structing *Kram*

The *karm* or 'nicknames' acquired by each family may be listed in terms of lexical sets of sobriquets. Sobriquets were originally aptly called in English *eḳenames* (an 'also-name'; see Smith 1950: 74-92). These sets share semantic characteristics and provide semantic classes for the *zath of* Kashmiris.

The following *kram*-denoting lexical sets are illustrative.

1. *Attitude-marking:* The use of attitude-marking terms is a good example of making a generalization from an individual to the whole family. Such terms must have originally started as nick-names, and, then, slowly acquired the status of *kram*. There are, therefore, cases among Kashmiri Pandits where two brothers might use two distinct last names, one using the *karm* and the other the original last name. For example, one brother may use *kol* (Koul), and the other brother and his children use *tut* (Anglicized as Tutu).

Kol is *gotra*-marking ancestral last name, and *tut* is the acquired *kram-marker.*

The attitude-marking terms have an underlying meaning which conveys an attitude and focuses on characteristics of certain types. Such terms can be subdivided into a number of classes on the basis of the shared characteristics of the members of a class of last names. Consider, for example, the following sub-classes.

Animal: *brer* 'cats'; *gagar,* 'mice'; *hapath,* 'bears'; *hest'*, 'elephants'; *hagal,* 'stage'; *khar,* 'donkeys'; *penz'*, 'monkeys'.
Birds: *bulbul,* 'nightingale'; *kav,* 'crows'; *kokar,* 'roosters'; *kotar,* 'pigeons'
Edibles: *vugri,* 'watery rice'
Fruits: *badam, 'almonds'*
Spices: *ganhar,* 'poppy seeds'
Utensils: *dul,* 'a huge brass or earthen pot'; *net'vel'*, 'owners of pitchers'; *tek'*, 'earthen eating plates'; *vckhal,* 'mortar'
Vegetables: hakh, 'collard leaves'; *vagan* 'egg-plants'; *muj, 'radish'*

2. *Behavior:* The members of this class refer to a specific act of behavior, for example, *thalitsur,* 'one who steals brass eating plates' (Hindu-Urdu *thapal,* 'one who grabs things' (also used for a 'pick-pocket').
3. *Deformity:* There are a number of words which show bodily deformity, for example, *karihol,* 'one who has a stiff neck'; *khos,* 'left handed'; *kob'*, 'hunchbacked'; *mot'*, 'snub-nosed'.
4. Location: The locational words are used either to specify one's place of residence or the place where one comes from, e.g., *navsehear'*. 'one who belongs to Navsahar' *scgem'*, one who belongs to Sogam' *sopor'*, 'one who belongs to Sopore'; *k'alam* 'one who belongs to Kilam'.
5. *Occupation:* The use of occupation or profession-marking terms does not necessarily mean that the family is engaged in that particular occupation. One might mention here that last names such as *vatal* 'sweepers' or *vazi* 'cooks' semantically belong to this class, but do not always refer to the actual profession of the family. In this case the term *vatal* must have begun as an attitude marking *kram.*

Professionally there is no Kashmiri pandit engaged in the occupation of a *vatul* 'sweeper'. These are, thus, terms which were originally used as a 'nick name' based on an act of a single member of a family and then slowly these got generalized as the last names of the family, for example, *jotis* (Hindi jyotisi 'astrologers'), *sabin'* 'soap makers'.

6. *Physical characteristics:* These mark the physical characteristics *of* a person with reference to his or her color, bodily features, etc., for example, *katsur 'brown'; tut* 'slim'.

7. *Ownership:* There is a small set of lexical items which take the suffix *vol (*plural *vel;* Hindu-Urdu *vala*) to convey the idea of ownership, for example, *hes 'vel'* 'the owners of elephants', *tarivel'* 'dealers in wire'.

Note that the suffix *vel* has other meanings in Kashmiri, for example, it is used in the sense of 'a dealer' too. Thus *tarivel'* may also mean a 'dealer in wire' or 'seller of wire' as in Hindi *cayvala,* 'a dealer in tea' or 'seller of tea'.

The *kram* (or a nickname), until it gets established for a family, can be exasperating. Koul (1924: 20) has mentioned one such case.

> .....a man, named Wa'sdev, had a mulberry tree growing in his courtyard and, therefore, he was called Wa'sdev Tul (mulberry). He, in order to get rid of his nick-name, cut down the tree. But a *mund* (trunk) remained and people began to call him Wa'sdev Mund. He then removed the trunk of the tree but by its removal a *khud* (depression) was caused and henceforth people called him Wa'sdev Khud. He then filled up the depression and the ground became *teng* (a little elevated) and he began to be called Wa'sdev Teng. Thus exasperated, he left to do any further attempt to remove the cause of his nick-name and it continued to be Teng which is now attached to the names of his descendents.

Variant Forms of a Name: Hierarchy of Hypocoristic Forms

An analysis of the constituent structure of Kashmiri given names and last names (zath) gives only a partial picture of the naming system in Kashmiri. A detailed description must include the hypocoristic forms used for each name by this community.

The hypocoristic forms are determined on a deferential scale based on considerations of age, superiority, sex and the attitude

one has toward the addressee. The term *hypocoristic form* refers to a variant form of a name which is used in intimate relations and familiar or friendly situations. A discussion of this aspect throws some light on the sociolinguistic aspects of Kashmiri pandit onomastics. This characteristic is shared with other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages (see e.g., Emeneau 1978: 118-124), and provides further evidence for India as a sociolinguistic area.[7]

Hypocoristic forms provide linguistic clues to the participant relationship and participant expectations, and mark the discourse as formal, informal, or intimate. These forms may thus be used to indicate the formal use of the name especially in the written style; to mark informal relationships; to express a difference in age and deference toward age; and to mark the sex and the marital status of a person.

The variant forms are produced through various processes. One common device is by using the process of Kashmirization of Indic and Perso-Arabic proper names. The process is as follows: In a majority of cases the first name is reduced to the CVCV structure irrespective of the syllable structure of the first name in the written or formal style. Consider the following examples:[8]

informal style		*formal style*	
dayi (m)	CVCV	daya	CVCV
duli (f)	CVCV	dulari	CVCVCV
sili (m)	CVCV	sila	CVCV
vomi (m)	CVCV	omkar	VCCVC

An identical process of reduction applies to the Muslim first names such as *gulam> guli* (m); *habib> habi* (m); *phati> fatima (f)*. In a majority of cases, then, in a reduced name the final vowel is /i/. In the informal style a person may be addressed as *dami or sili,* but the written form is *damodar* and *sila,* respectively.

Name Repertoire and Name Switching

There may be repertoire of names for a person used within a family; the selection of a particular name is determined by the

relationship, status and age. The total range of the names used for a person is generally known only to those who are close to the family. First there is a formal given name. The formal name invariably preserves the Sanskrit, Perso-Arabid, or hybridized forms (e.g., *pitambarnath, aftab, ikbalnarayan*). Second, in the informal situation a hypocoristic form is used by the peer group and elders. Third, in the intimate family circles a person might be given an entirely different name. Let me illustrate this point. A person may be formally called *mohanlal* (m), and informally, he may be called *mohni;* his children may call him *tathimahraj* dear king'. He may also have a kinship denoting name such as *beytoth* ('dear brother'). However, it is not necessary that this name be used only by those with whom he has such a relationship. The intimate family may thus use *tathimahraj* and *beytoth* for intimacy and affection. A feminine name *sila* informally becomes *sili* (f) and in the family circles she might be called *beniteth* ('dear sister'), or *benigas* ('sister with light').

It is also possible that after marriage a female might receive an additional name from her in-laws, such as *p'aribabi* (Hindu-Urdu *pyari-bhabhi* 'dear sister-in-law), or mohanp ari, 'one who is dear to Mohan' (if, for example, the name of her husband is Mohan). A son-in-law may also go through the same process of multi-identification markers.

Sources of First Names

The earliest source of Kashmiri first names is Sanskritic. Later after the Muslim conquest of Kashmir (around 1301-20), the Perso-Arabic influence provided the second major source. Before the Islamic influence, Kashmir had been the center of Sanskrit learning and had developed a long tradition of Sanskrit scholarship in the fields of philosophy, poetics and linguistics. During the Muslim period there was a major effort toward proselytization of Hindus to Islam. A small number of the pandits escaped by leaving the boundaries of the State, and others assimilated themselves in various ways with the new rulers. The Islamic influence is found naturally in the first names, though a number of last names may also be traced to this influence. It is evident that both the Sanskritic and Persian names have gone through various processes of nativization which are not discussed in this paper.

The lexical sets for first names from the Sanskritic source are

theophoric, primarily based on names, attributes and epithets of gods and goddesses (e.g. *ramcand, radhenath, dayakisin, arjunnath, lakshminarayan*).

It is only later, due to the Persian influence, that first names such as *aftab* "the sun" were introduced. Consider, for example, *aftab* `the sun'; *dilavar* `brave'; *ikbal* `good fortune'; *mahtab* `the moon'. Smith's observation (1950: 157) on the Hindu naming system applies to the Kashmiri Pandit community, too:

> In India the high caste Hindu believes that the more often the name of a deity passes his lips the more merit he stores up for the future life. Consequently he deliberately names his children after the gods. The Hindu Pantheon is crowded so the choice is not unduly restricted ... The names of the dreaded spirits are not used for fear of inviting harm. If some of them bear human names, it is because they were probably originally human beings.

The main categories of Sanskritic given names are listed below.

(i) *Epic-Sources:* The Indian epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* provide the main sources for names. The masculine names *arjun, Kisen, ram* and the feminine names such as *janki, tara rada* can be traced to these sources.

(ii) *Place-names:* The first name may be an epithet for a character from the epic-sources, for example, *ayodya* or *badri.* These are followed by *nath,* e.g. ayodyanath, 'the master of Ayodhya' (where Rama, the hero of the epic *Ramayana* was born), or *brajnath* 'the master of *braj Bhumi'* (where Krishna of the epic *Mahabharata* lived). These terms, then, stand as an attribute of the epic-heroes.

(iii) *Abstract:* The use of abstract terms as proper names is again shared with several other Indian languages. *atma,* 'soul'; *anand,* 'bliss'; *parmanand,* 'eternal bliss'.

(iv) *Attributes:* Feminine names such as the following refer to various attributes and qualities, *rits* (mal), 'good', pious'; *soba (vati),* 'grace'; *dan (vati),* 'wealth'; *usa,* 'dawn'; *lalita,* attractive'. Masculine attributes are prem. 'love'; *pran* 'soul'.

(v) *Rivers:* The given names of rivers are mainly femimine *yamina* (Hindi *Yamuna* 'river Yamuna'); sarisvati (Hindi 'sarasvati' 'a mythical river').

A number of compounds with the first member referring to a goddness and the second to a god are used as masculine given

names *radha-kisen* (Radha and Krishna) (cf. *sitaram* (Sita and Ram) used e.g., also in the Punjab).

The following sets illustrate the range of the first name (FN) and its preferred second lexical item. Note that there are some given names which are shared by both men and women, e.g., *mohan, janki,* and *laksmi.* In the case of men, *mohan* will collocate with *lal,* and *janki* and *lakshmi* with nath. In the case of women *mohan* collocates with *rani* and *pari* and *janki* and *laksmi* with *devi.* An elderly woman may be called *jankid ad (dyad* 'granny').

Masculine First Names:

FN + *cand: e.g., tara, ram*
FN + *kisen: e.g., bal, braj, daya, gopi*
FN + *lal: e.g., mohan, makhan, moti, jia, syam*
FN + *kumar: e.g., braj, raj*
FN + *narayan: e.g., cand, raj, rup, siv*
FN + *nath: e.g., amar, bhaskar, kasi, pran, janki, dina, niranjan*
FN + *ram: e.g., siv*
FN + *joo: e.g., anand*

Feminine First Names:

FN + *vati: e.g., tara, soba, dan*
FN + *mal: e.g., ritsi*
FN + *kumari: e.g., raj, sila*
FN + *p'ari: e.g., mohan*
FN + *rani: e.g., cand*

The given names carry the number and gender markers and are inflected for the case. A number of these names are now disappearing in contemporary practices of naming. One does not normally encounter, for example, *ram* or *bal* as first names and *jo* and *vati* as suffixes in current Kashmiri pandit names. One also notices a tendency to drop the middle name.

Modification of First Names

First names in Kashmiri may be modified with various lexical items of suffixes. I will present a partial list of such modifiers with their distribution. The selection of a particular modifier with a given name is determined by various attitudinal considerations, as is the case with the selection of hypocoristic forms of a first name. The main considerations are the addressor/addresse relationship;

the attitude of the addressor toward the addressee at the time the speech act takes place; the clues marking affection, anger, or indifference; the age and status of the addressor and addressee and their respective positions in the family and society.

(a) *kakh* is used only with hypocoristic forms such as *dayi* (Skt. *daya* 'compassion'), *hari* (Skt. *hari*), *sarvi* (Skt. sarva 'whole, entire') *sombi* (Skt. *sambhu* 'auspicious' of Lord Siva), *hradi* (Skt. *Hriday* 'heart), *tresi* (Skt. *triloki* 'of three worlds' name of Siva), *zani* (Skt. *janardan* 'protector').

(b) *toth* (fem. *tjth*) means 'dear' and is used with a set of reduced names (e.g. *scmbitoth; brijitoth*). It is not used with a formal names such as days, *hriday* or *triloki*.

(c) *ji* (Hindi-Urdu *ji*) has roughly the same distribution in Kashmiri as in, for example, Hindi and Punjabi. It occurs with most hypocoristic forms and full forms.

(d) *seb* is a marker of affection and co-occurs with various lexical sets. Its preferred occurrence is with hypocoristic forms (e.g., *brijiseb*). Note also *lali* 'grandfather or father' or *laliseb*.

Collocability constraints.

The term 'collocation' is used here to refer to the tendency of co-occurrence of lexical items with other lexical items (for a discussion see Halliday 1966 and Kachru 1983). The elements which modify a Kashmiri given name in the hypocoristic or non-hypocoristic forms have constraints of collocability. Therefore the distribution of the items with reference to their potential for co-occurrence is important. Consider, for example, the modifying items *ji, kakh, toth.* The honorific suffix *ji* may be used with the first *bal, hari, upni* but not normally with *dayaji, hridayji.* The co-occurrence of *ji* with feminine given names is more frequent. The items *toth* ('dear') collocates with a set of first names, which, among others, may include *dayi, hyadi, treyi.* But the following do not normally collocate with *toth.*

* *hari toth, *upni toth, *bali toth*

ji and *toth* have collocational constraints with certain types of given names. However, there are other items which do not have co-occurrence restrictions but the collocation may have underlying

attitudinal implications; such items may be used in special contexts with a specific meaning in mind. The collocation of the item *kakh* with the following may be considered normal: *briji kakh, dayikakh, hradikakh, sarvikakh, scmbikakh, zanikakh.* On the other hand, if *kakh* is used, for example, with *balikakh, harikakh, upnikakh* an attitudinal implication is involved, one of irony. This implication is not present if the person is elderly and the suffix is used as a mark of respect.

The table presented below shows the preferential range of co-occurrence with various modifiers.

Lexical Sets of First Names Showing Preference of Co-occurrence
Sets of Given Modifiers

Names	*kakh*	*toth*	*seb*	*lal*	*ji*
I. *dayi, hradi briji, posi*	ü	ü	?	?	X
II. *hari, upni bali*	X	?	X	X	ü
III. *upni, bali*	X	ü	X	X	X
IV. *kethi, preyi*	ü	?	X	ü	X

The co-occurrence of the members of the above sets is not mutually exclusive. That is, for example, *sarvi, scmbi* and *zani* co-occur with *ji.* On the other hand, *scmbi* and *zani* may in certain situations be acceptable with *seb,* but *sarvi* will not normally occur with *seb.* Thus all the members of a set do not share all the contrains of occurrence with other items.

There is another point which should be mentioned here. The Kashmirized reduced forms of Hindi forms *bal* and *upan* are *bali* and *upni respectively.* As is indicated in the lexical set III in the above Table, these do not co-occur with *ji.*

Conclusion

It seems to me that there are several reasons for the study of Kashmiri pandit anthroponymy within the context of sociolinguistics. Let me present some of these reasons here. First,

it is the user's attitude which determines the formal choices within the possible lexical sets. Second, the hierarchy of hypocoristic forms is directly related to the interactional network and the participant relationship. Third, the selection of a first name, out of the possible source, is also indicative of the attitudes of the parents and the family. Fourth, at the lexical level there are several collocability constraints which provide interesting lexical relationships: these are useful in understanding the dynamics of the Kashmiri pandit anthroponymy.

A sociolinguistic perspective for anthroponymy might provide a deeper understanding of the functional aspects of the Kashmiri language, and its shared sociocultural traditions with the neighbouring linguistic communities. Onomastics may, then, give us supporting data for characterizing and defining India as a "sociolinguistic area".

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Chapter - 60

FORMS IN KASHMIRI LITERATURE

Kumar Jee Raina

The classical *Mahabharata* was probably rendered into Kashmiri during Sultan Zain-ul-Abideen's time; this manuscript in the Research Department is perhaps its only extant copy. Its translator is nowwhere traceable in the text, and its diction is mostly outdated.

The influence of Persian on Kashmiri literature is significant. It provoked romantic view of life, as milestones in the romantic poetry of 16th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. To them everything in the romantic environment of Kashmir, particularly flower, meadow, glen, glade and even a thistle appeared both bewildering and soothing. This tradition was carried further by Wahhab in Ghazals and by Haquani, Haji Miskeen and Lassa Khan in their Bazmia (love), *Gulrez, Gulnoor, Rana-Zeba, Sherin-Khusroo, Gul-e-Bakawuli,* even though only Kashmiri versions of foreign romantic works do come upto the standard level regarding diction, plot and pitch in the style.

Lyrics

Lyricis originally meant something pertaining to Lyre *i. e* to sing; later it came to mean a poem divided into stanzas and directly expressing the poet's thoughts or sentiments. In Kashmiri we have 'Lol Lyrics' a phrase coined by Prof. J.L. Koul. Lol implies untranslatable complex of love, longing at the heart. Habba-Khatoon initiated its form '*Watsun*'. All songs such as *Chakri, Rov* and *Lila* songs adopted "Watsun" as its form. We owe its preservation to the professional singers of Sufiana Kalam (mystic poetry).

Folk songs

It is usually intensely subjective; its forms are varied and simple, mostly a four line stanza with a refrain intended to suit numerous situations in life, e. g. to supplicate spiritual patronage for the baby, cheer up a naughty youngster, lighten the burden of a house wife, a toiling worker or a coolie dragging on a loaded cart. The five commendable volumes of Kashmiri *Luka*-Bath-one of them compiled jointly by Naji and Saqi and other by Saqi are the best specimen of folk songs.

The two forms are perhaps the oldest forms of the folk song and especially sung by women. "Vanvun" is a must for all ceremonies, such as on marriages; ld, Shivratri and in the month of Ramzan etc. Vanvun is always lighter in the tune, varied in form and centred round a particular occasion as for instance' heralding a prosperous future for the baby; while `Roe' has its own pecularities. Prof. Koul has graphically depicted it when he wrote: the country lasses and the middle aged dames come out after sunset, divide themselves into two interlocked rows. Their arms over one another's shoulders and begin the swing like movement of the whole file, one row advancing and the other receding, both keeping tunes to the dance tune of the Rov. These songs have relieved the tedium of life of the illiterate women-folk, who find in them a sincere echo of their emotions.

In Rov alone the fair sex get a free chance to express their inner urges and aspirations.

Dastan Shayeri

A number of long classical tales are interwoven in songs appropriate to the various situations in the plot; these songs are

from a distinct genre called Dastan-Shayeri. Some of the tales are purely native such as *Akanandun, Jehaar* and *Habba-Khatoon,* while some others are of foreign origin e.g. '*Laila Majnoon', Haroon Rasheed', Gul-e-Sonaber* etc. Except Kablr Mir's Zen-e-Mazoor (wood cutter) all the pieces are anonymous and at the mercy of the professional reciter (Kathagor) whose love for the old and even obsolete idiom and vocables can well be illustrated by one example of Mohammad Khaar of Shahgund, who could at the age of about ninety recite 150 verses of Bhadur Ganai's *Akanandun* transmitted traditionally more than 300 years back. In view of the diminishing number of narrators, there is every apprehension of the loss of major portion of this 'poetry' unless arrangements are made for its proper compilation.

Devotional Poetry

Lal Ded and Shiekh Noor-ud-Din Noorani are the first two Kashmiri poets whose major part of poetry falls under this form; of course with one difference; Lal Ded basing her poetry on Shavite faith, and Nund Reshi on Islamic ethics. In entire gamut, we notice one major difference; non-Muslim poets using over Sanskritised and Muslims over-Persianized diction of style. From Sahab Koul to Krishna Razdan on the one hand and from Habibullah Nowsheri to Haqquani on the other hand, a long chain of poets have followed this trait. There are, however some exceptions; Some Muslim poets like Rahim Sahib, Shamas Faqir writing in the style of Shastra, and Hindu poets like Sat Ram and Anand Koul paying respect to the Muslim tradition indicate the spirit of reverance for each others faith.

Devotional poetry has branched into numerous fields: hymns (Munajaat) to God, eulogies *(naat)* to the Prophet, Panegyrics (*Manaquabat*) to saints in the Muslim group, and 'lilas' 'Bhajans' and reformative poems in the Hindu group. Muslims derive their material from the Holy Quran, Islamic history, theology and mysticism; Hindus base their verse on mythology, Bhagvat Geeta, Puranas, Krishna Bhakti, Rama Bhakti and Trika Shastra.

Humour

A Kashmiri is justly noted for his ready wit. Retort, pun and play upon words, come naturally to his tongue. Ladishah is

entertaining the country folk and Bandjashan provide open air theatrical performance. Maqbool Shah had given a start but later poets added a lot to humourous verse. Pahalnama, Muqdum-Nama, Malnama etc., Madha Deek of Srinagar in quatrains and Wahhab Sahib of Sangrama in long poems spouted forth venomous lampoon streaked with humour.

The first weekly paper 'Guash' and later G. N. Khayal's weekly 'Wattan' had reserved a column for humour, while Noor Mohmmad Bookseller published the Asun-ta-Gindun and Dilsoza, immature but humorous skits before the fifties.

Shahr Ashobe

When a Kashmiri took to new fashions that misplaced him in society, or to new values not accepted by common people the poet came with his satire in Shahr Ashobe. This genre includes satire on corrupt officials, bamboozling priests or even on natural calamities Nadim, Wahhab and others have left behind some serious pieces centring round either humorous caricatures or stinging lampoon.

Ladishah

It is the typical name for a folk ballad pungently comic-cum-satiric in text, and historically speaking a fallen reaction of a supression and tyranny. It is distinguished for its homely metaphor, and picturesque portrayal of ridiculous situation which a common Kashmiri faced during autocratic rule and it has proved to be a source of mental consolation for the enslaved folk during the centuries past. Major portion of this form is lost in verbal transmission by the illiterate bards, nevertheless we still possess some very fine pieces in the Ladishah. Hakeem Habibullah, Munawar Shah and Lala Lakhmen are recognized masters of this form.

Prose

Prose writing has systematically begun from 1974 onwards when most of the intellectuals and men of letters collectively felt an urge to enrich Kashmiri not only in pure literature but in works of technical subjects as well. Various organisations sprang up to

coordinate the literary output in prose in their official journals, but the journals proved too limited for literary works of note. Nor was there any regular agency prepared to undertake publications of books. With this environment, not even a quarter of what was written has been printed and even a considerable part of what has been printed, is to be gleaned from the pages of magazines.

It was only in the late fifties that the State Cultural Academy and to some extent the Sahitya Akademi (Delhi) came to the rescue of local writers. The individual maiden attempts in prose during the past two decades proved outstanding enough to win over the Sahitya Akademi and Cultural Academy awards.

It appears surprising how within a short period Kashmiri prose branched off to dry fields with full exuberance e. g. Sargam on musical notations by S. Abdul Aziz. On the one hand, the basic book on Physical Science for laymen, such as Wusta-Prang by Prof. Sadhu gave a fillip to the budding writers in the technical subjects, while on the other travelogues like Cheenok Safar by Mirza Arif opened up new vistas for widening the scope of prose.

Novel

It must be frankly admitted that Kashmiri is deficient in novels: only two novels, Akthar's *Dog Dag* and Gauhars *Mujrim* can be adjudged as coming upto the mark. The notable translation of foreign novels include George Gorky's '*Mother*' by A. M. Lone. Other novels are Prem Chands '*Gaudhan*' by Roshan and Tagore's *Chokher Beli* by Prof. P. N. Pushp.

Like novels, the novelette also is in its infancy-stage. Journals, *Soun Abad, Sheeraza, Koshur Adab* and *Nayub* have recently begun drawing writers towards this branch of prose, though in effect they appepar better in essays than in the novelette.

Drama

Drama in Kashmiri had touched a high pitch in Sultan Zain-ul-Aabideen's time when Bhodah Bhatt wrote his *Zaina Villasa,* and stage plays enjoyed royal patronage. Srivara, reports in his *Zain-Trangni* that an actress singer could depict 49 emotions in her dancing as harmoniously as the musical cadence demanded. Sultan Hassan Shah surpassed all his predecessors in synthesizing the local fine arts with those of the Iranian and Indian prototypes. Drama, as a distinct branch of literature, though mostly preserved

in verbal transmission, continued flourishing till the fall of Chak dynasty. With the advent of foreign rule, decline in all forms of Kashmiri literature was quite an expected misfortune; consequently the folk-taste had to survive through the professional bards, who in their turn reduced the stage drama to a clumsy performance in the open field. The Banda-Jashan became a sort of open air village folk theatre managed by professional players depicting social ills and bureaucratic tyranny rarely alluding to some historic theme such as Davza-Pather. This degraded practice continued till the present century, when Nand Lal Koul wrote *satech kahawat* and three other less known plays *Ramun Raj Paz-Pativarata* and *Dayun Lol* These were over-sanskritised in diction. After him, Tara Chand Trissal wrote plays '*Aknandun*' '*Ramavtar*' and 'Premech Kahawat' and other minor *Pazech Kahawat* with the same mental background as that of Nand Lal, but in simpler diction till Mohi-uddin Hajadi, while a college student wrote his "*Gress-sund Ghara*" (the peasants home).

In 1947 Kashmir became the war zone and the state was actually partitioned. Kashmiri writers also fell into two camps separated by the detested cease-fire line. The radio Dramas in the two regions of Kashmir were first converged on the exigencies of propaganda rather than on canon of art. '*Kune Kath*' type of plays in Kashmiri fall under this catagory. However, the young playwrights asserted themselves and began writing seriously.

D. N. Nadim's '*Neki-ta-Badi*' (Good and Evil) Kamil's '*Habba-Khatoon*' Wali's '*Zoon*'. Akhtar's '*Naste-Hynd Swal*' are some of the first attempts during the fifties. The two operas-Nadim's '*Bomber-ta-Yamberzal*'and Kamil's *Bomber-ta-Lolar*, are in fact the finest pieces in the form. The Academy of Art Culture and Languages has since 1958, been organising play competitions every year and awarding prizes for playwriting, production, acting and also staging the prize wining plays in the Tagore Hall. '*Yiti Chhu Banan*' (This too happens) by M. S. Butt '*Research*' by Pushkar Bhan and Soom Nath Sadhu, 'Taqdeer' by Mohmmad Subhan Bhaget, '*Taqudeer Saaz*' by Ali Mohmmad Lone and 'Hawas' by M. L. Kemu have successfully been staged in the hall.

There are, now a number of classical dramas translated into Kashmiri under the direction of the Sahita Akademi Delhi—Tagore's 'Mukta Dhara' by A. M. Lone, "Sontuk Abgath" by Mirza Atif, Wild Duck Thuy) by Soom Nath Zutshi. Independent attempts to

translate foreign plays are also worth mention. Shakespeare's *Othello* by Nadim, and *Julius Ceasar* by Naji Munawar, She Stoops to Conquer by A. K. Rehbar are besides, some of the additions to our dramatic literature. Despite the technical drawbacks number of plays staged by the Bhagat Theatre Akingam (under the direction of M. L. Kemu) and the hero *Machama* and *Waktuk Lukman* by Pushkar, S. L. Sadhu's '*Birbal*' is a historical play, the first attempt of its kind.

Though there is a long tradition in almost all higher educational institutions to stage plays written in Urdu or Hindi, and occasionally in Kashmiri, and though we have a number of playwrights engaged in writing one act plays, skits and shadow plays, it must be admitted that 'most of these make a contribution more than to drama'. That is why the plays staged by various dramatic clubs before, 1947, remained confined to social reform or local mythology, and could not raise the level to the artistic standards. It is only after 1960, that we find the balance gradually turning in favour of maturity in thoughts and eloquence, freedom of economy in diction, and greater creative steps made in Kashmiri literature.

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Chapter - 61

CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIR TO INDIAN LITERATURE

Dr. Raghunath Safaya

Introduction

The beautiful valley of Kashmir has always been a cynosure of all eyes for its peculiar climatic conditions and abundant bounties of nature. Kashmir deserves to be given the highest position in Indian Republic not merely because of its natural resources, and sensitive political boundaries, but chiefly due to the remarkable contributions made by the people of Kashmir to the Indian culture.

The high mountainous barriers around the valley, the peculiar climatic conditions, the natural wealth and the cheap resources of living, afforded a Kashmirian, a pleasant calm and quiet atmosphere to ponder over the problems of life and to strive for higher, intellectual

pursuits. Kashmiris have played an important role in the development of intellectual, moral, religious, spiritual and social life of Indians. They had made contributions in the field of various sciences, literature, fine arts and philosophy, and in short, accelerated march of culture.

I. Historical Literature

A peculiar characteristic of the Indian mind as described by Western writers is that Indians lacked historical sense. There are, in fact, no works, to be called truly historical except Kalhana's *Raja-tarangini*. This deficiency cannot be overlooked when we find Indian history shrouded in mystery and wrapped in darkness, in spite of the critical researches and hard labours of Oriental scholars. Only Kshmirians possessed a developed historical sense from very early times. Even before Kalhana many historians had written extensive works which formed the basis of *Raja-tarangini*. The assiduity, faithfulness and accuracy of narrating the events in Kashmir's history as found in Raja-tarangini make the work comparable to any of the historical works written by Western Scholars. The so-called historical works in India can never be compared with this work. Puranas are more mythological than historical. Bana's *Harsa-Charita* is more a novel than a history. *Kumarapala-carits* of Hemachandra (1088-1172) is more a work on grammar than on history. All other historical works are written by Kashmirians; Kashmir thus occupies a unique position in the historical literature of India.

The predecessors of Kalhana are many, as he himself tells us that he consulted eleven works of former scholars as well as still existent *Nilamata-purana*. Nothing definite is known about the author and date of this ancient historical work, but this is a rich source of history of Kashmir in the earlier times.

Kalhana mentions Ksemendra, the author of *Nripavali* but at the same time censures it for carelessness. Padmamihira Pasupata, Helaraja, Chavaillakara and Suvrata were other historians who preceded Kalhana, but their works are not available.

Bilhana, the son of Jyasthakalasa, a veteran scholar of grammar, was a Vedic scholar, had mastered Mahabhasya and poetics. He left his home, and as a wandering Pandita, travelled from country to country till he established himself at the court of King Vikramaditya VI, the Calukya king of Kalyana (1076-1127) where he was received

and honoured as Vidyapati. He wrote *Vikramankadeva-carita* which is regarded as an important contribution to history. This work begins with the origin of Calukya family and eulogises the king. It contains eighteen cantos and in the last he gives an account of his own family and a short account of the kings of Kashmir. Keith dates his work before 1088 A.D. '*Vikramaditya*', the famous play of Hindi Poet Udayasankra Bhatta is based on the same work. Bilhana's poetry is of no mean order. He is a model of simplicity and clarity which are essential requisites of a historical work.

Kalhana, born about 1100 A.D. was the son of Campaka, a minister of King Harsa of Kashmir (1089-1101) and was a resident of Parihasapura, modern Paraspore, a village near Srinagar. King Harsa was assassinated through conspiracy and Kalhana's family had to leave the royal court. He was a follower of Saivism but did not believe in Tantras. He retained his great love for Buddhism.

Kalhana inspected inscriptions of temples, memorials, records of land grants, eulogies (prasastis) coins, manuscripts of literary works, and consulted all his predecessors in the historical field. He even corrected the mistakes of earlier historians.

Thus, as an antiquarian and a historian with true historical judgement and faculty, he wrote the chronicle of events in Kashmir's history. Though the earlier part is confused and does not tally with the dates confirmed by our present historians, yet it is most accurate from 596 to 1151 A.D. Some of the outstanding features of his work are:-

(i) "His accuracy in genealogical information is conspicuous, and his topography most favourably distinguishes him from such a historian as Livy, who apparently never looked at one of the battle fields he described". remarks Keith.

(ii) He was free from prejudice and partiality. He did not spare even the then ruling King Harsa. He fearlessly exposes his treacherous conduct and narrates distress under his rule. His description of Kashmirians as 'fair, false and fickle' testifies the same thing. He condemned the activities of the priests as well as the courtiers with whom fidelity was unknown. The city populace is presented as idle, pleasure loving and utterly callous, acclaiming a king today and welcoming another tomorrow.

(iii) Like a modern historian he gives the source of his information which he finds unsatisfactory. He admits his own limitations

and states that he simply records contradictory statements which he cannot believe.

(iv) He was a man of intellect and gives his definite contribution to the art of administration. He places his own contribution to the art of governing Kashmir in the mouth of Lalitaditya.

(v) His style is poetic and simple. It is possessed of easy flow. The use of dialogues lends variety and dramatic power. He is fond of similes.

(vi) It is no wonder if due to the geographical isolation of Kashmir he suffered from certain limitations. He had no relationship with the outside world. But this has to be attributed to the geographical location, and not to the historian's inability to open to the outside world. In short, Kalhana is the first and the foremost historian of India.

Jalhana, another historian was a member of the court of King Alankara of Kashmir. He gives an account of King Somapala king of Rajapuri, conquered by King Sussala. His work is titled *Somapala-vilasa*. Sambhu wrote a panegyric of Harsadeva titled Rajendra Karnapura. He flourished in the 11th century. Jonaraja (who died in 1659 A.D.) and his pupil Srivara continued the Raja-tarangini of Kalhana upto the time of King Zain-ul-Abdin. Srivara's pupil Suka carried the story down to the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar. Prajabhatta wrote *Rajavali-pataka*.

A number of ancient historians appearing on Kashmir's stage is a sufficient proof of a highly developed historical sense among the Kashmiris. A greater testimony of this fact is that each and every Kashmiri inherits even upto the present day this faculty, while he records and remembers faithfully the past events, ancedotes, legends and also preserves the documents. Even the present generation include some good historians as Mohammed-ud-Din Faq. A. Kaul, Gwash Lal and many others. The latest in the field are P.N. Kaul's works: '*Tasvir-e-Kashmir*', *Kashmir Speaks* and *Kashmir-darsana*- which give the factual narration of the history of modern Kashmir even to this date and also '*Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*' written by J.N. Ganhar.

II. Medicine

The origin of Indian medicine can be traced back to Atharva-veda. In Carka, the writer of *Caraka-samhita*, we find a definite and

masterly contribution to this science. In fact history of the development of Indian medicine begins from this physician.

There was much controversy about the birth-place of Caraka. But the Buddhist literature discovered by Professor Sylavan Levi in China showed that Caraka was the court poet of Kaniska (Ist century A.D.) and his birth-place was Kashmir. With Charaka begins the dawn of Indian medicine and surgery, as all the later works are either based on Caraka or are mere extensions of the same work.

Caraka-samhita has not come to us in the original form. It has been revised and improved by Drdhabala who was son of Kapilaba (9th century A.D.) and was born in village Pantsinor the confluence of rivers Jhelum and Sindhu. This conclusion about his birth place has been arrived at by Hoernle in his '*Authorship of Caraka-samhita*. Udbhata wrote a commentary on *Sushruta samhita* in the 12th century A.D.

The abundance of forests containing various kinds of herbs gave Kashmirians the favourable position to be conversant with the science of herbs. Surgery was, however, not cultivated in Kashmir. Carak and his followers thus place Kashmir as the chief contributor to Indian medicine.

Mention may also be made of Rati-rahasya of Koka (before 1200 A.D.) son of Tejoka and grandson of Paribhadra. This book gives a scientific and elaborate description of sex with its biological and psychological phases, and is considered to be an authoritative work on the subject. After *Kama-sutra* of Vatsayana, this is the first and the formost work on this subject.

III. **Grammar and Philology**

(a) *Paninian School:*

Panini's Astadhyayi consisting of 3,965 short sutras and embodying the whole science of grammar and language is already known to us. This work was commented upon and supplemented by Kartayana, in his Vartikas. It is due to the great Kashmirian Patanjali that the Vartikas are preserved, as he wrote his Mahabhasya an elaborate commentary on Vartikas. There has been controversy over Patanjali's place of birth. But there are numerous proofs to show that his birth-place was Gudra, a village in Kashmir. Kashmiri tradition upholds it. Some of the sounds which are found only in Kashmiri language have influenced his treatment of the subject. Panini,

Katyayana and Patanjali are called the minitraya 'the three architects of Sanskrit grammar.

The significance of Mahabhasya lies in the philosophical analysis of the sentence. What is the relation between word and meaning? This and such other questions he has solved in a charming and interesting manner. His method of discussion is conversational, and in the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is none parallel to him except Sankaracrya.

One of the foremost commentaries on Panini is *Kasika-Vritti* jointly written by the Kashmiri grammarians Jayaditya (perhaps king Jayapida) and Vamana. The former wrote first five chapters and latter the last three chapters. The Chinese traveller Itsing mentions this work, and so it can safely be dated not later than the 7th century A.D. This work was popular in the whole length and breadth of India. There is an edict eulogising King Indravarma of Camba (911 A.D.) which mentions that one of the qualities of the king was that he had mastered grammar with Kasika-vritti.

Kaiyata, son of Jaiyata and brother of famous critic Mammata, flourished between 11th and 12th century, and wrote *Mahabhasya-pradipa*, a running commentary on Patanjali's Mahabhasaya. He presents this work in the light of different schools that proceeded him.

The Dhatupatha of Panini was commented upon by Kshirasvamin. All the above four Kashmiri grammarians made a significant contribution to the Paninian School of grammar. But there were other schools of grammar too.

(b) *Candra School:*

The second important school after Panini was Candra school. Candragemin, the founder of Candra school of grammar flourished during the reign of King Abhmanyu (400 A.D.) His work *Candravyakarana* consisting of eight chapters (the last two being lost) enjoyed great circulation and reputation during the Buddhist period as warranted by the discovery of this work in the Tibetan and Ceylonese languages.

(c) *Katantra School:*

Another school known as Katantra school and established outside Kashmir flourished after 12th century in Kashmir. Two authors of this system born in Kashmir were Bhatta Jagaddhara who

wrote *Bala-bodhini*, and the second Chiku Bhatta who wrote *Laghu-vrtti*.

IV. Poetics

The development of the science of poetics in India is unparallelled in the history of world literature. The science of poetics in India was known for its inductive faculty, subtle and analytical mind and a definitely scientific outlook. A remarkable contribution has been made by Kashmirians, who not only developed some of the earlier schools of poetics that flourished in India, but, also established some of the new schools. This was perhaps one of the chief subjects of study and research in Kashmir as all the major works on the subject (excluding of course, the works of Bhamaha, Dandin, Visvanatha and Rajasekhara) have been written by Kashmiris. According to Professor Sushil Kumar. 'In South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original writers, but these contributions of the later times though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness never superseded the volume of original work done in Kashmir which may fittingly be regarded as the homeland, if not birthplace of *Alankara Sastra*'. Kashmiris have always been considered as the authorities on this subject. I give below in chronological order a brief account of the various schools of poetics with special reference to Kashmirian contributions:

(a) *Rasa School:*

This school was founded by Bharata, the author of *Natya sastra*. The central point of this system is Rasa or the dominant mood of human mind. Poetry according to this system appeals to human emotions and sentiments. This Rasa belongs to both the reader or spectator as well the hero of the work. Lolluta, contemporary of King Jayapida (779-813) treats Rasa as belonging to the hero only and not as a matter of spectator's feeling.

Sankuka known to Kalhana also, lived under Ajitpada (816 A.D.) He improves upon Lolluta's theory by calling Rasa not only in relation to spectators but also as a matter of inference.

Bhattanayaka explains Rasa in a third different way by calling it, in its final state, as communion with the highest spirit (Paramatma) while Abhinavagupta the exponent of Dhvani theory explains Rasa as manaifestation (abhivyakti).

(b) *Alankara School:*

The adherents of this school, Bhamaha, Dandin, Udbhata and Rudrata considered poetic embellishments or figures of speech (Alankaras) the most important part of the poetry, the Rasa being subordinate to it. Bhamaha was the first to propound this theory in his *Kavyalankara-sutra.* But soon the Kashmirians elaborated this system and wrote commentaries.

Udbhata, a courtier of King Jayapida (779-813) wrote Kavyalankara-vrtti which is now lost, and also Alankara-sangraha which defines forty one Alankaras with illustrations from his own work *Kumara-sengraha* while he adds a number of Alankaras to Bhamaha's work, and thus supersedes the latter. He exercised profound influence overe the Alankara Sastra.

Rudrata who flourished during the reign of king Sankaravarman (900 A.D.) is the author of *Kavyalankara*, an extensive work divided into sixteen Adyayas, reviewing the whole field of poetics. He makes Rasa and Riti subordinate to Alankara. This work has been commented upon by a host of eminent writers such as Vallabhadeva, Asadhara, etc.

(c) *Riti School*:

Vamana of Kashmir and Dandin are the chief representatives of this school. This school maintains that Riti or the special arrangement or combination of words with constituent excellence is the soul of poetry.

It was Vamana, a minister of King Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) and contemporary of Udbhata who boldly asserted in his work *Kavyalankara-sutra* that Riti is the soul of poetry (ritir atma kavyasya). His work is divided into three Adhyayas comprising of 319 Sutras, each Sutra followed by the author's own Vrtti and examples. He is the first to distinguish between Gunas and Alankara, and his work is an improvement upon Dandin.

(d) *Dhvani School:*

After Alankara School, Rasa School and Riti School, the Dhavni School of poetics came into existence. According to this school Rasa theory is important as it is inapplicable to single stanzas. The charm of poetry, therefore, lies in suggestion (vyangya). This theory is in a way an extension of Rasa theory. It was for the first time expounded

in Kashmir and also perpetuated by later Kashmirian critics till Abhinavagupta and Mammata to such an extent that it became a settled doctrine at the time of Panditaraja Jagannatha. Again, it is Kashmirians who deserve credit here in discovering this new theory, so popular even upto this day. The first propounder of this school was Anandavaradhana, a Kashmirian. Later writers followed implicitly all the propositions laid down by him in his Dhvanyaloka. His theory, no doubt, came under fierce criticism at the hands of Patiharenduraja, Kuntala, Bhattanayaka and Mahimobhatta. The essence of Anandvardhana's theory is '*dhvanir atma kavyasya*' i.e. Dhavni is the soul of poetry. So Dhvani-kavya, Gunibbutavyangya and Citra-kavya are the three varieties of poetry in respect of merit. The Ritis are contained in Gunas.

Anandavardhana, the author of *Dhvanyaloka* was a contemporary of king Avantivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A.D.) He is quoted by Rajasekhara, commented upon by Abhinavagupta, and quotes Udbhata. He dates, therefore, definitely in the middle of the 9th century A.D. Besides Dhvanayaloka, he has written Kavyas as Arjuna-caritra and Visamavana-Lila and also Devi-sataka which is gnomic poetry. He has also commented upon *Pramana-vin scaya* of Dharamkirti.

It appears from his Dhvanyaloka that this theory of Dhavni was already started by some scholars, but he was the first to incorporate all the ideas in a regular book form. The book is divided into four parts called *Udyotas*. The first part expresses views about Dhavni and its nature. The second part gives sub-divisions of Dhvani. The third part deals with divisions of poetry on the basis of Dhavni, and the fourth part explains aims and objects and the ideals of charming poetry. Kane in his *introduction to Sahitya-darpana* says, the Dhanyaloka is an epoch-making work in the history of Alankara literature. It occupies the same position in poetics as Panini's Astadhyayi in grammar, and Sankaracarya's *Saririka-mimamsa* in Vedanta. The work shows great erudition and critical insight. It is written in lucid and forcible style and bears the stamp of originality. Bhattatanta was the author of *Kavya-kautuka*. He was the preceptor of Abhinavagupta, as acclaimed by the latter in his work Locana. He has also been quoted by the prolific writer Ksemendra.

One of his doctrines was that Santa Rasa was the head of all Rasas and it led to salvation. He flourished between 960 and 990 A.D.

Bhattenduraja was also the follower of Dhvani school of poetics. He deserves credit for imparting his knowledge to his disciple Abhinavagupta who later on expounded this theory on his lines.

Abhinavagupta, the famous poet, critic, philosopher and saint of Kashmir is the author of numerous brilliant works. His *Abhinava-bharati* is the best commentary on *Natya-sastra* of Bharata. His Tantraloka is the famous work on Kashmiri Saivism. His Paramartha-sara, a poem of 100 Arya verses, is again a philosophical treatise. *Isvarapratyabhijna-Karika* is a commentary on *Pratyabhijna sastra* of Somananda. He commented upon *The Bhagavad-gita* and he wrote a commentary upon Anandvardhana's *Dhvanyaloka* entitled, *Dhvanya-loka-locana or Locana* in its abbreviated form. His Locana is an exhaustive commentary incorporating in it the author's original views regarding the sentiments (rasas) and Sadharikarna and Dhavni. The Dhvani School received greater impetus in his hands than in the hands of the originator. He further transmitted this system to his disciple Mammatacarya, the famous author of *Kavya-prakasa*. He was not only a profound philosopher, but also an acute critic and successful poet. He lived in the later part of the 10th century A.D. He wrote more than forty works.

Candraka, who belonged to the same family as of Abhinavagupta also wrote a commentary on *Dhvanyaloka*. It is a minor work on the subject and stands no comparison with *Locana*.

Acarya Rajanka Mammata is known to the whole Sanskrit world through his world famous work on poetics, viz. *Kavya-prakasa*. Mammta was a Kashmirian Brahamana who lived in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. He belonged to a family of scholars, as is apparent from Bhimasena's *Sudhasagara-tika,* according to which he was elder brother of Kaiyata, the author of *Mahavhasya-pradipa*, and of Uvata the commentator of Rkpratisakhya, the son of Jaiyata, and also the maternal uncle of famous Sanskrit poet Srinarsa, the author of *Naisadha-carita.* His birth place was Balahom village near Pampore.

His *Kavya-prakasa,* comprising ten chapters, is an all comprehensive work on poetics, which holds such a unique position in the field of poetics that it is studied as a text book in almost all the postgraduate courses in Sanskrit literature in the Indian Universities. About seventy commentaries on the same work by ancient and modern scholars is again a proof of its popularity. The merit of the book won for the author the title '*avatara*' of goddess Sarsvati. The

author deals with all the topics except dramaturgy. He quotes profusely from other poets. He possesses independent judgement and is mostly original in his thoughts. In South India, Narayana Bhattatir has written a famous stotra work *Narayaniyam.* God Vishnu came to him in disguise and asked him to correct the work on the basis of the principles of rhetorics as given by Mammata in Kavya Prakasha.

Allata was another Kashmirian, to whom credit goes in continuing the tenth chapter of Mammata's *Kavya-prakasa-alankara* which had remained incomplete on account of the author's death. He also wrote commentary on *Harvijaya-Kavya* of Ratnkara who was a Kashmirian poet during the reign of Avantivarman according to Kalhana. He is said to be the son of Rajanaka Jayanaka.

Manikyacandra was another Kashmirian, who wrote the first, and the most reliable commentary on *Kavya-prakasa.* He lived in the later part of the 12th century A.D. and his work dates 1159 A.D.

Rajanka Ruyyaka belonged to the same Rajanka family of Kashmiri Pandits. His *Alankara-sarvasva* is a standard work on Dhavni-vad. His work briefly summarises the views of his predecessors like Bhamaha Udbhata, Rudrata, Vamana and Anandavardhana. Ruyyaka was son of Rajanka Tilaka. He quotes Bilhana and Mammata, and is quoted by Manikyscandra, and therefore, dates in the second half of the 12th century, A.D.

Vakrokti School

The fifth School of Sanskrit poetics is the Vakrokti school. Vakrokti is a striking mode of speech based on *Slesha* and differing from the plain matter of fact, and an ordinary mode of speech Kuntaka (or Kuntala) was the originator of his school. He probably flourished in the later part of the 10th century. Later, Rajanaka Mahimabhatta, the author of *Vyaleti Viveka* (belonging to the second half of 11th century), continued this school. He is commented upon by Ryyaka in his Vyakti-Viveka-Vichara. Ruyyaka demolished the theory of Dhvani by his strong arguments and logical criticism. Kane calls it one of the master-pieces of Sanskrit poetics.

Other Critics

Kshemendra, the polyhistor of Kashmir, son of Prakashendra, disciple of the famous critic Abhinavagupta, and a courtier of king

Anantaraja of Kashmir (1028-1080 A.D.) is the author of a score literary works on different subjects such a poetry, epics, history, morals, philosophy, religion, sociology, prosody, besides two important works on rhetorics, namely *Auchitya Vichara and Kavi-Kanthabhasna*. The other works of Kshemendra are - Dashavatara-Charita, Padya-Kadambari, Bharata-Manjari, Ramayana-Manjari, Brihatkatha-Manjari, Avadana-Kalpalata, Nripavali, Darpa-Dalana, Charucharya-Shalaka, Sevya-Sevaka-upadesha, Chaturvarga-Sangraha, Kala-Vilasa, Samaya-Matrika, etc.

Utpaladeva, Rajanaka Ratnakantha, Khira and Jayaratha are other Kashmirian critics worth mentioning.

It is thus obvious that the whole literature of Sanskrit poetics has been made rich and abundant by Kashmirian critics, who have contributed the major portion through their original discoveries in the field.

V. Metrics and Prosody

The originator of the science of metrics was Pingala, the author of *Pingala sutra*, who was most probably a Kashmirian, as proved by Ramaprapanna Shastri, the editor of Vritta-Ratnakara of Kedarabhatta Ramachandra Banddha, a resident of Bijbihara (Kashmir), who later became chief minister of King Mauryaparakramabahu of Ceylon has written a commentary upon Vrittaratnakara.

VI. Lexicography

Mankha or Mankhaka, the disciple of Ryyaka, has written besides some poetical works a lexicon entitled *Anekartha Kasha* which deals with homonyms, and makes a good improvement on the works of his predecessors Amarasimha, Shashvata, Halayadha and Dhanvantari.

VII. Music

Sarangadena, the author of Sangita-Ratnakara, belonging the 13th century was probably a Kashmirian. His erudition in music, medicine and philosophy, all in combination is revealed in this work.

VIII. Epics

Poetry has been a special theme with the Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmir has produced a host of master poets whose celebrated works in Sanskrit, Prakrits, Kashmiri, Persian and Urdu have remained unparallelled. The natural bounty of Kashmir elevated their souls and turned them into poets, scholars and saints.

Bhartrimentha, a contemporary of King Matrigupta of Kashmir (430 A.D.) wrote an epic entitled *Hayagrivavadha* of which only quotations are traceable. Bhatta Bhanmaka, a courtier of king Sridharsena II of Vallabhi (600 A.D.) wrote *Ravanarjuniya* on the model of Bhatti-Kavya, in 27 cantos, narrating the strife between Arjuna Kartavirya and Ravana as found in the Ramayana. Shri Harsha, the author of *Naishadha-charita* was himself not a Kashmirian, but his mother belonged to Kashmir, and the celebrated critic Mammata-charya (the author of world famous work Kavya Prakasha) was his maternal uncle.

Rajanaka Vagishvara Ratnakara, son of Amritabhanu, who flourished under King Jayapida (832-844 A.D.) and King Avantivarman (855-884), has written a stupendous work of 50 cantos and 4321 verses entitled *Hara-Vijaya*, relating the story of Shiva, slaying by Shiva of the demon Andhaka. The epic was commented upon by Alaka. Poet Kshemendra has praised this work for command of Vasantatilaka metre.

Sivasvamin, son of Arkasvyamin, during the region of king Avantivaraman, and a contemporary of poet Ratnakara has written in 20 cantos an epic entitled *Kapphinabhyudaya*, relating the Avadana story of King Kapphina of Daksinapatha, who invaded the territory of King Prasenajit of Sravasti, but becomes a Buddhist miraculously. The story is based on a tale on Avadana-sataka. The poet imitates Bharavi and Magha. Kalkhana mentions him as a contemporary of Rathakara and Anandavardhana. He dedicates his poem to Siva, but at the same time glorifies Buddha. This should not look odd to a modern reader, for he should bear in mind that Kashmir was a great Buddhist centre with a composite culture of Buddhism and Saivism. In fact Buddhism was so incorporated, that Ksemendra included Buddha among the ten Hindu Avataras in his *Dasavatar-carita*.

Abhinanda, son of Jayantabhatta, the logician, who flourished in the 19th century A.D. wrote Kadambari-katha-sara, an epitome of Bana's *Kadambari* in epic form. He has been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra and Bhoja.

Mankha, son of Visvavarta, a minister of King Jayasimha of Kashmir (1127-1150 A.D.), wrote the famous epic *Srikantha-carita*. He was a pupil of the critic Ruyyaka, and his three brothers Srinagar, Bhanga and Alankara were all scholars and state officials. He is the same lexicographer who wrote *Anekartha-kosa*. The epic in 25 cantos narrates the story of overthrow of the demon Tripura by Siva. The author gives an account of himself and his family. He was a contemporary of historian Kalhana, who mentions him as a minister (sandhivigrahika) of King Jayasinha.

Mankha also mentions Kalhana's elegant style and names him as Kalyana. Srikantha-carita, is an epic in elegant style, and is a faithful example of the rules of poetics regarding the composition of a phenomena of nature (e.g. sunset, moonrise and morning) reminding the reader of the rich scenery of Kashmir. This work has been commented upon by Jonaraja, the historian.

Rajanaka Jayartha, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. under King Rajdeva of Kashmir, has composed an extensive poem *Hara-carita-cintamani* based on Saiva myths and practices. This work describes some of the pilgrimages of Kashmir connected with Saivism. It can well be called an abridged Siva-Purana.

Ksemendra, the polymath, whose account has been given earlier, has written a number of epics, viz. Dasavatara-carita, Bharata-manjari, Ramayana-manjari. Brhatkatha-manjari, and padya-kadambari. Dasa-vatara-carita glorifies ten incarnations of Visnu, including Gautama Buddha as one of the incarnations. The incarnations are Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narsimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krishna, Buddha, and Kalki. It was composed in 1066 A.D.

Unlike other Sanskrit epic writers, Ksemendra's style is simple and flowing. He has not endeavoured to bring in artificialities and intricacies of style. He made a good blending of morals and poetry.

Mention has already been made of Vikramakadeva-carita of Bilhana, as a historical work. This work has as much poetical merit as it has historical significance. It is not out of place to summarise the poetical significance of this historical Mahakavya. Having been educated thoroughly in his native village Khonamukha (near Rampur town in Kashmir) by his father who was himself a learned scholar, and also outside Kashmir at Mathura, Kanyakubja, Prayaga and Varanasi which he visited as a wandering scholar, he had accomplished himself as a perfect poet with mastery over Vaidarabha

style of Sanskrit poetry. 'His style is not easy, but elegant and normally attractive; it is doubtless studied, but not overdone with subtleness of thought and expression; it is fully embellished, but reasonable, clear and effective in its verbal and metrical skill. The epic has got eighteen cantos and the description of the death of Ahavamalla in canto IV is his masterpiece.

As says Keith, he is more of a poet than a historian. He could not be an authentic historian since he was under royal patronage which influenced his objectivity and writing a faithful Mahakavya, for which he had to blend a love theme with history, he had to digress from mere historical narrative.

Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India, the master-mind and admittedly the greatest poet of Sanskrit, is believed to be a Kashmirian by some Sanskrit scholars. The rich knowledge that the poet possessed about flora and fauna of mountain regions, his knowledge of saffron (which is a product of Kashmir) his personal philosophy relating to Saivism of Kashmir, the suggestiveness of the title *abhijnana* (in Sakuntalam) with Pratbhijna Sastra of Kashmir, and such suggestive facts may lead us to conjecture that he was a Kashmirian. This point is, however, not conclusive, and requires active research and investigation in comparison with other historical evidences. But in case the above theory comes true, Kashmir wins the trophy. In that case his two epics, *Kumara-Sambhava* and *Raghu-vanmsa*, and his three dramas, *Malavkagnimitra, Vikrama Lorvashiya, Abhijnana-sakuntala,* and his two lyrics *Megha-duta* and *Ritu-samhara* are the best contributions of Kashmir. Dr Lakshmi Dhar former Head of Sanskrit Deptt., Delhi University, has proved Kalidasa as a Kashmirian.

IX. Shorter Poems (Khanda Kavayas)

Besides Mahakavyas, we find a number of short poems-narrative or lyrical-written by Kashmirians.

Bilhana, has written a beautiful erotic poem *Caura-panchsika* in fifty stanzas, depicting secret love of a robber chief and a princess, in Vasantalata metre, each stanza beginning with the phrase '*adyapi tam*'. Each stanza is a masterpiece, depicting vividly and minutely the past scenes of happy love.

> "If I could see once again towards evening, that beloved with fawn-like eyes and milk-white rounded pitcher like

breasts, gladly would I forego the pleasure of kingdom, paradise and salvation".

The intense feelings and deep emotions aroused here are definitely the proof of his master-skill. The poem has got two recensions viz. South India recension and Kashmiri recension. The latter is more authentic.

Matrgupta, the illustrious King of Kashmir who patronised poet Bhartmentha, was himself a poet, though none of his works is extant. He is said to have written a commentary on the Natya-sastra of Bharata of which quotations remain. He has been sometimes confused with Kalidasa.

Silhana, another Kashmirian poet wrote *Santi-sataka*. He probably dates 12th century A.D. This work reveals profound influence of Buddhism upon him. His poetry resembles that of Bhartrihari in his Vairagya-sataka.

Sambu another Kashmirian who flourished during the reign of King Harsa of Kashmir (1089-1101) wrote a poem of 108 verses titled *Anyoktimuktalata-sataka*. Rajendra-karnapura has been mentioned earlier as a historical, narrative and panegyric, eulogising King Harsa. Jonaraja, the historian, has commented upon Prthviraja-vijaya, a work of an unknown Kashmirian author. Hiracanda Ojha and Belevelkar conjecture its author to be Jayanka. Its composition may date between 1178 and 1193 A.D.

Sankuka who flourished in the reign of Ajitpida of Kashmir (8th century A.D.) has been referred to by Kalhana to have written Bhuvanabhudaya in which he had described a fierce battle between Mammata and Utpala. The work is lost. Anthologies also ascribe some verses to Sankuka.

X Gnomic and Didactic Poetry

A lot of poetical works written by Kashmirians falls under the head of didectic poetry, due to the peculiar nature and theme of the poems. Ksemendra, the polymath is acclaimed to be the greatest moralist in Sanskrit poetical literature.

His *Samaya-matrka* is a poem of eight chapters in Sloka metre, narrating the story of a young courtesan Kalavti introduced by a barber to an old expert lady Kankali for detailed instruction in her profession. There is an exact picture of wandering singers, beggars, beggar women, shop-girls, holy saints, thieves and such classes of

people, with a lofty satire. It is inspite of its obvious coarseness, an interesting specimen of an approach to satirical writing, which is so rarely cultivated in Sanskrit. His *Kala-vilasa* depicts, in ten chapters, various occupations and follies of the people of the time. In this poem a fraudulent Muladev instructs his young disciple Candragupta in the art of roguery practised by doctors, harlots, traders, goldsmiths, actors, astrologers, beggars, singers and saints. His Darpa-dalana condemns pride which usually springs from seven sources, namely birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, courage, generosity and asceticism. His Sevya-sevakopadesa discusses the relation between servants and their masters. His Carucarya-sataka lays down rules of good conduct, illustrated by myths and legends. His Caturvarga-sangraha deals with four objects of human life, namely, virtue, wealth, love and salvation. In his *Desopadesa*, he describes all types of people living in Kashmir during his days, namely the cheat, the miser, the prostitute, old men the degraded Saiva teacher, the false ascetic, crafty merchant and the like. *Narma-mala* also contains similar series of pen-pictures. Ksemendra is perfect in his humorous and satirical style. Throughout his works, there is, nevertheless, a moral aim. In satire and painting of pen-pictures, he reigns supreme in Sanskrit literature.

Bhallata, who flourished under King Sankaravarman (883-902) of Kashmir, has written *Beellata-sataka* in 108 stanzas, dealing with morality and conduct. The work is cited by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra, Kuntala and Mammata.

Jalhana, similarly has written *Mugdopadesa* in 65 verses dealing with deception of courtesans.

Damodaragupta, minister of Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) wrote *Kuttani-mata* dealing with advice of a courtesan.

XI Devotional Poetry

A good number of devotional songs or stories have been inspired by the deep religious tendencies among Kashmirians. Often weighted with theological and philosophical ideas, their literary merit is beyond question. A long tradition of chanting devotional songs continues even upto the present day in Hindu homes and temples. Some of the songs are very popular and have been uttered by the Kashmirian devout minds from generations. Majority of the songs are Saivite poems, which is natural in a land where Saivism

flourished. The Buddhist hymns will be discussed elsewhere under 'Buddhist Literature'. The hymns based on Hinduism are mentioned below.

Ratnakara, the writer of *Hara-Vijaya*, has written *Vakrokti-pancasika* dealing with love of Siva and Parvati in fifty stanzas, and illustrating side by side clever use of punning ambiguities. *Anandavardhana*, the founder of Dhvani of poetics, has composed *Devi-sataka* in hundred verses eulogising and glorifying the goddess Parvati. It reveals more of ornamentation than devotion. But it has, no doubt, inspired his successors in writing similar stotras. Utpaladeva the great Saivite, who was son of Udayakara and pupil of Somananda (the founder of Pratyabhijna school of Saivism) has written *Paramesa-stotravali* of Pratyabhijna which eulogises Siva in twenty devotional songs. Avatara has composed *Isvara-sataka*, which is similar to Stotravali.

Puspadanta's *Siva-mahimnah-stotra* has received high popularity among the Kashmirians. Jayantabhatta mentions it in his *Nyaya-manjari*, and therefore, it belongs to not later than the 9th century A.D. and, hence, it has inspired other writers to write *mahimnah stotras* in praise of other gods.

Jagaddharabhatta has composed *Stuti-kusumanjali* and Kalhana, the historian, composed a short poem of eighteen stanzas, titled '*Ardhanarisavara-stotra*. An unknown Kashmirian author composed *Samba-pancasika*, an eulogy in praise of the sun God, in fifty verses in Mandakranta metre. It has Saiva background, even though it is in praise of the sun. It has been commented upon by Ksemaraja in 13th century A.D. Sambha son of Krsna, whom it has referred to is a mythical name.

XII. Anthologies (Subhasitavali)

Preparation of anthologies among the Kashmiris was quite common. Vallabhadeva, (11th century A.D.) compiled *Subhasitavali* containing 3527 verses in 101 sections quoting about 360 authors. The topics included are varied e.g. love, nature, conduct, wordly wisdom and witty sayings.

Jalhana, the author of *Somapala-vilasa* and *Mugdhopadesa*, composed *Sakti-muktavali* or Subhashita muktavali containing 2790 verses, in 133 sections on the model of Vallabhadeva's work. One of its sections is very valuable from the point of view of literary history, as it contains traditional verses on Sanskrit poets.

Srivaras the historian, pupil of Jonaraja who continued *Rajatarangini* has complied Subhasitavali quoting 380 poets. It dates about 1480 A.D.

XIII. Popular Tales

An enormous literature on folk-tales of India was compiled by a South Indian writer named Gunadhya in the form of *Brht-katha.* Unfortunately this work which worked as a store-house of popular tales to be drawn upon freely by later writers for poetical composition was lost, and it exists only in the form of three abridged versions, two of which have come from Kashmir viz. *Brhatkatha-manjari* of Ksemendra and *Kathasarit-sagara* of Somadeva and the third version from Nepal viz. *Brhatkatha-slokasangraha* of Buddhasvamin, which is not so important as it contains only a fragment of the original and only a fragment of the work is available. It again differs from the two Kashmirian versions, in matter and spirit.

Ksemendra's *Brhatkatha-manjari* written in 1063-66 A.D. is a faithful summary of the original Brhat-katha which appears to have been written in Paisaci prose. It contains 7500 stanzas. The author has been a mere condenser, but has interpolated elegant description on frequent occasions, which has made the narrative truly charming. The work is divided into 18 chapters called Nambhakas with sub-divisions called Gücchas.

Somadeva son of Rama wrote *Kathasarit-sagara,* containing 21388 stanzas in 18 books (Lambhakas) and 124 chapters (Tarangas) in the years 1063-81 A.D. The writer's aim was to divert the mind of unhappy Saryamati, a princess of Jalandhara, wife of King Ananta and mother of Kalasa. It bears close resemblance with Ksemendra's work.

In comparison with Brhatkatha-manjari its style is simple and it has maintained rapid flow of a simple narrative. Some stories have a Buddhist influence. Again it reflects the life of the people of Kashmir of his times.

XIV. Drama

Ksemendra wrote a number of plays. These are lost and are known only from his citations in his works on rhetorics. *Citra-bharata* and *Kanaka-janaki* appear to be his two prominent plays

based on the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. His Lalitaratna-mala is another play mentioned by him.

Bilhana has written *Karna-sundari* dealing with marriage of Karndeva Trailokymalla of Anhilvad (1064-94 A.D.) with a Princess Miyanalla devi of Karnataka.

The famous dramatist Visakhadatta, writer of Mudraraksasa might have been a Kashmirian if his reference to King Avantivarman in his *Bharata-vakya* is confirmed by authentic text and other evidences. Similar confirmation needs about Kalidasa as a Kashmirian.

XV. Buddhist Literature

That Kashmir has been an important centre for the development and spread of Buddhism, has been discovered and confirmed by recent researches. It enjoyed high reputation for Buddhist learning, and carried the Buddhist doctrine from India to Tibet, China and Central Asia. A host of Kashmirian Buddhist scholars translated Sanskrit and prakrit works into foreign languages, wrote commentaries on older works, and travelled to distant countries in order to propogate the faith. A brief account of some known Buddhist poets and philosophers is given below.

A Kashmirian Matrcata has written two devotional poems; *Satpancasatka-stotra* and *Catus-sataka-stotra*, which have recently been discovered in Central Asia. The most important Buddhist devotional poem is Sarvajnamitra's *Sragdhara-stotra*, written in praise of Buddhist goddess Tara, the female counterpart of Avalokitesvata. The poem containing 37 verses is written in Sragdhara metre. He flourished during the time of King Lalitaditya. Kalhana mentions him, and praises him to the extent of comparing him with Buddha himself. The author has written several other stotras.

It was Kumarajiva, probably a Kashmirian monk, who was invited by the Emperor of China in 401 A.D. to his capital, where he wrote and translated into Chinese a number of Buddhist works, including Tattvasidhi of Harivarman, a Kashmiri scholar. Other Kashmirians who contributed to Buddhism and spread it in China in the 5th century A.D. are: Buddhayana, Gunavarma, and Dharamitra.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. and stayed there for two years has mentioned a number of Kashmiri scholars, viz. Skandila, the writer of

Vibhasaprakarana-pada-Sastra, Purna, the commentator on the above work, Bodhila, the writer of *Tattvasancaya-sastra*; Visuddhasimha, Jinabandhu, Sagalamitra, Vasumitra, Jinatara, Suryadeva and Vimalmitra.

There is a reference of Ratna-cinta a Kashmirian Buddhist who worked in China from 693 to 706 A.D. and translated *Ekaksara-dharani* and many other texts. Amoghavajra, Prajnabala, Tabuta and Ganuta were other Kashmirians who visited China. Ananta worked similarly in Tibet in the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jinamitra, Dhanshila, and Santigarbha also revised Buddhist works. A great Kashmiri scholar, who worked in Tibet, and who is even now remembered by Tibetans is Subhati Sri Santi. Mention must be made of another Kashmirian Buddhist scholar Smrtyakara siddha, who was one of the eight great Panditas in Vikramasila University in the middle of the 11th century A.D. and also of Ratnavajra another honoured Pandit of the University, and lastly of Sakya Sri Bhadra who was the Chancellor of the University at the close of the 12th Century A.D. who later on went to Tibet when Baktiar Khilji destroyed the University.

Kashmir has, thus, made no less contribution to Buddhism. The whole period from 273 B.C. to 600 A.D. in Kashmir's history is Buddhist period. Ashoka brought in Kashmir Buddhism in 273 B.C. Buddhism was a mature religion when it entered Kashmir. It had introduced systematised education, taught equality of all, and given full status to women. Kashmir welcomed this religion. Later Emperor Kaniska held his fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, wherein 100,000 stanzas of commentaries on each of the three classes of canonical literature, viz. Sutra, Vinaya and Abhidharma were composed. A huge number of Viharas and monasteries were established in every nook and corner of the valley, the remains of which are existant even now. Buddhism in Kashmir incidentally gave impetus to Gandhara or the Indo-Greek art. During Ashoka's rule Kashmir and Gandhara came close together. In recent time, a good number of Buddhist sculptures have been found in Kashmir which represent Gandhara art.

Buddhism again had profound influence upon the life and culture of Kashmirians, and this influence still continues even after its decay upto the present day. The Buddhist Tantric rites are retained in Saivism. But more important than this from the cultural point of view, is the leading part that Kashmir took in spreading it

to the neighbouring countries e.g. China and Tibet. 'Kashmir' says P.C. Bagchi, 'takes the leading part in transmission of Buddhist traditions directly to China. The number of Buddhist scholars who went to China from Kashmir is larger than that of those who went from other parts of India. Kashmir was the most flourishing centre of Budhist learning in India in this period. It was the centre of the most powerful Buddhist sect of Northern India, the Sarvastivada.

XVI. Kashmirian Saivism

The greatest contribution of Kashmir to Indian culture is the development of a new philosophy, more rational than other philosophies of India, and a definite improvement upon Vedanta philosophy. Unlike Vedanta which regards the physical world a trap and delusion (Maya) and creates a tendency of withdrawing from the wordly life, Kashmiri Saivism accepts the reality of the phenomenal world as a manifestation of the Universal mind. It is synthesis of the realism of the West and idealism of the East, welding the science (of the material world) and religion in a devotional monotheism. A Kashmirian could not afford to shut his eyes from the enchanting beauty of nature revealed in his homeland, and call it unreal. But instead he calls it manifestation of the divinity, or the divine energy (Sakti) which is the source of the whole movement of the universe, and Siva-Universal mind. It is this divine energy that acts as central fire, stirring each and every atom (ana) with its sparks.

Jiva is nothing but the atom with the divine spark. Siva, Sakti and Anu are thus the three fundamental principles of Saivism. It is, therefore, named as Trika philosophy. It gave Kashmir a revelation of life as real dynamic endowed with creative possibilities, and not as a deception or illusion. It retorted that *maya* of Sankara had a defeatist tone, symptomatic of disillusionment and loss to the individual and the nation.

Vasugupta (825 A.D.) the author of *Siva-sutra* was the first to discover and explain the Agamic teaching of Saivism in a systematic form. It is said that this knowledge was revealed to him in the Harvan Valley. He explained these sutras in the form of Spanda-Karika. Bhatta Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, gave publicity to his master's work and wrote *Spanda-sarvasva.*

Somananda (850 A.D.) who was a younger contemporary of Vasugupta, made a little departure from Vasugupta, and founded the Pratyabhijna school of Saivism as opposed to the Spanda school of

Vasugupta. Both these branches developed side by side, but the latter received more popularity. Somananda says that the Ultimate can be realized through recognition (Pratyabhinjana) of it by the individual in himself in practical life. This principal of recognition is absent in Spanda. Somananda's work is entitled *Sivadrsti.*

The Spanda branch received further exposition at the hands of Utpala, the pupil of Bhatta, Kallata who wrote *Spanda-pradipika* (a commentary) and of Ksemaraja who wrote *Spanda-nirnaya* in the 11th century A.D.

The Pratyabhijna system was further elaborately discussed by Utpalacarya, a pupil of Somananda who wrote *Isvarapratyabhijna-karika* and *Isvara-siddhi* with his own Vrtti, in about 930 A.D.

Abhinavagupta, grand pupil of Utpalacarya, is an authority on Pratyabhijna system. *Isvara-pratyabhijna-karika* and his own *tika* are two commentaries on Utpalacarya work. Besides, he wrote a number of such works, out of which *Paramarthasara, Tantriloka, Tantrasara, Siva-dretilocana* deserve special mention. Abhinava gupta related the monastic Saivism to the recognised Sivagamas, the Indian aesthetic theory on the basis of this system.

Ksemaraja (1040 A.D.) summarised the system in the form of Pratyabhijna-hrdaya.

Yogaraja (1060 A.D.) wrote a commentary or *Paramartha-sara.*

Jayaratha (1180 A.D.) commented upon Tantraloka.

Bhaskaranatha (18th century A.D.) commented upon Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini, Varadaraja wrote *Siva-sutra-vartika.*

A host of other writers developed upon this system. Pradyumna Bhatta, Mahadeva Bhatta and Jayaratha deserves special mention. The last Saiva writer was Sivopadhyaya during 9th century A.D.).

Saivism remained, thus, a living and active faith of the Kashmirians from the 9th century onwards. The rise of Saivism was responsible for the progress in all the sciences and arts. It helped them to cultivate a scientific and rational attitude of life. It is this philosophy that helped them to bear the brunt of foreign invasions and fierce onslaughts of the Muslims from thirteenth century onwards. It became the basis of the Tantric religion which was the practical and the ritual side of this system.

It is not out of place to mention here that, although Saivism was the dominating philosophy, other philosophies also were being studied keenly. Jayantabhatta wrote *Nyaya-manjari* in about 910

A.D. This work is an independent treatise on the Nyaya system and at the same time a commentary on a number of Nyaya-sutras.

Tradition says that Mandana-misra, the famous *Mimmsaka*, who had philosophical discussion with Sankara, belonged to Kashmir. It is yet to be proved on the bases of other evidences. He wrote three important works on Vendanta viz. *Brahma-siddhi, Sphota-siddhi* and *Vibhrama-viveka*. His three works on Mimamsa are *Vidhi-viveka Bhavana-viveka,* and *Mumamsanukramanika.*

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Chapter - 62

MAHABHARATA IN KASHMIR

Moti Lal Saqi

The Mahabharata has been a rich source of inspiration for the poets from the very begining of the history of Kashmiri literature. This world renowned epic has enriched Kashmiri literature to a large extent. Mahabharata is the first epic that was translated in Kashmiri some time in the eighteenth century. The tradition of epic in Kashmiri started with the translation of the Mahabharata.

Avtar Bhat (1420-70) a great scholar of his age, was the first poet to write the narrative '*Bana Surkath*' (the tale of Bana Sura) on a theme which had its origin in the *Hari-vamsa Parvan*, the supplement of the Mahabharata. This long descriptive poem is the poetic expression of a love story of Usha and Aniruda. Krishna the hero of Mahabharata and Visnu's incarnation in the Bhagvata plays an important role in this narrative. Only some portions of this poem have been published so far, the manuscript of this poem is at present in the Bhandarkar Oriented Research Institute Pune. The Linguistic and Literary value of '*Bana Sur Katha* has an indisputable position in the history of Kashmiri literature.

The Mahabharata attracted the attention of some unknown poet in eighteenth century also. Some fragments of the Kashmiri poetic version of the Mahabharata are preserved in the research library at Srinagar. The numbering of the chapters indicate that the poet had rendered the entire text in Kashmiri verse. Chapter No. 228 of this translation has been published in '*Kashmir Shayiri*' ed. by Prof. M.D. Hajin.

The story of Nala and Damyanti is included in the Vana-Parvan chapter of the Mahabharata. Bulbul Nagami has based his famous masnavi on this story. This masnavi is still in manuscript form but it has enjoyed popularity from the time it was first composed. While retaining the original story of Mahabharata the poet has decorated it with the colours of his imagination and pearl like words. The descriptive portion of this masnavi is unforgettable. When Nala and Damyanti see each other in the forest after a long time and encountering a chain of misfortunes and miseries, the poet has put their condition in the following description:

"On seeing Damyanti's eclipsed face Nala mellowed as the snow melts in the sunshine. He was weeping, as if torrents were pouring down from the sky".

"The red lips of Damyati were pale and her cypress like body was trembling like a weeping-willow. In her youth she had embraced old age. She stunned because life had lost the meaning for her".

- Raja Nala, who was the pride of royality once, was bare footed as if a beggar in the street. Damyanti who could not bear the weight of a garland round her neck was now ascending and descending the mountains with a heavy load of grief and miseries on her shoulders.

Drupdi Laj (the honour of Drupdi) is a drama which has its origin in the *Sabha-Parvan* of Mahabharata. Tarachand Bismil (b. 1904 - d. 1948) has described the plight of Drupdi in this drama, when she was brought in the open court of Kuruvas. She invoked the help of Krishna at this time to save her from disgrace. Bismil has dramatized another scene of the epic in which he has described the birth of Drupdi and her brother. '*Preamuch Kahvat* (the touch stone of love) is the third drama of Bismil, which has its origin in the '*Mahaprasthani-Ka-Parvan*. In this drama Bismil has remained true to the original and has executed the theme with skill and in accordance with the tradition of his times.

Bismil has translated '*The Bhagvat Gita*' in Kashmiri prose. He is one of the founders of Kashmiri prose. His translation of the Gita is unique in the sense that it is the translation as well as the explanation of the philosophy of the Gita. The untimely death of the author has delayed the publication of Gita till now. Bhagvat Gita (Song celestial) has been translated in Kashmiri verse by Krishan Joo Dhar (D. 1974). Nila Kanth Sharma (B. 1888 d. 1970)

and Sarvanand Koul Premi (B. 1924) also. The translation of Krishan Joo Dhar was published in 1932 in Persio-Arabic Script and its second edition appeared in 1970 in Devnagri. The translation of Sarvanand Koul Premi has appeared partially and is expected to be published in full shortly. Nilakanth Sharma's translation too has not been published in full. Some portions of his translation have appeared in some books and periodicals. The story of 'Savitri and Satayavan from the epic prepared in the form of masnavi by Pt. Anand Bhat of Katraso Kulgam is a beautiful composition but has not been published so far. Some portions of this masnavi have appeared in weekly, the Chaman Srinagar sometime during 1971-73.

The Mahabharata in full has been translated in Kashmiri prose by Pt. Suna Ram Razdan (b. 1918) of Druso. Shri Razdan has passed his translation on the Hindi edition of Mahabharata published by the Gita press Gorakhpore. The complete manuscript of the translation has been purchased by the Jammu & Kashmir Cultural Academy. When published the translation will run in about one thousand pages of octavo sized manuscript. The Cultural Academy is expected to publish the translation with footnotes and proper editing in the near future.

1. Avtar Krishan Rehbar	Kaashri Adbuk taariekh (Vol. I Srinagar-1965)	
2. Chaman Lal Chaman Bashir Akhtar	Awhal Nama	(Srinagar-1979)
3. Ethel Beswick	Tales of Hindu gods and Heroes	(Bombay-1959)
4. G.M.D. Hajni	Kaashir Shayiri	(Delhi-1960)
5. Krishan Joo Dhar	Kaashir Gita	(Srinagar-1970)
6. M.Monier William	Indian Wisdom	(London-1895)
7. Moti Lal Saqi	Aankavan	(Srinagar-1975)
8. P.N. Razdan	Hindi in Kashmiri	(Srinagar-1969)
9. Suniti Kumar Chatterji	The Cultural Heritage of India	(Calcutta-1978)

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Chapter - 63

RAMAYANA IN KASHMIRI

Prof. Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

The charming influence of *Kashmiri Ramayana* worked on me in my early boyhood. Sona Ram, our family servant, used to tell me stories and sing songs of Ramacharita. He was an affectionate person and more so a solace to me. I would sing those songs in solitude, remembering my parents who had left me an orphan, to the care of my uncle and aunt. I would feel as if I had gone away from them and would hear in my inner mind the voice of my dear mother—

'O son of Kaushalya! where have you gone leaving me alone. I sing for you a lullaby and recite Rama Rama.[1]

This is a song in the *Ramavataracharita* sung by his mother Kaushalya, in separation of Rama who had left for the forests. The bewitching note still catches my mind at times. Later, when seasonal bards went round the houses of the haves to collect alms by way of clothes, uncooked eatables and coins, they sang songs from the Kashmiri Ramayana. This again soothed my wounds and I would sing with them :

'The wind of Poush has affected the foliage
Where have Rama and Lakshmana fled?[2]

During my studentship in High School, *The Ramayana* in Hindi verse by Radheysham, came my hands. I read it regularly at bed-time. This inspired me and confirmed my belief in the Kashmiri verses, stories and songs of *Ramavatar Charita* which affectionate Sona Ram had put into my ears, in early years.

I became a teacher and happened to teach *Ayodhya Kanda* to my students in middle and high classes. This prompted me to study the *Ramacharitamanasa* of Tulsidas. Later, I studied *Adhyatma Ramayana*. I had already studied some selections from the *Valmikiya Ramayana* at college. I sang Ramayana verses in the class and explained the meanings to my students who remained spell-bound.

Later, I came to know that there was Ramayana in Kashmiri language known as *Ramavatara Charita* written by a Kashmiri Pandit. But I could not find a published copy of the same. Still I engaged myself with the verses and songs I remembered early and

also collected more from elderly persons of acquaintance, who had learnt them by heart or noted some more in their note-books. Now I found that the verses and songs of *Ramavatara Charita* prevailed among the songs sung in Kashmir at the time of an amusement, a marriage celebration and group bhajans in temples and homes.

But who composed this *Ramavatara Charita* in the Kashmiri language?

Political compositions in the Kashmiri language, stories and narratives, based on epics and Puranas had come up in Kashmir during the region of Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin '*Budshah*' (1420-1470 A. D.), the popular saint-king and admirer of learning. But there was no literature on *Rama-Katha-Kavya*.

Dr. Buhler came to Kashmir in 1875 A. D. in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. While giving Sanskrit titles of manuscripts in '*Sharada*' characters he says in the report[3] that the Government collection of manuscripts included works on both in the Brahmanical and the Musalman styles. To the first belonged the *Lallavakyani*, the *Banasuravadha*, the *Krishnavatara* and the *Janmacharita*. Out of these, the first pertains to Kashmir Shaivism and the others to Krishna Katha. In fact, we do not come across a *Ramacharita* in Kashmir till the 19th century.

To give the background and practice of religious faith and philosophy in Kashmir is of interest here:

Kashmiri Pandits follow the tenets of *Sanatana Dharma*, in common among the Hindus; and worship the Supreme Being in the five aspects of Ganesha, Parvati, Siva, Surya and Vishnu. Along with this worship every family has its *Kula Devi*, the *Istha Devata*. They are generally Ragnya, Sharika and Jwala with their corresponding Bhairavas or Siva. As such they have been worshipping *Shakti* which includes Siva as well. *Adi Shankaracharya* encouraged this mixed faith[4] for realization of the Supreme Brahman, when he came to Kashmir in the early years of the 9th century. With this polytheistic religious faith inclined towards the worship of *Siva Shakti*, some persons aspiring for higher reaches got initiated and then the path went step high. In this way, Shaivism popularly known as Kashmir Shaivism, propounded by Vasugupta, Somananda—Abhinavagupta, Kshemaraja (9th to 12th century)[5] developed along with Vedanta philosophy in Kashmir. Lalleshwari (Lal Ded) Nund Reshi (Sahazananda or Sheikh Noordin) and Ropa, Bhawani (Alakheshwari) are the illustrious

among the saints of the 14th century. After the Kashmiri Pandits had to brave the storm of political upheaval for many centuries and their religion got reduced to ritualism. Nearly four hundred years ago, Tulsi Ramayana became popular among the literate and the illiterate masses in northern India. This must have played its influence, by and by, in Kashmir also. Krishna Kavya had already found its way. This is borne by the fact that *Krishna Janmashtami, Ramanavami, Dussera* and *Deepavali* festivals (holy days for worship and rememberance of the incarnations, Krishna and Rama) are being celebrated in Kashmir for the past few centuries now.

It was Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846 to 1857 A. D.) who made Kashmir a part of his territory[6] which is now known as the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Dogra rulers were brave, kind and god-fearing. Being descendants in the line of *Suryavamshi* dynasty to which Bhagwan Rama belonged, they take Sri Rama to be their chosen deity. Naturally, Raghunath temples and Rama temples got erected in the territory to worship Lord Rama and draw inspiration from his brave and considerate deeds. 'As is the king so are the subjects'. People of Kashmir also were influenced and they turned to Sri Rama. This gave birth to Rama-kavya in Kashmir. Seven Ramayanas, besides miscellaneous songs of the nature, have been written since then. The one that became the most popular is *Ramavatar Charita* of Prakash Ram. The poet's date as determined by Dr. S.K. Raina, is 1819 A.D. to 1885 A.D. He wrote the *Ramavatar Charita* in 1847 A.D. which corresponds to Samvat 1904 as recorded in the manuscript. This was the first Ramayana written in the Kashmiri language.

Prakash Ram lived at Kuryagam village in Qazigund (Kashmir). He was an ardent devotee of goddess *Tripurasundari,* who had graced him with a wonderful quality of orator. His *Ramavatar Charita* was followed by four more of his works namely *Lavakusha Charita, Krishnavatar. Akanandun* and *Siva Lagna.*[7]

Ramavatar Charita was first published in 1910 A.D. at Vishinath Press, Srinagar. This was in Persian script. A later edition was published in Devanagri script. Sir George Grierson, while on linguistic survey of India, edited *Ramavatar Charita* in Roman script. This was published in 1930 A.D. He gives name of the poet as Divakar Prakash Bhat. It is possible that Prakash Ram might have been known by that name also in later life among those who knew and honoured him. But the dates regarding his life as given

by Grierson are quiet different from those established with evidence by the present-day scholars.

Dr. Shiban Krishan Raina has located two more manuscripts of this Ramayana. One is in the hands of Vishwamber Nath Bhat of *Damjan* village and the other of Nand Lal Razdan of *Akingam,* in Kashmir. A revised and enlarged edition under the name *Koshur Ramayana,* edited by Dr. Baljinath Pandit was, however, brought out by the Cultural Academy of Jammu and Kashmir Government in 1965 A.D., But need was felt of its being published in Devanagri script as most of the Hindu women who sang it with interest and devotion, knew Hindi only. Dr. Raina took up this work. He not only transcribed the *Ramavatar Charita* of Prakash Ram Kuryagami into Devanagri but also translated it in Hindi. Bhuvana Vani Trust of Lucknow published it in 1975 A.D. in a much improved condition. *Lava-Kusha Charita* of the poet- author also is appended to this latest available edition of the popular *Ramavatar Charita* also known as *Prakash Ramayana.*

Prakash Ram has composed this epic poetry on the basis of *Valmikiya Ramayana,* so far as description of natural scenery and poetic beauty are concerned. But he has followed the way of the *Adhyatma Ramayana* in expressing pathos, bounds of morality, priritual knowledge and above all devotion to Sri Rama. In some descriptions he has displayed originality. The poet believes that *Sita* was the daughter of *Mandodari* and *Ravana.* King *Janaka* had only reared her up. In *Lava-Kusha Charita* he believes that it was Rama's sister who was responsible for the exile of *Sita* by *Rama* and so does not relate the washerman episode. There is frequent use of Persian words along with Sanskrit and colloquial Kashmiri language. His *Ramavatar Charita* released the streams of *Bhakti, Gyana* and *Vairagya* in Kashmir exactly as *Ramacharitamanasa* of Tulsidas did in northern India about four hundred years ago. This work, as said above, is of great historical importance also.

The other Ramayanas that followed the *Prakash Ramayana,* have not been published so far. Manuscript copies are reported to be with the present descendants of the poet-author or the Research library of Jammu & Kashmir Government. It will not, however, be out of place to make a short mention of these here, as they also contribute to the cultural history of Kashmir :

Shankar Ramayana was composed by Pandit Shankar Kaul in 1870 A. D. which is mentioned in the manuscript copy preserved at

the above Research Library.

Ananda Ramavatar Charita was composed by Pandit Anand Ram Razdan in about 1880 A. D.

The above two Ramayanas were written during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1985 A. D.).

Vishnu Pratap Ramayana is an important record of the history of Rama-kavya written in Kashmiri language. It was composed in 1913 A. D. by Pandit Vishwabar Nath Kaul belonging to the village *Vyos* in district Anantnag of Kashmir. It is a long narrative poem of about three thousand lines and the poet has followed the way of *Valmikiya Ramayana* in describing natural scenery. At places he has given beautiful descriptions with a creative touch.

Dedicating his work to the then ruler of Jammu and Kashmir Maharaja Sri Pratap Singh (1885-1925 A. D.) the poet, popularly known by the name Vishnu Kaul, named the work '*Vishnu-Pratap-Ramayana'*. The manuscriptof this Ramayana is said to be safe, with his descendants who still live near Hari Singh High Street, Amira Kadal, Sirnagar.

Sharma-Ramayana is composed by Pandit Nila Kanth Sharma during his early years from 1919 to 1926 A. D. Later he wrote a large number of stray poems which speak of his great spiritual knowledge and devotion to Sri Rama and Sri Krishan alike. These thrilling poems give their charming descriptions.

The simple and loving nature of this saintly man who composed poetry and also sang with devotion, influenced the present writer and they remained friends during the later years of his good life.

Tarachand-Ramayana composed by Pandit Tara Chand in 1926 A. D. and *Amar-Ramayana* composed by Pandit Amarnath 'Amar' in 1940 A. D. are also said to be in manuscript from. Besides these, Pandit Lakshman Joo 'Bulbul'[8] has composed *'Rama-Gita'* in Kashmiri.

With the advent of democracy, the trend of Kashmiri poetry took a different shape. It changed from spiritual to national expressions. But a good number of poems in Kashmiri on the subjects are also composed by lovers of Kashmiri language, like Sri Sarvanand Kaul 'Premi' of Kokernag, Sri Raghunath Kaul 'Dasa' and others.

The chronological background of Ramayana in Kashmiri language prompts one to have a critical appreciation of the *Prakash Ramayana* through which the conquest of hearts and minds of the

masses, effected by the poet, was an achievement more lasting and important than a victory gained in war by a monarch. We know little about the poet's life and sadhana, but his work invites a deep study of the wonderful expressions, esoteric, meaningful and common, besides masterly use of rhetoric and prosody. We give below a glimpse of some expressions from the Ramayana edited and translated by Dr. Raina. Although this also contains a number of mistakes, which should not have come up as the transcriber himself is a Kashmiri, this is an improved edition available. The defect lies in the wrong choice of diacritical marks used by the scholar.

As in the Hindi Ramayana of Radheysham, Prakash Ram gives intervening poems in the epic. This has an advantage as it avoids monotony and the reader feels rejuvenated. The Ramayana begins with a short benedictory poem extolling the heroes of the epic. Its beating line is :

Ram and Lakshmana,
As protectors of the world from evil
Incarnated on this material plane.[9]

The classical poem begins with obeisance to Lord Ganesha, Kumara and the Guru. In 54 introductory stanzas the poet gives the purport of the epic along with true perspective of the characters.

The use of innuendos :-

Garments of knowledge are the imbibed excellent
qualities which are represented by Angada, Sugriva,
Jamowana and Vibhishana.[10]
Prakriti is Kaikeyi and good-will is Sumitra
Dasharatha represents Dharma
Kaushalya is the fate (Karama-lekha).
Aging gives contentment.
Living in forest affords instruction
There Rama will go to destroy the Lanka of greed.[11]

Then starts a dialogue between Devi and Siva, which is in fact persuaded by Narada who is always out to help people in getting emancipation.

Devi said to Siva :

Kindly tell with assurance
What will happen to the people of Kali
They will be far away from righteousness
They will be given to evil deeds .....,[12]

Siva in reply said :

"Yes, time will come when people will hide truth. But if they pray to Rama with awareness and love, all the filth from their minds will be washed away. Then if one remembers and thinks of Him, he will live long, see God and finally attain Vaikuntha".[13]

The story of Rama is introduced and Siva assures Devi that Rama will incarnate and make an end to the atrocities caused by Ravana on the Earth.

Further, the Ramayana is divided into eight Kandas : 1. Bala Kanda 2. Ayodhya Kanda 3. Aranya Kanda 4. Kishkinda 5. Sundara Kanda 6. Yudha Kanda 7. Uttara Kanda and 8. Lava-Kusha Kanda.

Events and occurrences are given with a touch of originally throughout the whole epic. In Ayodhya Kanda while describing the lamentation of Dashratha after Rama left for the forest, the poet locates the places of Rama's wanderings in Kashmir on the way from Srinagar to Haramukuta Ganga.[14] He thinks that Rama was exiled in the foroest of Ramaradhan in the vicinity of which are Brahmasar, Mahalish, Hamsadwar, Naran Nag, etc.

In *Aranya Kanda* the poet describes Rama's meeting with Agastya and friendship with Jatayu in a running reference. In the episode of *Shurpanakha* the poet makes mention of *Dandaka* forest as given by *Kalidasa,* Vyasa and Tulsidas in their works and makes no mention of Ramaradhan as mentioned above.

In Sundara Kanda Sita expresses jubilance after Hanuman gave her the message of Rama :-

Spring has set in
O lark! sing your song
And come to ours
We shall rejoice.
Frost has ended
Cataracts will gurgle
Forget the pains
Wrought by winter
Wake up, it's getting late
And come, let's rejoice.

In short, Pandit Praksh Ram has used metaphors and similies throughout his Ramayana to infuse *rasa*, to present a picture, to delineate characters or to illustrate a deep philosophical thought. He has well maintained the norms of poetry and disciplines of social order in the narrative epic; perhaps that has made the work more popular than the other Ramayanas mention of which has already been made.

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Chapter - 64

LEGENDS OF RAMA IN KASHMIRI

Dr. Omkar N. Koul

It is generally agreed that Valmiki was the first poet to compose *Ramayana* around the fourth century B. C. on the basis of some popular legends and episodes about Rama. His Ramayana covered the story of Rama's life from his banishment up to his return to Ayodhya after fourteen years. This forms the portion from the second book *(Ayodhyakanda)* to the sixth book *(Lankakanda)* of the present available versions of *Valmiki Ramayana*. Since the first composition of the Valmiki Ramayana was not in a written form and its transmission was oral over the centuries, a number of changes, alterations and interpolations were made from time to time.

Later Additions

From the second book (*Ayodhyakanda*) to the sixth book (*Lankakanda*) Rama appears as a man, and at the most an ideal man. In order to keep up the interest of the people, various descriptions were later added to it in the form of first and the seventh books, *Balakanda* and *Uttarkanda*, respectively. With the increasing interest and queries of the people regarding *Ramakatha*, it became necessary to describe the whole history of the characters. The new additions included the full life sketches of the main characters of *Ramakatha*, particularly the long descriptions of *Raghuvamsha*, Rama's family, the birth of Rama and his brothers,

their childhood, the marriage of Rama and Sita and full descriptions of their life after returning to Ayodhya from Lanka. Thus in the first phase of development, *Ramakatha* did not remain only the description of Rama's travel, but it became a complete character description of an ideal Kshtriya hero, Rama.

Concept of Incarnation

With the development of the concept of incarnation, it was around first century B.C. that Rama and his brothers were considered as the partial incarnation of Vishnu among Hindus. On noticing the wide popularity of *Ramakatha* among the people, Buddhists and Jains also adopted it for the purpose of preaching their own religious faiths. Buddhists described Rama as an incarnation of Lord Buddha in their Jatak literature—*Dashrathajatak, Dhamakamjatakam* and *Dusharathakathanakam.* They made different alterations in *Ramakatha* to suit their own religious faiths. Like Buddhists, Jains also made certain alterations in the *Ramakatha* according to their own religious beliefs. They described Rama as the incarnation of the eighth Baladeva. In the third century Vimala Suri wrote *Ramchariya* in Prakrit, which was followed by a large number of works regarding *Ramakatha* by other Jain poets in Sanskrit, Apabhramsha and other modern Indian languages. The prominent works related to *Ramakatha* of Jains are the following: Gunbhadra's *Uttarapurana* (9th Century), Hemchandra's Jain *Ramayana* (12 Century), Jaindas's *Ramapurana* (15th Century) and Padamadev Jaya's *Ramacharita* (16th Century) in Sanskrit; Satyabhudev's *Paumchariya* (8th Century) in Apbhramasha; Nagachand's *Pampa Ramayana* (11th Century), Kumudend's *Ramayana* (13th Century) and Devappa's *Ramavijayacharit* (16th Century) in Kannada. Thus, Rama was given a place in three prominent religions of the period—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

In the second phase of the development of *Ramakatha,* Rama did not preserve merely the character-description of an ideal Kshtriya hero but transformed into the shape of an incarnation of Vishnu and other Superior Lords.

The New Concept

Although this transformation as an incarnation of Vishnu dates to an earlier period, Ramabhakti, the devotion towards Rama,

developed after the 11th century, when this concept started influencing the character and form of *Ramakatha*. The Ramabhakti movement had its roots in the south India and it was with the efforts of Ramanand that it spread in the whole of North India in the fifteenth century. After the spread of Ramabhakti movement, important changes and alterations took place in *Ramakatha*. Devotion towards Rama necessitated certain important changes in the rendering and interpretation of incidents and episodes in *Ramakatha*. With this third phase of development, *Ramakatha* did not confine itself to the description of Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu enfolding in itself the holy prayers of devotees towards Rama, but also as the incarnation of the absolute (Deity), who is responsible for creation, preservation and destruction of the whole universe.

Kashmir Version

In this phase of development, *Ramakatha* represents a variety of values, changing ideas, ideals and morals—which influenced the modern Indian thought in its social, cultural, political, religious and other aspects of life. As compared to other Indian languages, the first attempt to versify *Ramakatha* in Kashmiri started late. We do not get any Ramayana written in Kashmiri before 18th century. There are several reasons for this. Kashmir has remained a famous centre for the teachings of Shaivism from the very beginning. Most of the Shaiva philosophers including Somananda (9th century) and his followers were born in Kashmir. The predominant Shaiva philosophy had a great influence on the early Kashmiri poetry of Lalla and Sheikh Nurddin (14th century), and influenced all the subsequent Hindu religious literary works. Amongst the Kashmiri Sanskrit scholars, Kshemendra was a Vaishnava. His *Ramayanamanjiri*, comprising of 5386 verses is, simply an abridged form of the Valmiki Ramayana's northwestern version.

Due to political reasons, Persian became the official language of Kashmir for about two centuries beginning with the fifteenth century. The foreign rulers patronized the Persian language and literature. The result was that Kashmiri poets, instead of writing in their own mother-tongue, started writing in Persian. Kashmiri works were very much influenced by the Persian language and literature. Under the influence of the Persian romantic poetry,

Kashmiri Vaishnavas were more attracted toward Krishna than Rama. *Krishnakavya,* therefore, stole a march over *Ramakavya in* Kashmiri.

The Ramabhakhti movement which permeated the whole of North India in the 17th century considerably influenced Kashmiri also. The Kashmiri Vaishnava poets were attracted by the implicit devotion towards Rama and to *Ramakatha* as popularly known in the Valley. The main literary works on *Ramakatha* in Kashmiri are the following: Prakash Ram's *Prakash Ramayana* that 18th Century), Shankar's *Shankar Ramayana* (1870 A.D.), Anand Ram Razdan's *Ramawatarcharit* (1888 A.D.), Vishnu Koul's *Vishnu Pratap Ramayana* (1913 A.D.), Nilakanth Sharma's *Sharma Ramayana* (1919-1926 A.D.) and Amarnath's *Amar Ramayana* (1900 A.D.).

Published Work

Out of these Ramayanas only *Prakash Ramayana* has been published several times and the others are available only in manuscript. *Prakash Ramayana* was first published in 1910 A.D. by Pratap Steam Press, Srinagar, in Persio-Arabic script. G. A. Grierson has edited an abridged form of it, which was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1930 in Roman script. The Jammu & Kashmir Academy, Srinagar, has published a complete version of it in Persio-Arabic script. Bhavan Vani Trust, Lucknow, has published it in Devanagri script with Hindi translation.

In general, Kashmiri *Ramakatha* is influenced by the various Sanskrit works on *Ramakatha* including the Puranas and the Upanishads. The various changes, interpretations and original descriptions of episodes, incidents and characters make the Kashmiri *Ramakatha* different from the *Ramakatha* of Sanskrit and other modern Indian languages.

Devotional Spirit

By the time of Prakash Ram, the spiritual and supernatural values of *Ramakatha* were already widespread. The primary motivation for composing *Ramakatha* was the pleasure and satisfaction the poet would derive from writing about Rama, of his exalted character and noble exploits, *Ramakatha* is full of episodes

that touch the heart and win the human feelings very easily. Such episodes are fully elaborated and presented with implications in terms of their morals and ideals, human and spiritual values. Most of the works are the outcome of the deep and implicit devotion towards Rama. The mood of the times dictated that they be free from any sort of intolerance or trace of conflict with different ideologies or religious faiths. The poets have tried to reconcile the worship of Shiva with the worship of Rama. The poets of *Ramakatha* are essentially devotees or *Bhakhtas,* but they freely acknowledge, with respect the faiths and claims of the alternate paths of Karma, *Raja* and *Jnana* (knowledge). The emphasis is, indeed, on the simple way of devotion, which is characterized in different ways. Besides indicating and appreciating the role of Ramabhakhti in the description of various episodes, frequent hymns are inserted here and there to emphasize it.

Thus the aim of *Ramakatha-Kavya* in Kashmiri as in Tulsi Ramayana was not to narrate a popular story with wonderful episodes but to use it as a medium to teach the spiritual values of the implicit devotion towards Rama. In comparison to different works on *Krishnakatha* and other related subjects, the *Ramakatha* has been the most potent and important factor in making Vaishnavism the second accepted cult of the Hindus in Kashmir.

Other Influences

The general outline of the story in the Kashmiri *Ramakatha-Kavya* is similar to that of *Valmiki Ramayana.* Besides *Valmiki Ramayana,* different Sanskrit works on *Ramakatha,* the Puranas, the Upanishads, etc., have also influenced the character and form of *Ramakatha.* Most of the episodes and incidents are described differently from their original sources. The poets have made alterations in the descriptions, and modified the main characters to suit their own devotional and other purposes. Attempts have been made to make the descriptions more and more localized, natural and appealing. In Kashmiri *Ramakatha,* we get two accounts of the birth of Sita. In one, she is the daughter of Ravana and Mondodari, and, in the other, she is raised from the blood of Rishis (seers). Descriptions of the Jataya-Ravana fight, origin of Lanka, various battle scenes, death of Ahiravan, death of Mahiravan, Sita's banishment, Rama's Ashvamedh Yajna, etc. are different from their original sources.

An important distinct characteristic of Kashmiri *Ramakatha-Kavya* is the immense influence of Shaivism on it. The Vaishnav poets have tried to bring Shiva and Rama very close to each other, so to say on an equal status, but their attempts could not save Rama from being dominated by Shiva on various occasions. Even though in the very beginning of the description of *Ramakatha*, Shiva is to concede to Parvati that true devotion toward Rama and his worship is the only way of salvation, most of the Kashmiri poets, however, have described Rama as an implicit devotee. Rama seeks help from Shiva on occasions of grief and sorrow. For example, in *Amar Ramayana*. Rama prays to Shiva before and after breaking the *dhanush* (bow) as a pre condition for marrying Sita (AP P.34). After getting the sad news of his father's death, Rama asks Shiva for protection in his deep grief and sorrow. He repeatedly asks Shiva for help in fulfilling his missions of life. He believes firmly that without the help of his Lord Shiva, he cannot succeed in his mission.

Rama's Worship of Shiva

In *Vishnu Pratap Ramayana* there is a long description of Rama's worship of Shiva, in which he requests the Lord for his help and protection from greed and to show him the right way of success (VPR P. 143). Before crossing the ocean to get Sita back form Lanka, Rama worships Shiva. Shiva is very pleased with his profound devotion and assures him of his success in getting Sita back and fulfilling his mission. In *Sharma Ramayana* during the period of war between Rama and Ravana when Rama fails to kill Ravana, Narada advises him to seek Lord Shiva's help, before making an attempt to kill Ravana. Rama worships Shiva, and on being pleased Shiva in person assures Rama of His help.

In Kashmiri *Ramakatha-Kavya*, Ravana is also described as a devotee of Shiva. It is due to Shiva's kindness that no power on earth hurts him for a long period of time. Being worried about Ravana's devotion toward Shiva, Rama's army diverts Ravana's attention from the worship of Shiva, and makes successful attempts to pollute his *Yajna* and his faith. To put it in other words, Rama's success in war is actually his success in winning the sympathy and kindness of his lord-Shiva and by making his rival's devotion weak. The poets have made best use of every opportunity to praise the superiority of Lord Shiva. Even Sita worships Lord Shiva and

Parvati and seeks his help a number of times when ever she is in grief. The other important aspect of the Kashmiri *Ramakatha-Kavya* is an adequate development in the characterisation of the main features of Rama and Sita.

Superhuman Character

Rama: In his super human character, Rama is presented in an omnipresent state imminent in the whole of the universe, nature, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva (*Prakash Ramayana* P. 125). He forms the joint trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. He himself creates, preserves and destroys the whole universe. He is existence-knowledge, bliss, the one without a second, blissful, pure, peaceful, without modification and full of all spiritual powers. (VPR, P. 16). Rama is considered as supreme Brahma and Sita his *Maya Shakti*—the power of illusion (VPR VAN/CH. 30). He is described as the quintessence of the Vedas, and superior to Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva *(VPR.* p. 723). They all worship him (SHR. P. 11). In all the Ramayanas in Kashmiri, Rama is described as an incarnation of Vishnu. The different characters of *Ramakatha* such as Ahilya, Kaikeyi, Mondodari, Marich, Inderjit, Sulochana, Valmiki Rishi and many others worship him as an incarnation of Vishnu.

Human Frailties

In his human character, Rama is an ideal son, brother, husband, king and above all a brave Kshtriya hero. The poets are not tired of singing about Rama's ideal human character, whereever they get an opportunity. They nevertheless fail to save Rama from some weaknesses inherent in his historical character—such as the killing of Tadaka, mistreating of Shurpnakha, killing of Bali and his suspicions of Sita. Rama shares all human emotions about the pleasures and sorrows of life. Like an ordinary human being, he cries bitterly at the death of his father Dasharatha, and at the time when his brother—Lakshman—loses conciousness in battle. He feels the separation from Sita very badly, in a very simple-hearted fashion, listens to the advice of all his well-wishers and seeks shelter in Shiva in times of difficulty or grief.

Sita : In her super human character, Sita is described as an incarnation of *Prithvi* (earth), Vishnu himself asks her to be born as Sita. Vashisht describes her incarnated character to Dasharatha, and Valmiki Rishi to Rama. Sita is described as the Great Illusion

(Mahamaya) of supreme Brahma. She is worshipped as Uma, Jagadamba—the mother of universe, Lakshmi—the goddess of wealth, Saraswati—goddess of knowledge. In *Vishnu Pratap Ramayana* and *Anand Ramawatarcharit,* she is worshipped as Mahakali-the goddess of destruction, also.

In her human character, Sita is an ideal daughter-in-law, wife, mother and queen; she is an ideal of Indian womanhood, an example of self-confidence, patience, purity, truthfulness, strong heart and kindness. Sita shares all the pleasures and sorrows of human life. Her ideal character is not free from some blemishes. She adamantly insists on Rama catching the magic golden deer, becomes suspicious of Lakshman, rejects the repeated requests of her husband to accompany him to Ayodhya from Valmiki Rishi's Ashram, and prefers to be retracted into *Prithvi* rather than to return to live with her husband.

Mixed Influences

The language of Kashmiri Ramayanas represents a standard form of the Sanskritized Kashmiri. The poets have used a large numbers of simple Persio-Arabic lexical items and expressions. In the narration of *Ramakatha*, mainly two styles are used—the descriptive styles of the Persian romances and the lyrical style. They do not, however, follow strictly the borrowed Persian styles, and make frequent changes in it. They use different forms of the Kashmiri lyrical verse, including the folk songs. Similies and metaphors are used to make the expressions more colourful.

The poets have not described nature for the sake of decoration. Like Tulsi, Kashmiri poets are interested in the objects of nature in so far as they are the manifestations of the divine will. Nature scenes are described not because they are beautiful but because they reflect a particular mood of the moment and the divine image of Rama. The poets have mostly used natural objects as similies and in metaphorical descriptions. The natural objects share all the pleasures and sorrows with Rama and Sita.

Allegorical Descriptions

Various allegorical descriptions depict different characters and situations. For instance, in *Prakash Ramayana*, Sita stands for goodwill; Rama and Lakshmana for truth; Hanuman for courage and strong determination, Ravana for sin and ill-will; Angad,

Sugreeva, Jamvant and Vibhishana stand for divine knowledge; Kaikeyi stands for nature; Sumitra for birth; Kaushalya for destiny or fate; and Dasharatha for *Dharma*. Furthermore, Ravana is described as ill-will of a person; Lanka is described as body; battle-weapons as self-confidence and contentment; Rama's banishment as a didactic story. Only the arrow of good faith and self-confidence can kill ill-will and increase devotion for the Lord (PR. P. 3-4). In *Shankar Ramayana*, Ravana stands for anger and pride, the demons for illusion, Shrupnakha for falsehood in human heart, Lanka as a central place where ill-will grows (1/3).

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Chapter - 65

ANCIENT LORE OF KASHMIR

L.N. Raina

Kashmir being a beautiful place on the earth, is not only known for its panoramic beauty but is also the home of intellectuals, philosophers, yogis, poets, hermits and saints. The splendour of nature bestowed excellence on the minds of the people who lived in olden times in this superb valley. People gave expression to their experiences in fine arts, literature, poetry and philosophy. The learned and illumined Pandits of this valley had been the torch bearers of learning in whole of Asia.

Kashmir has been a seat of learning and was called in ancient times 'Sharda Pitha' (home of wisdom). Higher education of a scholar was said to be complete when he or she had attained scholarship in educational institutions or from luminous Brahmins of Kashmir. The latter were store-house of vast knowledge.

Kashmiri thinkers like Sri-Kantha, Vasugupta, Kiyata, Pradhumna-Bhatta, Madhava-Bhatta, Bhaskara, Laxmana, Utpala, Abhinavagupta, Khemraja, Yogaraja and several other erudite scholars have enriched the world by their expositions and revelations of the Divine. They experienced the "Potential Energy" of the universe. Shri Abhinavagupta, in one of the verses of the "*Celebrated*

Five Hymns", extols this Supreme Consciousness (Energy) in the following stanza:-

"Icchanurupam annurupaguna prakarsham,
Shankarshini! tvam anusritya yada bibarsham,
Jayet sa tribhuvanaika gurustadanim,
Devah Sivoapi bhuvantriya Sutradharah!"

"O, Exquisite One! whilst Thou on Thy own will adopts unique attributes (qualities of divinity, humanity and animality), illumined Shiva, that over-lord of the three worlds also at that moment, takes up the role of the Supreme Director in (playing) the drama of three worlds (Phenomenal universe)".

The Divine (Super-consciousness) is personified as Shiva (Benign Being) and His Supreme Energy (Consciousness in action) is *Shakti* (Active Power). Shakti (Energy) is ever engaged on Her own motion in three-fold processes of emanation, stabilization and re-absorption of the universe. It is the object of the same subject and the Supreme Shiva is the player of His own play by giving multiple colours, wearing different costumes, adopting various shapes and forms of the same Super-Consciousness, by transforming His Unique Energy into diversity and yet maintaining Absolute Unity. This Active Force of Shiva is personified as Shakti, the feminine term thus given, makes Her the so-called Spouse of Shiva and is ever wakeful in nourishing this Universe. While this Transcendental Being is active all His own Potential Energy manifests the universe which is His own reflection called Svrupa, (His own image). Thus the same unity in diversity and vice versa, therefore, co-existing spontaneously and simultaneously. The Potential Energy is the very existence equally in all beings.

To awaken and arouse this "Active-Force or Energy" within one's own self, one has to undergo voluntary practice called Sadhana and meditate upon The Divine (Ahanta) self which is this (Idam), the Universe. This process of awakening is called Kundalini-Yoga, (arousing of Serpent-Power), resting in Muladhara (pelvic plexus) below the genitals of the human being. It does equally exist in all but in deep slumber as it were. Through Yoga, by practising it in still and serene mind, one is able to awaken this stupendous Kundalini Shakti (coiled like a Snake) which an aspirant, by dint of power of sadhana

practice raises it through six circles existing in the sphere of brain, (Brahamarandhara). This is done either by the Sound Power of Mantras (magnetic formula), called Mantra Yoga, or by the process of Raja-Yoga which consists of ethical control by Yama, Niyama posture (Asana) and regulation of prana (Pranayama), taking away mind from senses (Pratyahera), one pointedness meditation (Dhyana) and eternal bliss (Samadhi). Above all, there should be the Divine Grace and an initiation by an awakened Guru who is himself harmonised with the Supreme One.

This ancient wisdom is called Shaiva-Shakta Shastra. It has been propounded by the seers and saints of Kashmir—it is also called Trika Shasana or Trika Shastra exposition of trinity of Super-Consciousness. It is aptly described in "Kashmir Shaivaism", published by the Jammu and Kashmir Government as to "The peculiarity of the Trika consists in the fact that, as a system of philosophy, it is a type of idealistic monoism (adavaita)". It expounds that Shiva the Eternal Being is Pursha and His Own Prakriti or energy as His spouse. Shiva is nothing but Pure-Consciousness and Shakti in His state of Vimarsha experience. He Himself is a silent spectator and His Shakti is His creative movement.

Abhinavagupta, the most accepted author of the original hymns in Sanskrit, called "*Celebrated Five Hymns*", Panchastavi, has flashed out these hymns through his celestial power which he had attained during his practice of "Kundalini Yoga". "Panchastavi" is the discovery of the Supreme Reality by the process of Self realization by the Self. Reading and understanding these original hymns may lead the readers to the realisation of the Truth. The writings and teachings of these great Acharyas (learned preceptors) of Kashmir serve as a light towards the path of reality which is within. The reality here is Super Consciousness and when in movement is diversified and appears in different forms. The One Absolute is many. To realise this truth of life is the perfection.

Readers may go through the verses of "Panchastavi" with open and unconditioned mind and meditate on its real essence.

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Chapter - 66

PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF SANSKRIT WORKS AND CONTRIBUTIONS FROM KASHMIR

Prof. Som Nath Dhar

Indian missionaries, including Kashmiris who visited China carried Sanskrit and Pali manuscripts with them and translated them into Chinese. Through scholars and travellers, Sanskrit also reached Indo-China, Siam, Malaysia, Java, etc., where it percolated into the local languages often leaving a lasting impression.[1]

As the present writer found in Malaysia, while learning Malay (basically the same language as Indonesian), the 'queen' is called 'permeisuri' in Malay, the king's palace is 'Istana' (Skt. *Sthan*), the 'prime minister' is 'perdhana menteri', and so on. Persian and Arabic words had, however, entered the vocabularies of these and Fillipino and other languages of the region by the 14th century A.D. Contrary to popular belief, Sanskrit wasn't suppressed in India, when Persian became the *lingua franca* with the ascendancy of the Muslim Sultans followed by the Moghuls.

The first Iranian scholar to interpret the culture and sciences of India was Abu-Rihan Mohammad, familiarly known as Al-Biruni, who wrote his celebrated *Indica* about a thousand years ago. This was an encyclopaedic work on Indian religion, philosophy, mathematics etc. Al-Biruni a foreigner was equally at home in Sanskrit and Greek—quoting often from the *Bhagwad Gita* and other Sanskrit works. At this point of time, Persian had evolved in Iran from Pahlavi, as a result of the impact of the Arabic, then the language of the learned and the elite. The age of Persian literature had been hailed with Perdowsi's famous epic *Shah Nama* (or Book of Kings), and translations of Arabic commentaries. Al-Biruni was followed by a host of Persian-knowing Muslims and other scholars who played a pioneering role in preserving and propagating significant Sanskrit works, through translating them into Persian after it had practically become the official language of India—including important states like Kashmir.

These translations speak about the broad-mindedness of the Muslim scholars, and the Mughal emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb. Muslim savants, poets and learned men migrated in large numbers to India from Iran and Central Asia. For the Muslim

and Hindu men of learning, Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Delhi provided a meeting ground as they delved into the scriptures, classics and books of learning of each other. Muslim mysticism (Sufism) and the Hindu Vedanta discovered parallelism, even similarities that existed between their respective doctrines, that grew through the confluence of the two streams.[2] Though the Muslim intellectuals were attracted to Hinduism and were desirous of probing into its vast knowledge and mysteries, they found that the important works on Hindu culture, religion and philosophy were preserved in Sanskrit, the ancient language, which was like Latin to them. So the Muslims plunged into study of Sanskrit with the assistance of learned Brahmins and latter (as in Kashmir) we took to Persian, thus improving their knowledge of Muslim thought and culture.

The Persian translations of Sanskrit works are legion. Some of the prominent titles are mentioned here.

Not many Sanskrit works were translated into Persian before Akbar. It was probably under Feroz Shah Tughlak (1351-1388 A.D.) that the translation of Sanskrit works was started under official patronage. In 1370 A.D. when Feroz Shah went to Nagarkot, he found 1300 Sanskrit manuscripts. Scholars were assigned to translate some of them. Izzud-din Khalid Khani translated a Sanskrit work on astronomy under the title *Dal'il-e-Firuzshahi*. Among other works, *Brahatsamhita* of Varahamihira was translated by Abdul Azizi Shams Bahainuri. The *Astangs-Hirdaya* of Veghata was translated into Persian in the reign of Sultan Muhammed Shah Bahmani (1463-1482) and in tribute to him was entitled *Tibb-i-Mahmudshahi*. *Hitopdesha* was also probably translated in his time.

The Golden era of Persian translations of Sanskrit works is the age of Akbar, when practically every significant branch of Sanskrit learning was tackled for translation. Akbar employed the best brains of the day for the stupendous task, whose range included the *Mahabharata, the Ramayana* the *Bhagwad Gita* 'Kalhana' *Rajatarangini, Katha-Sarita-Sagara* by Somadeva (also from Kashmir) *Simhasana, Dwatrimsika*, etc.

The learned Pandits of the day assisted their Muslim colleagues in a kind of state forum, the first of its kind in India. Akbar commissioned his courtier, Krishna Das to compile a Persian Sanskrit dictionary. The greatest achievement was the complete Persian translation of the *Mahabharata*, accomplished by a board of Muslim

and Hindu scholars, under the able supervision of Abdu Fazl : it was entitled *Razamnameh*, and is the only complete Persian work of the great Indian epic. That the *Bhagwad Gita* is the nectar out of the epic was well realised by Akbar, who asked Faizi to undertake its translation. In this century Bakshi Dina Nath of Jammu translated it into Persian verse from.

The best specimens of interpretative translations of philosophical works were composed by Dara Shukoh; his greatest achievement being the translations of *Upanishads* under the title, *Sirr-yi-Asrar*. The work was completed in 1657 A.D., a year before his tragic end.

It was during the long reign of Aurangzeb that the first translation of a book on Hindu law was made, the book being *Nitaksara* of Vijnansavara. Sanskrit books dealing with history, medicine, music, arithmetic, poetics, fine arts, etc. were also translated into Persian, thus enriching Indo-Persian literature. The famous *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, the well known 12th century poet-historian of Kashmir, was translated by Mulla Ahmed at the instance of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.) of Kashmir. Mulla Ahmed also translated the *Mahabharata*. Likewise, Bodhi Bhatt translated several Sanskrit works into Persian. It was in the Sultan's time that Persian became the language of the court, but his court was adorned with eminent Sanskrit scholars, along with Persian and Arabic literateurs, poets and historians.

Emperor Akbar—nearly two centuries later commissioned Mullah Shah Mohammad to translate the *Rajatarangini*. In 1617 A.D., Jahangir had an abridged edition of the chronicle done by Haider Malik. Banwali Das Wali translated *Raja Wali* a chronological history of Hindu Kings from Yudhistara to the time of Shahab-ud-din Gori.

The first collection of Indian tales to have been translated into Pahjavi is the celebrated *Panchtantra*. Rudaki, the Chaucer of Persian poetry, rendered it into verse form. An abridged prose translation of the *Katha-Sarita Sagara* by Somadeva, another famed collection of stories was done by Faizi, the poet Laureate of Akbar. *Singhasan Batisi* (also called *Simhasana Dwatrimsika*), or the "Thirty-two stories about Kingship told to King Vikramaditya" was translated into Persian by as many as 11 writers.

The vogue of translation of Sanskrit classic into Persian has continued to this day. The drama of Kalidasa, *Shakuntalam*, was translated by Prof. Ali Asghar Hekmat, a former Ambassador of Iran

to India. In verse form Dr. S.A. Raza Jalali Naini recently compiled the Persian translation of the *Rig Veda*.

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Chapter - 67

AUROBINDO'S AESTHETICS AND KASHMIRI POETRY

Prof. P.N. Pushp

How would Shri Aurobindao have looked at Kashmiri poetry if it had come to his notice at the time he was writing his monumental work on the Future Poetry? A very difficult exercise it would be to conjecture since even the most objective criteria are by and large subjectively applied. An additional difficulty in this case is presented by Shri Aurobindo's aesthetics which is mostly amorphous in spite of the Mahayogi's brilliant essays and observations on allied themes and topics. Besides the major work on the Future Poetry and the critical assessment of Kalidasa, Vyasa and Valmiki, a considerable wealth of relevant material is found in the letters addressed by the Master to his disciples in reply to their queries on the problems of literary creation or appreciation.

Violent Changes

Shri Aurobindo was fully aware of the 'violent changes' that had occurred in the 'aesthetic atmosphere' by the time his *Collected poems* appeared. He, therefore, pleaded for 'another strong change' in the aesthesis of the time so that his later mystical poetry including the *Savitri* could secure due recognition. A fit audience for the purpose could be ensured only by 'a new extension of conciousness and aesthesis to appreciate a new kind of mystic poetry. A poet who, after all, 'created out ofhimself' deserves to be adequately understood. His work depends not only 'on himself and his age but on the mentality of the nation to which he belongs, and the spiritual, intellectual, aesthetic traditions and environment which it creates for him'.

Shri Aurobindo is primarily concerned with 'the earth-consciousness', not with 'worlds beyond for their own sake' (as is superficially made out of uncritical readers of his). He, in fact, seeks terrestrial realisation and 'not a flight to distant summits'. Yet he refuses to be overawed by past traditions however great at a particular time. What is necessary for him is that the great past is followed by 'a greater future', in the spiritual development of the consciousness upon the earth'. The poets privilege is to go beyond the past masters and not to repeat them; but he should, at the same time, be sure of his feet. All art according to Shri Aurobindo 'starts from the sensuous or the sensible'. Even when 'it soars into invisible worlds, it is from the earth it soars'. Yet all art worth the name must 'go beyond the visible, must reveal, . . . and in its total effect not reproduce but create'. The truth he sees or reveals is never merely 'the external truth of the earth'.

Ideative Truth

His work, therefore, has to be judged by 'that ideative truth and power, the perfection and beauty of his presentation and utterance of it'. Shri Aurobindo has judged some masterpieces (Eastern as well as Western) accordingly, and his in-dpeth study of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana is quite revealing from this point of view. In these epics he discovers 'a highly artistic representation of intimate significance of life..., the ensouled image of a great culture'. Critical studies like these convinced him of the need to explore the possibility of new directions in creative activity. Hence his advocacy of what he chose to call the Future Poetry. The voice of this poetry comes 'from a region above us, ... a supermind which sees things in their innermost and largest truth by a spiritual identity and with a lustrous effulgency and rapture, and its native language is a revelatory, inspired, intuitive word, limpid or subtly vibrant or densely packed with the glory of this ecstasy and lustre. The success of the poet in pouring out this ecstasy or, as Shri Aurobindo calls, it 'divine ananda' into his readers is directly proportional to the extent to which the poet can 'conquer the human difficulties of the task ensuring that his word reaches directly and sinks deep into the soul of the reader. This precisely is the concern of Shri Aurobindo's 'overmind aesthesis' born of the overhead note in poetry, which in *Savitri* transforms a legend of the past into a symbol of the future.

To quote the poet's own words:

'A glamour of the unreached transcendences
Iridescent with the glory of the Unseen,
A message from the unknown immortal light
A blaze upon creation's quivering edge..."

Such a poetic outburst, according to Shri Aurobindo, is possible only 'in a white heat of inspiration' as was the case with his *Love And Death*, which he created during fourteen days of continuous writing in the mornings. What is remarkable in this poetic activity is the poet's serious preoccupation with his office work during the day and his social programmes with his friends in the evenings. It is in this white heat that the inspiration of language and the inspiration of rhythm fuse together into poetic perfection; and 'even the common or often-used phrases and ideas burn brilliantly with the rest'. At a moment of dullness, however, Shri Aurobindo would wait for the white heat in which 'entire transcription would rapidly take place'. But he rightly concedes to every poet his own way of working and finding his own devices of overcoming the incertitudes of inspiration.

Intensity of Vision

What Shri Aurobindo is emphatic about is the intensity of vision by dint of which the poet's soul 'sees' so that the eye, senses, heart, thought and mind become its 'passive instruments'. This indeed is what he describes as 'writing direct from the illumined mind, finding there not only the substance, but also the rhythm and language. Without referring to the various levels of consciousness discussed in the *Life Divine*, it is necessary to point out that Shri Aurobindo's fivefold classification of poetic style as the *adequate*, the *effective*, the *illumined*, the *inspired*, and the *inevitable* has something to do with what Dr. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar has aptly referred to as 'the milestones of high mind, Illuminated Mind, Intuition and Overmind through which the mind must on its way be Supermind. Shri Aurobindo has, however, made it clear that the Kavi is not the *Manishi* whose function is logical thinking, scientific analysis or metaphysical reasoning. Poetry written of intellect according to him, therefore, is poetry written without soul'.

Apart from this 'overhead' insistence on the spiritual mainsprings of inspiration there is to be little, therefore, in Shri Aurobindo's aesthetics which is not covered by the writers on the subject. His

main basis, moreover, has been on the lyrical as 'the primary poetical motive and spirit'. The dramatis and the epic, according to him, come only after that; and prose is very scantily treated as a genre of literary expression.

How then should we apply this aesthetic outlook to Kashmiri poetry? Exploring the mainsprings of inspiration would not be possible without authentic source-material like the poet's own statement on the dynamics of his creative activity. Categorical study of this poetry under the fivefold classification of the poetical style already referred to would at best present a vague appraisal. Perhaps Shri Aurobindo himself would have cared to undertake such a study in terms of the 'overmind touch' or the 'mixture of the intuitive, illumined and the overmind touch' as he has done in the case of certain lines or stanzas presented to him by his disciples for opinion.

Aesthetic Responses

Would it not, therefore, be appropriate if we take our cue from aesthetic responses of Shri Aurobindo rather than from his theorizings and approach Kashmiri poetry also accordingly? Let us then look for some works which even in parts could have attracted his attention and evoked his admiration, by virtue of their 'accuracy of vision' and 'authenticity of rhythm' as well as 'genuineness of their experience'. Such works may not be many; yet the few that come to mind are quite revealing, particularly some of the *mystical utterances* of Lal Ded and Nund Rishi; the *lyrical outpourings* of Haba Khatoon and Arnimaal; the *Sufistic* ardour of soul-intoxicated poets like Azia Darwesh, Swachha Kraal, Niaama Saa'b, Shamas Faqir, Wahab Khaar and even Mahmood Gaami, the poet of the Masnavee; the pangs of separation suffered by lovelorn lasses and heroines like *Noshlab* and *Heemal;* the allegorical beauty of Parmaanand's *Sodaamcharit, Raadaa-svayamvar* and *Shevalagan*; the spiritual abandon of Krishna Raazdaan's *Raas-leelaa*; the intriguing significance of Rahmaan Daar's *Shash-rang;* the devotional quality of some *Naats* of Abdul Ahad Naadim; the moving tragedy of the *Akanandun*, on the one hand, and the *Marsia* (of the Karbala episode), on the other; the plaintive appeal of the *Soofiana Kalaam*; the artistic candour of the *Ghazal* of Rasul Mir, the interplay of the mundane and the divine in the *Ramayan* of Prakaash Raam; the *Patriotic fervour* of Mahjoor's neo-romanticism; the *clarion call* of Azad for reordering human society on principles cutting across all

distinction of colour, caste or creed; the *mystical humanism* of Master Zinda Kaul; and even the new experiments in poetic expression that had just started when the Mahayogi left the world.

Exhaustive Study

Since no exhaustive study is possible in a paper of this range, I propose sharing with the readers a few samples picked up at random. I shall not add any notes either. I shall just allow the English rendering to speak for the spirit of the original (despite the handicap of linguistic transformation);

From *Lal Ded:*

'With untwisted thread I tow the boat on sea,
Will He not hear my plea and take me across?
Like water in plates of unbaked clay I seep away,
Would that I reach the home?'
'The meadow of the Void I crossed,
I lost my consciousness;
Aware of myself I became;
Aspiring, I, Lallaa, a lotus bloomed'.

(Tr. by PNP)

From the song of *Aziz Darwesh:*

'Hear, O dear, the sweet sweet symphony,
I improvised a bridge of self and moved across;
And I beheld a bright revealing dawn;
Who a Hindu there, who a Musalmaan?
All akin, none alien, one we are'.

(Tr. by PNP)

From *Parmaanand's Raadaa-svayamvar:*

'In every birth to Thee is Radha wedded,
In every part Thou played'st upon the stage,
As lotus roots beneath the lake embedded,
Her love blooms forth again in every age...'
And Radha blossomed like the jasmine blown,
Upon the hill-tops in the early dawn...
'The Gopis saw the all-pervading bliss,
Unlike ascetics, meditating long,
Who leave all joys and yet the vision miss,

Their dry lips parched proclaiming right and wrong,
They ask release, and yet by chains are bound
While cowherd girls rise on the wings of song...'

(Tr. by Nilla Cook; Asia)

From the 'Angel's Dance' by *Wahab Khaar*:

'Love said: I shall create by my own hand
My own Beloved; and the Tablet came
And thee pen. O, joy. I wrote by God's command.
And there was Shaikh Sanaa who on the name
Of Rama told the zikr on his beads,
And loved a Hindu girl, confused the creeds
And worshipped idols, caring not for blame.
'I am the Truth', Mansur said, and could find
His love within the shrine of his own mind,
A secret which is difficult to tell.
And since I too have tried to glance
Upon the secret of man's being, I kneel,
And lo, the Angels have begun to dance'.

(Tr. by Nilla Cook)

From 'The Eternal Lover' by *Master Zinda Kaul:*

'He sends me letters now and then,
In many different envelopes, a sky
Of stars, a lotus lake, a butterfly,
A woman or a man with beauty blessed,
A pair of dancing fawns, a nightbirds cry,
A flowering meadow or a daffodil,
Narcissus blossoms or a nightingale,
A stream like Ahrabal, a waterfall,
The truly wise who false desires kill,
and owning nothing by their love own all...
One night there came with the late rising moon
A sweeter music from the songs of space,
A flower-fragrance filled my dwelling place,
The starling spoke, the breeze before the dawn
Came, pollen-laden petals to embrace.
So beautiful the perfumed air became,
So musical the mingling of the stream
With melodies of bulbuls in a dream;

I asked, had my Eternal Lover come?
(Tr. by Nilla Cook)

I think pieces like these could fairly well justify the Mahayogi's insistence on the 'overmind touch' which according to him was essential for an aesthetic fusion of genuine experience with accurate vision and authentic rhythm.

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Chapter 68

KASHMIRI THINKERS OF MONISTIC PHILOSOPHY

Dr. B.N. Pandit

Vedantic Monism :

The Advaita Vedanta of Gaudapada and Sankracharya did not become popular with Kashmirian thinkers even upto the eighteenth century. The Vedantic principle of the beginningless ignorance as the cause of the whole phenomenal existence was criticised by Somananda and Utpaladeva in the 9th century, but they did not mention the name of either Gaudapada or Sankra. There must have been earlier propagators of such theory, whose views were criticised by them. It appears that Kashmir did not produce any Advaita Vedantin whose work could survive the onslaughts of later historical events. Kashmirians did not build any monastery for Vedantic sanyasins even upto the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh.

It was in the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh that a visitor *sanyasin,* named Mahadeva-ashrama who initiated a worthy Kashmirian disciple into his order and that disciple came to be known as Santa-Ashrama. He is the first known Vedantic Sanyasin of Kashmir. Dr. Balakrishna Kaul, a meritorious Kashmiri Pandit, introduced Advaita Vedanta to Kashmirian scholars. It was through his advice and guidance that Sonakak Razdan of Srinagar studied Advaita Vedanta of Sankara from Swami Vishuddhananda Sarasvati, another visiting Sanyasin. Dr. Balakrishna's father a helped Sonakak Razdan to visit Varansi where he stayed for some time and made a thorough study of the subject. He returned to Kashmir as as the first Kashmirian scholar of Advaita Vedanta and taught it to many

scholars in the valley. In his line of disciples appeared Vedantins like Sankara Pandit, Atmaram, Gashakak etc. Another visiting Sanyasin Krishnana taught Vedanta to some Kashmirian *brahmacharians* in the time of Maharaja Harisingh. But, as we see it today such a spread of Advaita Vedanta in the valley was a mushroom growth and the traditions of such scholars and sanyasins have somewhat diminished.

Vaishnavite Monism :

The above discussion should not mean that Kashmir did not produce any authors of Vedanta at all. Vedanta of the *Vaisnavite* character was sufficiently popular in ancient Kashmir. Kashmirian Vedantins had long ago recognized (1) *Brahmasutra,* (2) *upanishads,* (3) *Bhagavadgita* as the three source books of Vedanta philosophy. Bhagavad Bhaskara is one of such ancient Kashmirian Vedantins. He is at least as ancient as Sankaracharya. He established the *bheda-bheda* school of Vedanta. Such school maintains that the unity of Brahman as well as the diversity of the multifarious phenomena are both correct and really existent. Brahman appears himself as the whole phonemenon, just as gold appears in the form of hunderds of ornaments, just as the unity of gold in them and their multiplicity are both correct and true so is god ever one single existent entity appearing in numerous forms of finite subjects, objects etc. An aspirant has to see him in all phenomenal multiplicity and that solves his problem. There is nothing in the phenomenon which is not in fact Brahman Himself. The viewpoint of Bhaskara is thus pantheistic in character while that of the Advaita Vedanta leans towards nihilism.

The same principle of Bhedabheda was later developed independenly in the South by Nimbarka in the eleventh century A.D. He has since then been recognized as the originator of such a school of Vedanta. But Bhaskara, who developed such theory in the eighth or ninth century, has all, along been lying in oblivion.

Bhaskara wrote a detailed commentary on Brahmasutra which was published and is even available in some libraries. Only about a half of his commentary of the Bhagavadgita has been discovered so for and that also was once published. Only some quotations from his commentary on the Chandogya Upanisad have so far become available. Bhaskara follows the Kashmirian text of the Bhagvatgita.

Saktamonism :

Monism as a philosophic theory was popular with Kashmirian thinkers belonging to more than one practical systems of theology. Thus there were Saiva and Sakta thinkers also who taught monism. Sivananda natha, a great practitioner of Saktism, taught monistic philosophy in the eight century A.D. He is the originator of the system of the Kali worship of a philosophic character. The form of the Kali worship in Bengal is ritualistic in character, while the Kashmirian system of that worship is an advanced type of *jnana-yoga.* It was on such account incorporated by Abhinavagupta into the *Sakta-upaya* of the Trika system of Saivayoga. Sivananda natha imparted such system of *koliyuga* to these *yoginis* named (1) Keyuravati, (2) Madanila and (3) Kalyanila.

Passages in the language of the common people (desh bhasa), quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrasara* and *Paratrimsakavivarana* may have been drawn from the works of such yoginis. Their three chief disciples were (1) Govindaraja, (2) Calerabhanu (Bhanuka) and (3) Eralcanatha respectively. Govindraja imported the system to Somananda in the 9th century. Through a long line of his disciples it reached Jayaratha in the 12th century. Calerabhanu had many disciples. Through one of their lives it reached Abhinavagupta in the 10th, century. Bhutitaja, the preceptor of the father of Abhinavagupta, also got it from Calerabhanu. Srivasta, alias. Kali-dase, the author of *Cidgaganacandrilea,* also had got it from the same precepter. The system had been practised thoroughly by Siddhanatha, alias Sambhunatha, the author of the famous *Kramastotra.* The system of such yoga was generally called *Kalinaya.* Later it came to be known as *kramanaya.* By the 12th. century A.D. it had become so popular with the Kashmirian theologians that Jayaratha gave it recognition as a separate and independent system of Saiva-yoga.

Kalinaya prescribed a special type of contemplative meditation on one's universal monistic nature that results in direct realzation. It is thus a contemplative practice aimed at the realization of one's unity with the whole phenomenon consisting of the trinity of numerous subjects, objects and the means of knowing (*pramatr,* prameya and pramana). A practitioner of such Sakta monism visualizes Kali as his own divine power absorbing. The above mentioned trinity at the stages of diversity, diverse-unity and absolute unity.

Just a few fragments or works by ancient authors of such monistic system of yoga are available at present and most of them are quoted by authors of Saiva monism. Abhinavagupta's *kramastotra* is the only complete and available Kashmirian work on the system. *Saivamonism* The traditions of Saiva monism, based on the *Vayavya-Sambita* of *Saiva-Mala-purana,* were prevalent in Kashmir from the most ancient ages. There were several indigenous Kashmirian scholars who worked constantly in the filed of Saivite monism, and the most prominent among them were the families in which philosophers like Bhatta Kallaya, Bhatta Pradyumna, Bhatta Narayana etc. appeared from time to time. Other such families were those that produced great teachers like Bhntiraja, Nelaraja, Adityaraja etc. Many scholars from such families patronized and practised Saivism.

Lalitaditya's time was the golden age of Kashmir. It attracted scholars from different parts of India. The families of such scholars became completley Kashmirian in two or three generations. In such families were discovered Saiva philosophers like Utpaladeva, Ramakantha, Vasugupta, Abhinavagupta etc. in course of time. The fourth degree ancestor of Somananda also migrated to Kashmir in the 8th century. He was Sangamaditya who brought along with him the Tika school of Saiva monism to Kashmir. That philosophy took deep roots in the soil of Kashmir and flourished to such an extent that it over shadowed all other systems of monism. Many great seers and saints appeard in the school of Sangamaditya and the important scriptures of the Trika system were revealed to them. Vasugupta, among them, discovered *Saivasutra* and derived the philosophy of Spanda system from it. He imparted its doctrines to Bhatta Kallata who developed them academically in his *Spanda-karsasva.* He attained such success in its practice that he became very famous as a *siddha,* a perfect saint. His many other works like *Tativa-vicera, Madhu vahini, Tattvar-cintamani* etc. are known references.

After Bhatta Kallata appeared Somananda. He composed *Sivadrsti,* the first philosophic treatise written in a logical style on Saiva monism. References to his commentary on *Pratrimsaka* also are available, but the work itself has been lost. His chief disciple Utpaladeva presented the principles of Saiva monism through a highly refined and polished logical style and composed several valuable philosophic works like *Isvara-pratyabhijna, Siddhitrayi,*

Sivadrsti-urtti etc. Some of his works have also been lost and are known only through references and quotations.

Abhinavagupta, the grand disciple ofUtpaladeva, explained the works of both these great philosophers and systematized the practical yoga and the ritualistic portion of the Trika system in his *Tantraloka* and *Tautrasara*. He is the greatest interpreter and the final authority on the principles and doctrines of Saiva monism and his works represented the climax of the growth of such school of philosophy.

Saiva monism does not agree with some fundamental principles of Vedantic Advaita. The Advaita Vedanta explains the phenomenal manifestation on the basis of the principle of inescapable and beginningless ignorance. It has been argued there that entities like matter, mind, soul, god etc., are mere appearances shining as a result of such ignorance. It establishes thus the real and absolute existence is Brahman, an ineffective and unaffected absolute entity, on one hand, and a beginningless false and merely apparent existence of basic ignorance which is the source of everything and every function in the whole phenomenon.

Saiva-monism asserts that godhead is the very essential nature of Brahman and on it is based the appearance of matter, mind, finite being and all that shines in the phenomenon. It is thus a principle of theistic absolutism and is sufficiently pantheistic in outlook while the absolutism of the Advaita Vedanta comes closer to the nihillism of Nagarjuna.

Sankaracharya propounded such nihilistic theory of *Vivarta* in his youth and it is the product of his youthful intelligence. In his higher maturity he wrote poetic works like *Saundarya-lahari* and works on practical Vedanta like *Prapancasaro Tantra*. These are the results of his higher spiritual experiences. Padmapada, his direct disciple, explained his *praponcasara* through a detailed commentary. Vedantic doctrines contained in such works, composed in higher maturity, came sufficiently close to Saiva monism. But, unfortunately all the later Sankarita ignored them and concentrated only on the logical works of the great teacher and came down to the position of crypto-Bhuddhists.

The Vaisnavite monism of Bhaskara and others sees all phenomena as god in different forms. They say that God's divine power becomes transformed into the whole phenomenal existence, thus relying on the theory of *Parinama* or transformation. That

does not appeal the Advaita Vedantins, because it implies change in the form and character of god who is thus reduced to the position of a changing inanimate entity.

Saiva monism over-came such logical problem by taking resort to the theory of reflection. They say that neither god nor this divine power does ever undergo any change; they remain always one changeless Absolute known by means of such two names and concept coined simply for the sake of clear understanding. As for the phenomenal manifestation, they explain it as the outword or objective reflection of the divine powers of god, shining within the mirror of his own consciousness, by virtue of his own free and playful will which is his essential nature. Had it not been so, nothing would ever have undergone creation. Brahman, show of such divine nature, would have come down to the position of *sunya* or vacuum.

Sakta monism is in complete agreement with Śaiva monism on all essential and fundamental principles of philosophy. The difference appears only in outlook and verbal usage. It is on such account that Utpaladeva, while commenting on the third chapter of *Sivadrsti* devoted to the examination of the verbal usages prevalent among Saktas like Bhatta Pradyumna, calls them '*svayu thyas*', that is, the thinkers of own group. Even Abhinavagupta appears as a Sakta in his religious lyrics in praise of the Mother Godess Kali. It has been clarified by him that there is, in fact, no difference between *Sakti, Siva* and *Parama-Siva,* the absolute. He says that such concepts under such names are meant just to make the seekers of the Truth understand it in all its aspects. *Sakti* is the Truth, Siva is its transcendental aspect and Parmasiva is the Absolute to be understood in these two aspects. Such Saiva monism can be termed as absolutism.

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Chapter - 69

SHRI ANAND VARDHANA-CHARYA

Dr. Nancy Jetly (nee Ambardar)

Shri Anand-Vardhana-Charya lived during the reign of Avantvarman, as is specifically pointed out by Kalhana in Raj Tarangini.

Avanti Varmana's rule lasted from 857 A.D. to 884 A.D. The Acharya was indeed an original thinker and in fact a genius. He was a brilliant poet, but his masterpiece is universally acclaimed to be *Dhunyalok*, a work on poetics. None of his other works is either available or known by their names except the two poetical works '*Argun Charitra*' and '*Visham Ban*', a mention of which has been made by him in his masterpiece 'Dhunylok'. A short book of prayer songs "*Devi Shatak*" has however been discovered and has been printed in kavya-Mala Series. His stature can be judged by the fact that about 80 commentries and translations of Dhunyalok have been compiled by most unknown authors including one by the name of "Cochan" by Shri Abhinavagupta.

Poetics or the laws regarding the essence of poetics in Sanskrit has its roots in the remote past. We speak of vedic times, but it is a vague and a fluid conception. Some scholars have even maintained that some parts of Veda were actually comprised by Kashmiris. But in between this euphemeral past we come across Bharat Munis '*Natya Shastry*' in which he has clearly said that this Shastra is the fifth Veda. After this *Alankar Shastra*, the book which most strikes our imagination is Valmiki Ramayana from the point of view of use of poetic embellishments in it, especially similies. In what age the Ramayana was written is a debatable issue, but it is generally agreed that it has been compiled at least 600 years before Christian era. Then we are confronted with Bharato *Natya Shastra*, but here also a predecessor of his, Kohal by name is mentioned in later Kashmiri works. We then jump into Puranic era as it suits our convenience. Here we come across *Agni Purana* an encyclopaedic work on the then known different branches of knowledge. We have deliberately ignored the Mahabharta. In Agni Purana we find that number of Alankaras is eight. We then suddenly come out of this twilight and are accosted by clear light of Bhati and Bhama. They however pose a puzzle, as, in "Kavya" of Bhati and "Kavyalankar" of Bhama not only the number and name of Alankaras is the same, but also at

various places the language is also identical. As for Bhama we hear a sign of relief to learn that scholars are unanimous in their opinion that he was a Kashmiri of pre-Christian era. Dandi and Pana, after a lapse of centuries, freely lifted bodily portions of Bhama's work. Whether they too were Kashmiris is not definitely established. Afterwards Kashmiris appear to have monopolized the subject and many a scintillating scholar after scholar went on adding to the number of prevalent Alankaras with convincing logic and pristine style. A few renowned names are Ud-Bhata who wrote *Karya-Alankar-Sar Sangreh*, Vaman and his '*Kavya Lakhur*'. This Shri Vamana lived in the reign of Jaya-pida (771 A.D. to 813 A.D.). He was a minister of the King, as laid down in Talanga 4 Shaloka 417 of Raj Tarangini. Rudratt and Rudra Bhat followed in succession in or about 1061 A.D. They were high class poets also. The time had advanced in permutation and combination of the well known as well as a few obscure Alankaras by devious and clever ways, when suddenly our hero Ananta Vardhana almost struck down by his contemporaries introduced a new concept, a new discovery of the importance of subtle and symbolic suggestion by sound and its implication, in the quality of poetic diction. His "*Dhwangalok*" delights and mystifies scholars even now. The concepts of Rasa and "Riti" stood their ground for some time on basis of sound reasoning and persuasiveness, but eventually they too succumbed to the charm of Dhawani and admitted that these aspects were well contained in and were a corollary of the theory of Dhwani. Scores of profound Pandits mostly Kashmiris dallied with poetics after Dwamikar as he was known then, and they too became favourites in their merit, but could not attain the height and flight of Dwamikar. There were such veterens amongst them as Shri Mamatta, Bhat Kallata, Abhinav Gupta, Dhamadhara Rajya Shekhara, Kuntala, Rupyaka and the polygot Mankhaka. In and outside Kashmir veterens like Chandra Shekhara, Vishwantha, Pandit Rajya Jayan Natha basked in the benevolent glory of Dwadikera by merely writing commentories on this one work.

In Natya Shastra only 4 Alankaras are described. Later in Agni Puran the number reached upto 15. In between from 6th to 8th Century during the times of Bhama, Bhatti, Ud Bhat, Vaman etc. almost the same number of Alankaras were juggled with, different and unique, connotations. It was time when Shri Anandacharya propounded the revolutionary theory of Dhawani. He was followed

by stalwarts (all Kashmiris) like Kanjak Mahim, Abhinav Gupta, Mammat, Rupyak as also Dendi (a non-Kashmiri). The number of Alankars which was about 40 in the time of Bahmah rose to 50 in the time of Vaman and later upto about 100 in the time of Rupyak. In the 18th century the number, though in a sterile and repetitive manner went upto almost 190. The last renowned exponent was certainly Pandit Raj Jagan Nath, who wrote *Raja Gangaren* on this subject.

Let Kashmiri Pandits therefore be proud of such magnificient cultural heritage and strive to maintain our glorious traditions and keep our head high.

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Chapter - 70

MASTERJI—THE APOSTLE OF LOVE

Dr. B.N. Parimoo

In the long line of the mystic poets of Kashmir, late Pandit Zinda Kaul, Masterji, occupies a place of honour. His presence is still very real for us today. Lalla-Yogeshwari, Sheikh Nuruddin (Wali), and Swami Parmananda—the bright stars of Kashmir belonging to the past. One has to reconstruct their thoughts and philosophies with the help of the rich treasure of verse they have left behind, but often tarnished by inaccuracies and interpolations made by their overzealous admirers. We have also to depend on history which is not always free from individual bias. In regard to Masterji we stand on safe ground. For many of his living disciples, students, and admirers, he is still very alive. For them he was not merely a scholar and poet but also a great saint. And the testimony to his sainthood is his mystical verse, full of depth and vision. Such verse cannot gush out of the heart of any but a realized soul. His devotees aver that he had a magnetic personality.

It was a special day for me when I went to meet Masterji once at his residence at Babapora, Srinagar. Seated on a straw-mat in a conspicuously bare room, he presented a picture of renunciation personified. He was scribbling something on a sheet of paper lying on a low, wooden desk in front of him. I was greeted with a charming, ineffable smile that at once reassured me that I was not an unwelcome

intruder. It is hard not to remember that smile, always. Perhaps, none could be in the way of the great man. Once or twice he lifted his half-closed, sparking eyes, as he mended the pencil, and spoke in a low, affectionate tone which scarcely rose above a whisper. And then he wrote on. I watched him almost quizzically as a child may watch an amazing, inscrutable phenomenon. His white little turban and a grey *phiran* lent size and shape to the small bundle of bones that he had been reduced to. He was fair of complexion and may have once been quite handsome. But Time's corrosive hand had not been idle crow's feet imprinted round the corners of his eyes and furrows dug into his brows told me that he might have been in his seventies. He did not talk to me much and I was shuffling. Little did I realize then that I was facing an extremely unassuming mystical genius.

Masterji has left us a precious collection of poems written in Kashmiri language. He has rendered the poetry of Swami Parmananda into English verse and he has to his credit poems in Hindi too. But to me he stands out as a high priest of the traditional Shaivite philosophy of non-Dualism and the concept of Universal love as a means of attainment of earthly peace and heavenly bliss. Transcendental and the Immanent are but two aspects of one and the same Indivisible Absolute Reality. The eternal, baffling question "Why did He manifest Himself?" is answered in the poem entitled 'Razah'. He manifests Himself for Amusement.

Razah panne disha dramut
Yor amut gindne,
Natsnas zan mor amut
Yor amut gindne,

The king (Atma) has, of His own will, descended from His plane (of pure spirit), and came here (into space and time and matter) to amuse himself. In His joy He is like a peacock (displaying beauty and seeking love)". (Masterji).

The creed of Unity of Being is enunciated in several poems. In '*Shinah Wolun'*—The Snowfall—the burden of the song is a picture of one vast, snowcovered, unbroken, levelled landscape, glistening under the moonlight.

Shinah wolun ta zoona-gashuv farshah trovun!

The diversity disappeared under the all encompassing Moonlight, when the snow fell.

sanner ta voganer famba tundan tal veparovun.

Kharavun ta malkut, kut sundar ta pron basanovun
Aki jamuk nal-dol, bal-pathul hovun:
Shinah wolun .....

The depressions and the mounds were made even.
Heaps of carded cotton filling the former,
How white and beauteous the ugly and the dirty looked!
The top and the bottom of the garment, the mountain and valley.
Came undifferentiated, when the snow fell.

Anugraha varshun havi yitha Diva darshun kunuy
Dwayat galith ika-ras thavi pathkjun kunuy.
Wuzun ta shongun, zyon-marun, yun ta gatsun kunuy
Andra ta nebra prema-my, par to panum kunuy
As the Divine grace dawns, destroying duality,
Unity remains binding everything in its fold;
Wakefulness of sleep, birth or death, coming or going,
Within and without, stranger and kinsman,
Love dyes them all in His ubiquitous grace.

(So was it as the snow fell!).

Yih shin dishit yad pevan chhum Jugi Raye
Yemi sur molumut nura-badanas to hiposha kaye
Sarva-soh tyaguk Ishta Divanilola ta maye
Bo pari lagahas jugi-chali ta saniyas-traye

The snow reminds me of the Hermit-Lord;
Besmeared with ashes; His resplendent, delicate body is a symbol of perfect renunciation for Love's sake: How I admire the Yogi's bearing and the Sanyasi's profile!
(So the snow fell ......)

The snowfall signifies the Divine presence in all that exists. Objectified snow acts as a reminder to the poet of Shiva-a symbol of renunciation and *yoga*, and the fountain-head of pure, unalloyed spiritual love.

The poetry of Masterji covers a vast range of subjects spreading over a broad gamut, from subjects dealing with religious humanism (*Karanavi tarakh na*-Ferryman Take Me Across; *Majburiah* Helplessness, etc.) to subjects dealing with mystical longing

(*Sannyasi*, The Great yogi, *natayaari* Unpreparedness etc.). But the strain of spiritual 'love' predominates with him,

Kuni-paathi, kantsah, mayi-sreh vuzanaves naye

(The soft sonorousness brought about by artistic deftness is typical of Masterji's skill as a poet. Even when the inspirational onrush is torrential, the artistic balance is no, upset). The vital current of love permeates his poetry through and through.

In his message on the occasion of the New Year's Day, published in *Patra Pushpa*, Upahar No. 1, 1941, Masterji says:

1. "The means to attain Peace, Happiness and Cheerfulness is true religion; but religion takes numerous forms and good deeds are variously enumerated".

2. "My capital being so very small, what should I buy with it and what leave alone. Thus human reason is often perplexed".

3. "But there is a touchstone for this kind of gold, a key to this science. It is the constant feeling of pure love; without love no piety is truly pious".

4. "For Love is the direct realization of happiness, and Hate is obvious misery; there is no virtue like Love and no sin like Hate".

In *'Naatayari'* [Unpreparedness], he says:

Yes kulis sag dikh, zaminas wait sreh
Lol yem yas kansi bhor, tami bhor Dayas
Lol tas nishi draw tasi watan tsopari
Gatalev yi zon yim vatith payas.

Whichsoever plant you water, the earth beneath is moistened,
Love whomsoever you may, you love the Lord;
He is the ocean of Love, and all rivers flow back to Him,
The wise who discovered the key (to bliss) realized this.

In the invocation to the Lord entitled *'karanavi tarakh naa'* while he deplores the sore condition of our country—*Nakarah gfomutnagar soan...*, the panacea for all ills is categorically prescribed

in the following lines:

Yati sarivary Dai monumut
Kun data, malikh, maji-mol
Khokha-bati, tarakh, vigni, yachh
Travith bharan tas yot lol
Pava nishi na dalan ora-yor.

Where all have faith in the Supreme Lord The lone Giver, The Master and the Parent, Giving up all superstitions, love Him alone. Where none swerves from the marked goal (May you boatman, ferry me across to that land!)

With the conviction that Love is the only redeemer of man out of the clutches of the Evil and Hate represented by Kans, it is no wonder that Masterji devoted time and labour to translating Swami Parmananda's poetry, Krishan-Sudama, Radha-Swayamvar etc. His first poem in the Hindi collection is 'Prem Kanayha' — "Shri Krishna is Love", and beyond any shadow of doubt, Masterji was a dedicated Apostle of The God of Love.

Sumaran, a collection of Masterji's poems in Kashmiri, has been properly edited so as to place A Hymn To Love (Lolas Kun) at number one. The following lines sum up the recurring theme of love which appears to have become the substance of Masterji's spiritual being:

Wuchhim gat chani daivagat
Tse vin Dai no saray lolo;
Me andar kar panun mandar,
Bo tsay puzah karay lolo.

Marvellous have I found Thy power, O Love
I cannot adore any God but Thee.
Make my being Thy temple, O Love,
thus may I worship Thee, within me.

(Universal love raises man above the pettinesses of life).

Again:

Bo chane veri sombravay,
Achhiv kin ranga rupuk ras
Kanav kin shabda sazuk mas
Anith khasen bharay lolo.

For Thy sake will I glean with my eyes
The essence of colour and form,
My ears will fill the cups for Thee
With nectar of word and sound.

(All the powers of body and mind are dedicated to the service of Love).

Love has the efficacy of generating the blessed power of perception of Unity in the obvious diversity of the world. Naturally, Masterji's prayer swells to an earnest appeal for the light of realization.

Panun me tizkuy agur
yiman zaram andar basem
Kuner bavit yiyi, duyi kasum
gfate handi gashre, lolo!

May I realize in every atom of the world
thyself the source of Light!
May Thy Unity be revealed to me!
May duality disappear!
O Love, the Light of Lights!
The remover of darkness!

And those who happened to know Masterji very intimately unanimously declare that universal love was his eclat.

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Chapter - 71

MASTERJI (ZINDA KAUL)

Prof. J.L. Kaul

"Or are you one of those gifted souls in whose hands God has placed a voile to sooth the spirit ..... and bring his fellowmen close to Life and the Beauty of Life? If so, you are a torch to light us on our way, *a sweet longing in our hearts*, and a revelation of the divine in our dreams". (Kahlil Gibran, *italics mine*)

Masterji's poems help us to discover "a sweet longing in our hearts", lying mostly dormant and unnoticed. Sometimes they do

more: they are "a revelation of the divine in our dreams" 'With the bare, sheer, penetrating' power of poetry to transport us to a state of serene blessedness where, from the disturbance of doubt set free, we are made to share an experience which is itself the proof of its own truth—this power to communicate a moment of vision is the mark of excellence in mystical poetry.

Pa'tymi pa'hray trov po'tzooni gaah......
tyuth samman saa'npum me' do'p suy
yoory aav
It was the last watch of the night, the wan
Late-rising moon with her pale light suffused
The sky, and flowers their fragrance breathed into
The air, The hum of space and murmur of
The stream merged in the silence of the night,
And subtler music made. The oriole sang
And, faint and far away, the starling spoke,
And pollen-laden breeze gently stirred.
A sense of mystery pulsated all
Around and expectation filled the air
"Had my eternal lover come?" I asked
(*Naatayaa'ree*)

Or, to impress on us the conviction of mystical certitude, dissolving all doubt albeit forcefully expressed, by the ardour of thought and felicity of poetic expression—this too is a rare achievement, as in *Vadihe Manush* (*man's Lament*).

dapahav ta'mis yas ratsh na sreh
ta'mysunz diyee phal veer kyaah...
dil chus na maanaam po't atsun
vasvas karav za'njeer kyaah
tas te vuchav takseer kyaah
chaa lol yaaraftaa' riyaah...

Man pleaded with his heart...

"He has no love,
Why sue to Him?
Will a willow tree yield thee a pear?
Knowest thou the path that leads to Him.
What means of approach canst thou find?

Would it turn back?
And who can chain the wind?
And how is mind to blame?
Is love an idle fancy.
Is Beauty a vain illusive show?

In this admirable poem we have the certitude which surmounts all doubt and which, in a diction not divorced from the present day idiom, employing new rhyme schemes and rhythm patterns, rich in incantation and imagery, bodies forth the eternal *why* and the eternal *lol*-longing of the human soul.

What distinguishes the poetry of Masterji from the long line of Kashmiri mystical poetry is its modern note, the note of doubt and interrogation which finds a forceful expression in quite a few *ghazals* and other poems. In the telling couplets of *Azyuk Gatajaar* (The Wisdom of To-day), he gives us, in a satiric vein, the characteristics of our present-day wisdom. Knowledge is a Frankenstein's monster: it has wrested her secrets from Nature, enslaved the elements and given us untold power, wealth and ambition and, what is more, freed us all from fear of God. It has taught us that life is struggle, and those that will not kill must themselves perish. The wolf at large is safe while the lamb is daily driven to the shambles. In a ghazal (poem No. 26 in *Sumran*) he is almost mockingly cynical:

Christ promises heaven to the hungry pious,
"It must be a nice place", they think,
"But does it really exist?" they ask.

There is, however, the testimony of man's own heart (*dilu'c gavaahee*). True, the veil is lifted but seldom and light lasts only a lightning flash (*vuzamali gaah*). True also, people doubt if He has a heart which feels, but my own heart protests.

dill dapaan chum luka kathi kan thaa'vith
myon aasun chukh ma'shraevaa'nee
Why heed what others say?
and why forget that I exist?

Masterji did not write religious or sacred poetry as such, he did not write *stotras* and *leela* songs; but most of his poems are charged with a faith unshakably rooted in the testimony of his heart and

man's longing for God. God is the Ideal, the Absolute, the Impersonal *Nirguna Brahman* that pervades all that exists (*saa'rysu'yyosvaa' tith*).

poz rut suandar chhi zeev saa'ree tshaaraan
a'thy shamahas kun chhi zanta paa'mpu'ry laaraan
Yath kun yus yoot po'k ta'mis tyoot chhu door
Truth-Goodness-Beauty-that's what all men seek,
All rush like moth towards this Glorious Light
Which nearer you come to, the farther it recedes.

But this very *poz-rut-suandar* is the God we love and worship; he is the *Saguna Bhagavan* and *Narayana.*
Ta'thy aadarshas chhu naav pyomut Naaraan

And we find Masterji expressing, in oblique but richly suggestive symbolism, the aspirant's longing and God's response to it. In poems *Raaza* (the king), Sa'ny-yaa's (the Sannyasin), *Sont* (the Spring), *Sumran* (the token of love), *Joogy* (the Yogi), *Myul* (the Meeting) and the ghazal No. 25—in all of them God is regarded not in the abstract but in concrete relationships with His own creation, *His lila,* sport (*yor aamut gindnae*); with nature (*sont chaavaan baalayaaro ner*) and with man (*dildaar zonum maayiho't*).

God is love, Masterji knows no other God and, significantly, *Sumaran* opens with a hymn To Love (*lolas kun*)

tse vyan no day suaray lo lo
I know no God other than thee, O Love,...
I have seen thy narvellous power divine...
For thee mine eyes gather honied essence
from all colours and forms,
For thee mine ears fill cups on cups
with vintage of sound and song.

It is love that penetrates the veil of multiplicity and brings us face to face with One. And the seat of love is the human heart—a mere bubble which, nevertheless, has room for a storm of divine unrest.

lola so'druk akh hubabbah os dil
band ta'thy manz dardah toofanaah ko'run.

In *Vanan Manz Laal* (Gems in Deserts) the lovesick heart is mysteriously carried to the Garden of Love where it has a priceless vision of...

A mystic afflatus passing from heart to
heart, where fleshly eyes of man intervene
not Between two lovers.
The lovesick heart hath heard of God,
but here it sees none other than man, in
very truth the Formless incarnate.
Here it seems the self-same yearning to be free.
To feel the largeness of the Whole, and
To Become the Garden itself.
Here it realized How priceless is the
heart of man, and Lo:
God is love's Luminous flame within The
heart: for God chose His abode in love
when man was made.
and love his dwelling found where grief
was great, in the heart of the sorrowing
man.

The relationship between God and man is indeed a relationship of love. God is the Hound of Heaven; He is our lover from eternity, even on our heels pursuing us, and will not let us turn away from Him.

For we may turn away From Him,
But will He let us go?
maanav zi a'sy hyamay po't
choryaa tasund muhabath?

This is the theme of the eponymous poem, *Sumaran*, as also more subtly and profoundly that of *Naatayaa'ree* (unpreparedness). God like love, is long-suffering and while He may from time to time send man message after message—

a flowery meadow, a large lake, a starry sky...
a true fakir, a master-rider of passions fiery steed...

He will rather wait than take him unawares and unprepared and put him to shame.

Other notable successes are—

(a) *Sa'ny-yaa'sy* (The Sannyasi) written in popular folk-song (*chhakri*) metre with its tone of abandon and apt varying epithets in the fourth line of each stanza;
(b) *Soni* (The spring) which has, besides, strikingly true-to-nature descriptions; and
(c) *Joogy* (The Yogi) which, in deft irregular rhyming stanzas, gives us a poignant picture of an aspirant who has awakened to the inner life.
(d) The slow rhythm and restrained emotion of the widow's lament in the *ghazal* beginning.
Yaarasu'nde daadi do'dmut dil bahaar kyaah kare
vaav yo'dvay sont kaaluk aasi, naara kyaah kare

(The flowering spring comes mockingly to her whose heart for want of love's caress is dead. The spring may blow the balmy breeze yet does but only fan the flame in a heart afire).
(e) the sharply drawn sad picture of old age in *Haay Samsaar* (Oh, this World!)
(f) the lamentation of *Be'yi Saathaah Beh* (Stay yet awhile)
(g) the pen-portrait in *Akh Tasveer* which is, unusually for Kashmiri, neither a *Qasida* (Panegyric) nor a *tanz* (satire);
(h) the neat couplets of the *ghazal* beginning *khaaka toodas baago-o bostaanaah ko'run* (A heap of dust into a garden He turned),
(i) the exquisite quality of feeling in the *ghazal* beginning *saaridaadic caarasaazas tas khabar aasyaa sanaa*

Oory yim shra'pymu'ty timan aahan asar aasyaa sanaa.
Does He who can remedy all our ills
Know how very ill we are?
And can our unheaved sighs really touch His heart?
(j) the fervent prayer at the end of *Karanaavi Taarakh Na*, the only poem in which he bemoans the civic indiscipline and moral lapses of his time-

Where all have a living faith in God;

One, loving Father, Lord of all;
Where love, service and charity
are simple, supreme rules of life;
Where lands are vast and all have room to live;
Where all have work and none are idle;
Where disease and ugliness and evil ways of life;
do not stunt and warp the growth of man;
Where wars are unknown, and the skies serene
do not rain down poison gas and savage death;
Where none suffers from want and fear-
to that city Beautiful, Ferryman,
take me and my countrymen.

It is a high claim to make but it is true that about half-a-dozen poems of Masterji (Zinda Kaul) will deserve a place in any anthology of Kashmiri verse however selective. His poems are rich in assonance and skilful rhymes; he has given to Kashmiri verse some new rhyme patterns and stanza forms; and poems are "a sweet longing in our hearts" and sometimes even a revelation of the divine in our dreams. His epitaph could well be put in his own words.

soz-o-saazu'c bazm nooraa'nee ka'rith
shama-yo'dvay paana go'l jaanaah ko'run

(The candle lived and while it lived lighted up the concert of music and of love; it lived for others and died a noble death).

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Chapter - 72

INTUITIVE MYSTICISM OF MASTERJI

Prof. Kashi Nath Dhar

Mysticism is a continuous exercise in self-realization. It is an incessant mental drill in which the self and the super-self are fully identified. In Kashmir from the hoary times to the present day, this urge of the soul for becoming one with the super-soul has been always emphasized. Monistic Shaivism, as propounded in the 'Shiva Sutras' of Acharya Vasu Gupta, and later interpreted profusely by

Abhinava Gupta, is the first mile-stone of the human spirit on its pilgrimage to self-consciousness in Kashmir. The Kashmiri version of Persian Sufism has also influenced the Kashmiri thought to a large extent. This veritable quest for self education and self-discipline is therefore not at all foreign to the mental fibre of a Kashmiri. It is in his blood. Lalleshwari and Nund Rishi (14th Century A. D.) epitomized this mental trait in their *Vaks* and also gave it the most homely and appropriate expression in Kashmiri, pure and simple. Till then neither Sanskrit nor Persian ruled the day in this field.

This torch of interrogation and consequent self-satisfaction, the hall mark of mysticism, was kept alive by a host of Kashmiri thinkers like Parmananda, Rupa Bhavani, Gobind Kak, (Vanapoh), Shamas Faquir, Ahmed Rah, Samadmir, Shah Ghafoor and others and its virgin heights were admirably scaled by these stalwarts.

In mysticism two distinct trends are discernible. The first, born of experience, is termed as 'revealed' and the second, attained by intellect, is named 'intuitive'. The goal of both these media is the same; firstly, locating clearly the frontiers between the immanence and transcendence, and finally, fusing these into each other. The acme of such intellectual pursuit is rising above the Finite and getting closer to Infinite as speedily as possible, thereby minimising the distance between the two. In Islamic sufism also, similarly, two forms of mystic exhaltation are noticed, abnormal and supernormal. Ibni Farid calls these respectively as intoxication and sobriety of union. It can therefore, be said safely that intuitive mysticism is a non-stop intellectual process and is more arduous than the revealed for reasons obvious.

In this context of mystic discipline, Masterji has earned, by his own right, a prominent place in the galaxy of such thinkers who churn their intellect incessantly and groom it to explain the ideal spurning the actual. This should not be treated as self-deceit—fleeing from the life in all its naked realities instead of facing it with courage and patience, Masterji did not forget life around him, he did not abjure life even though it was always cruel to him. He was a civil servant by profession but a Savant by nature. As long as he remained in government service, he acquitted himself very well with undivided dedication to his profession. He drank at the fountain of life most voraciously. He wore his profession on his sleeves, so to say.

Perhaps, this acute sense of responsibility to his profession ignited the first spark of the mission he had to undertake in future. This formative period in his life ushered in the mental ferment which is so necessary for reaching the mystic plane. It is the moment of self-forgetfulness when the 'actual' with all the teeth is incapable to bite; the soul commences its flight to touch unknown horizons and the body has no meaning at this stage.

Masterji's life was no bed of roses. It had nothing palatable to offer to him, it only enabled him to keep the wolf from his door. He never lived in affluence. The cruel hand of death snatched away his dearest son; he had to fend for his widowed daughter-in-law and her children. He did not succumb under the weight of such calamities. He fought his life's problems in the most detached manner conquering these bit by bit, never losing hope. These came as a blessing in disguise and made a mystic of him, not out of spite for life, but for making it more meaningful.

Masterji was a profound scholar of Persian. He could not escape the influence and impact of great Persian mystics like Shams Tabrez, Maulana Rumi, Hafiz Shirazi and others. He had fully assimilated all that they had to say. The echo of Shams Tabrez's *Man* tu *Shudam, tu 'Man Shudi'* can be unmistakably understood from his verses also.

Masterji built his personality brick by brick. The foundation for this was provided by the Hindu mystic lore especially by the Kashmir Shaivism. Vedanta and the Upanishadas also acted as the cementing link to make it more broad-based. The Shaivas or the Vedantins is portrayed most eloquently in his 'Sumaran'. Masterji's intuitive mysticism is a happy blend of Hindu mystic thought and Islamic sufism. He toiled hard to attain to that plane of self-consciousness where the material contours melt away before the effulgence of the 'spirit'. A hand-to-mouth living gave him the required tools for rising above it. Erudite scholarship in Persian and Sanskrit opened for him the vistas of mystic exuberance achieved by a host of his predecessors. Self-discipline in the case of the first and self-education in the case of the second, are in themselves a worthy preamble to self-dependence, and this in itself paves the way to self-consciousness. Masterji's unambiguous attitude to mysticism is of synthesis in which intuition and intellect form the woof and the warp. The didactic content is, therefore, somewhat subdued in his poetry. He does not claim to be a preacher.

He only unravels the truths that he has perceived and realised in life. He does not even analyse these but only clothes these in most pulsating words as they ooze forth. The intensity of feelings does not afford him even a breathing time to ruminate on what he has written or expressed. He goes on serializing his heart-beats most candidly. His approach is suggestive and not direct. His innate introspection rejects the dross and only assimilates the pure—the yardstick for it being his unerring intellect, so 'Sumaran' is a codified version of his feelings and not a treatise on morality or ethics. His poetry is clear and more intelligible than that of Lalla or Nund Rishi, because his discriminating intellect has an edge over their onrushing experiences by which they feel over-whelmed. Masterji is always sure of the ground under his feet.

Masterji is a conscious artist like Goswami Tulsidas who without mincing words beckons to us in undertones, by implication, to make this life a veritable bridge to the life-beyond. He makes a happy compromise between the self and the super-self, matter and spirit, enjoyment and renunciation, intellect and intuition. He does not leave us guessing. That is, perhaps his most substantial contribution to our unbroken heritage of mysticism. It is not blurred or ambiguous like that of Kabir, Lalla, or Rupa Bhavani. It is plainly mirror-like in which we see not only our own image but also his. This evergreen quality makes Masterji live always with us mentally.

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Chapter - 73

THE SYNTHESIS IN KASHMIR TRADITION

Prof. S. Bhatt

Unity in diversity is the touchstone of the Indian way of life. In a country which is rich in culture, history and philosophy, a sense of eternal unity of spirit prevails among the people. Tagore spoke of the vision of a universal man. Iqbal spoke of this perennial spirit of the synthesis of India. Nehru's vision was bound with the composite culture of India. So also was the vision of Mahatma Gandhi.

Why has this synthesis in Indian tradition been glorified through history? Why have so many great men attempted to describe this synthesis in their own way? Because India has all the wisdom of all religions and philosophies in it. A synthetic view of these values enriches our society and the people. Synthesis creates harmony and joy. It produces great leaps in progress. Just as scientific progress is a result of synthesis and reformulation of old facts and ideas, a new amalgamation of life-style is helpful to encourage a creative view of life.

The secret of harmony in Kashmir tradition is due largely to the synthesis which continuously takes place through ages. This synthesis is based on an open-minded approach which is not dogmatic. Synthesis makes for easy adaptability. Ecologists, those who are concerned to see a healthy growth of relationships in people, approve of the synthetic approach to environment adaptation.

In the Kashmir tradition, therefore, we find many blending of faiths. Shaivism and Sufism are representative of this synthesis in the philosophic thought. In the folklore and other walks of life, a combination of ideas prevails which is based on a harmonious synthesis of values.

Poet Mehjoor attempted a great deal of synthesis of the ideas of Kashmir. He provided a synthesis of the ideas of Iqbal, Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. He was a realist. His conception of man was of a humble and good nature. He stood for the basic freedom of man. According to him, environment determined human nature. To him religion meant virtues of life such as character, love and purity of heart. This was a synthetic approach to religion rather than following a few dogmas. According to him, the Gita and Quran tell us the greatness of love, universal love. His view of religion was that of a humanist. He created harmony between various beliefs. He was keen to promote the happiness of man. He said: *Khush chui dunya, Khush thavun dil.* With this happy approach, he was keen to move towards progress in harmony with nature. As he said: *Wulu ha bagbano navbaharuk shan pada kar; phulan gul ghat karna bulbul tithee saman pada kar.* This synthesis between human progress and harmony with nature is the basis of Kashmir thinking. Along with this harmony with nature goes the harmony of faiths. As Mehjoor says: "*Haend Ratan Nav Khur Wayan Ahal-Deen; Nav Yami Mulkech Chalavaw Pan Waen*"

Jawaharlal Nehru was another great man from Kashmir who spread the synthesis of Kashmir tradition in the world. To him culture was what was best in the world. Progress to Nehru was the advancement of human spirit. Beyond science and technology, Nehru thought that the integrated and synthetic view of life given by persons like Plato and Buddha was of permanent value. Synthesis was needed, according to Nehru, to evolve new response to the changing structure of life forced by rapid changes in environment.

A synthetic mind is an open mind. It knows what human nature is, what love and tolerance is, what adjustment of life is, what respect to age is, what respect to mutual faith and worship is? All this we find in abundance in the Kashmiri tradition.

Today, world-wide we have an environment movement because man is out of harmony with nature. Kashmir's values of synthesis are a good guide to national and international living. Kashmiris, wherever they are, carry this message of joy and synthesis. They know the happiness out of it and they know how to live by this synthesis of life. The over-riding values of love, joy and understanding prevail over other technological values of limited interest.

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Chapter - 74

AT THE FEET OF SARASWATI

L. N. Raina

'The attainment of knowledge has been the urge of man since his evolution from the early existence. During the course of the development of civilisation, the more learned individual, by an inherent tendency, has made his talent known to the less-knowledgeable and helped to raise them to his own height. Knowledge involves development of certain moral qualities that make a civilised individual. It imparts mental peace, efficiency and creativeness which go to the making of a happy and successful life. It is thus that the worship of Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning, has been enjoined on every Hindu, more so on a Brahmin, who invokes her for enlightenment.

Saraswati sat easily in the hearts (to turn a Kashmiri phrase, 'on the lips') of Kashmiris from the dawn of civilisation. One of the eleven Shastras on which Hindu religion is based is attributed to Rishi Kashyap, the legendary creator of Kashmir after whom the Happy Valley is named. "In ancient times," says Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, "Kashmir was the 'high school' of Sanskrit learning and scholars from all parts of India came to the valley to study at the feet of great teachers and savants. Kashmir has been the home of Sanskrit learning and from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, romance, fable and philosophy. Kashmiris are proud and justly proud of the literary glories of their land. For centuries Kashmir was the home of greatest scholars and at least one great Indian religion, Saivism, has found some of its most eloquent teachers on the banks of the Vitasta. Some of the greatest Sanskrit poets were born and wrote in the valley".

Similarly, Buddhist literature (unlike in the rest of India where it was written in Pali) came to be written in Sanskrit in Kashmir, which indicates that Kashmiris made original contribution to the promotion of this great religion. Not only did students from the rest of India come to the valley for higher learning, even pilgrims and scholars from Central Asia and China made arduous journeys to study in Kashmir. Heun-Tsiang, as well as Che-mong and Fa-yong before him, spent years in the valley studying Buddhist texts in Sanskrit.

Kashmir had a number of libraries of Sanskrit manuscripts. Temples and Viharas were the repositories of these literary treasures. There were private collections maintained by families with literary tradition. Even in 1875 when Sanskrit learning had undergone centuries of traumatic suppression, George Buhler was able to find a large collection of rare manuscripts in Kashmir.

Kashmiri Brahmins had made an important contribution to the study of Vedic literature, grammar and philosophy. Patanjali, the great Sanskrit grammarian, is believed to have come from village Godra in south Kashmir. Other Brahmins whose contribution shine in Sanskrit grammar were Jayaditta. Vamana, Jagadara and Chika.

Kashmiris had distinguished themselves both in Sanskrit poetry and in poetics, (Alankar Shastra). Kshemendra, Anandavardhana and many others have contributed enormously to the Sanskrit poetics. Abhinavagupta, that great philosopher-saint-poet of

Kashmir, has written a treatise on aesthetics. There are others like Mamattacharya and Allata who have been hailed as famous contributors to poetics. In fact, the whole of Sanskrit poetics is permeated with original contributions of Kashmiri litterateurs. Mention needs to be made of the poet-historian Kalhana, who hasgiven us today a graphic and more or less authentic account of the literary and other activities of Kashmiris of yore. But Kalhana was not the first nor the last of the great Kashmiri historians. Before him came Helaraja, Padmamehra and Kshemendra and he was followed by Jonaraja, Srivara, Jayabhata and Suka.

The creative period of Sanskrit literature in Kashmir came to an end with foreign invasion. Though it continued for some time more in a static position, it did not remain the "high school" of Sanskrit learning which it once was.

Kashmir had cultural relations with Persia from ancient times and Persian words and ideas had seeped into Sanskrit even earlier. But Persian began to be studied in right earnest with the immigration of Sayyids and other scholars from Persia and Central Asia. Scholars went to universities in Bukhara, Samarkand and other place of Islamic culture and Sanskrit was replaced by Persian during the reign of Zainulabiddin.

Kashmiris took to the Persian language with same ardour as they had shown for Sanskrit. It produced poets and writers which can be compared in style and depth of thought with Persian poets of the time, Sarif, Ghani, Dairi and made a mark in Persian literature. Srivara, a noted Sanskrit scholar, adopted Persian style while writing his *Kathakautuka* in Sanskrit. It is obvious that apart from having to earn their living through the pen, Kashmiri Brahmins displayed their capacity for adaption to new situations and circumstances. Besides translating some of their religious books from Sanskrit to Persian, several Kashmiri poets composed devotional songs and hyms in Persian. Some of the earlier scholars who acquired eminence in Persian were Chandra Bhan Brahman, who, after serving Shah Jahan, was in the court of Dara Shikoh and even Aurangzeb, Lachiram Saroor who was greatly respected in the Oudh court and Anand Ram Karihaloo, a favourite of Shah Alam II.

Munshi Bhavanidas Kachroo's *Bare-e-Tawil*, no doubt, was held in high esteem but there were others who contributed no less to the enrichment of Persian. To name a few Taba Ram Turki,

Satram Bakaya and Gobind Kaul were noted literary figures. Daya Ram Kachroo was a prominent Kashmiri litterateur at the Kabul court.

All the while the common folk were in their own way forming their own *lingua franca*. Kashmiri, an admixture of various dialects and languages, was considerably influenced by Sanskrit and later by Persian on the advent of Islam. A book on Tantra was written in the 13th century of which we have knowledge. However, it was Lalleshwari who in the 14th century gave a push forward to Kashmiri with her Vakhyas, unparalleled compositions pregnant with Saiva philosophy and thought. She infused life in Kashmiri along with Sheikh Nooruddin, Nunda Rishi, who founded the Rishi order, wandering minstrels who gave a powerful thrust to the language among the masses. *Noornama* and *Rishinama* carried both Persian and Arabic influences. These were spiritual compositions. Romantic attributes of Kashmiri, however, came through Habba Khatun in the 16th century and Arnimaal.

There is an information gap on literary activity during the Pathan rule till we come to the middle of the 19th century when on the Kashmiri literary scene appears Paramanand with his devotional songs and Mahmood Gami to whose credit are numerous romantic works. Then onwards there is a long line of poets, noted among them being Shams Faqir, Rasool Mir, Abad Zargar, Sochi Kraal, Wahab Khaal, Wahab Khar and, more lately, Mahjoor, Masterji and Azad. Because of a lack of patronage and the absence of a script of its own, Kashmiri has a handicap which it finds hard to overcome. In Urdu, stupendous contributions come from Iqbal and Rattan Nath Sarshar who have left the stamp of their genius on that language.

Kashmiri Brahmins owned whole heartedly the English language no sooner it appeared on the scene. Again, not only for their concern for earning their bread but also because to vistas that this language opened for development, they exerted themselves to gain mastery over it. Some Kashmiris have written in English, chief among them being Jawaharlal Nehru who in exquiste style blazed the trail with his *Discovery of India, Autobiography* and his *Letters From A Father To His Daughter*. Jawaharlal's writing is in world class which may one day be counted among English classics. There are others who also have written well in various fields. Anand Kaul Bamzai's *Kashmiri Pandits, Archaeological Remains*

of Kashmir. Lalleshwari or Jammu and Kashmir State are good writings; so is his son's comprehensive *History of Kashmir.* Ramchandra Kak, Prof Jialal Kaul, Premnath Bazaz and some others have made notable contributions in English.

This effort at recapitulation in a rudimentary form is to remind ourselves of the literary heritage that we have to maintain and further promote. Kashmir and Kashmiris have gone through untold trials and tribulations down the ages. Yet they have not given up the pursuit of knowledge at any cost. Modern facilities and the inherent urge to improve have induced Kashmiris to go all over the world. For emotional stability it is necessary to maintain closer cultural, literary and other links, howsoever far flung we may live. In fact, that is all the more reason that we should strengthen these cultural bonds.

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Chapter - 75

'WHO AM I ?'

Prof. Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

Seeking pleasure in leisure
Robs thee of true pleasure.
Search then, for thy own joy
of incessant work and no fruit.
Work must be owned,
Absorption - a cheerful touch.
Courage - carefree and love-besmeared,
Make thee laugh away all labour.
You want no more, hunt, no shore.
Stoutly stepping up this rolling Earth,
Dauntless thou walkest the Path -
Flowing in water, shining in fire
And blowing fast in pervading air.
Measure thou the sky so vast.
Pause for a poise in cheerful charm.
If thou art the Herculean Hero,
Enter the unmoving full void.
Doubtless then. Thou art That -
Thy ocean of Bliss

Thy infinite Beauty, thy own Being
That never fades, for there's no shade.
No worry, no care now
All Bliss, the supreme Blossom
Wilt thou talk of peace or war?
Is there tongue to speak?
Who? To whom? A surprise Divine!
That's the mystery of 'who am I'!

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Chapter - 76

JIVANMUKHTI WITHIN EASY REACH

Prof. Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

Start with a brave hunt
of your 'earnest desire'.
Try to uproot it
with practices prescribed —
A serious enquiry 'WHO AM I'.
It may take you long,
may come easy, either.
That depends upon
Grace of the unknown.
Doubtless, this avoids the denial of
the light of the hearts
that flows spontaneous;
otherwise quenched and stifled
with an impulse of extreme narrowness.
Acting thus, without inhibition,
unmastered by the action
after dissolution of the mind
and obliteration of latent desire,
find thy place of peace beyond —
beyond the pale of their disturbing influence.
By conquest of latent desire, then
Jeevanmukhti becomes within easy reach.

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Chapter - 77

PRAY TELL ME : SWAMI LAKSHMAN JOO

Prof. Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'

1. That loving Ishvarswarupa
   Where! where is he?
   The Great Master of Kashmir Shaivism,
   Sweet Lakshman Joo
   Did you see him?
   Pray, tell me.

2. Around the Ishaber spring
   Filling that garden with Divine Joy;
   Soothing the suffering
   As the cooling shade of a Chinar,
   Did you see him, dear?
   Pray, tell me.

3. Going to serve Mahtab Kak, he walked to Chandpore,
   By the famous garden, Harvan;
   Just peep from Darbagh,
   May be, he still walks there,
   Did you see him going?
   Pray, tell me.

4. Hasn't he gone towards Dacchigam,
   Entered the forest to meditate?
   O ! he may be sitting silent
   On 'Shankarapal' in that girgling stream
   Must he be ascending the Mahadev?
   Pray, tell me.

5. Having left the Ashrama for Gopitirtha,
   He was walking towards Gupta Ganga;
   Going up the mountain-foot
   He should have entered the 'God's house'.
   Did you see him in posture there?
   Tell me, dear.

6. Let's look for him at *Amarnath*,
Wait for him near *Seshanag*;
Else, he may be returning;
Then, search for him at *Mamaleshwara*.
Did you see him at any such place?
Tell me, dear.

7. Only yesterday he flew to USA,
Discoursed far off at California,
Danced in Detroit in Ochre,
Laughing in Ecstasy
Did you see him in Washington?
Pary, tell me.

8. Leaving early at dawn
He did not return by night,
Light of lights, shining bright
In Silence Divine,
Did you see him during day?
Pray, tell me.

9. Leaving Kashmir in a hurry,
Moving to A.I.I.M.S. for treatment;
Master of his Destiny,
He slipped to Noida for repose,
Did you see him resting there?
Tell me, please.

10. Joyous *Lala Saa'b*, dear -
The jewel, our pride;
Playful like a child
Among Men and Women,
Didn't you mark him smile?
Tell me, dear.

11. At the foot of *Ishvara Parvat*
In his tranquil abode, *Ishvara Ashrama*,
Expounding so finely
Doctrines of Kashmir Shaivism,
Did you listen to him there?
Pray, tell me.

12. *Chaitanyamatma* -
Being and non-being consciousness, absolute,
Udyamo Bhairavah -
Realizable by removing the *Malas*
Did you hear him speak on Siva-Sutras?
Tell me, dear.

13. Commissioned by the Deity
For the service of *Mahesvara*
Gifted with 'Recognition' of the Supreme,
Showering Grace on the devotees too,
Did you see him in a state of wonder?
Pray, tell me.

14. Reciting his pet *'Sivastotravali'*
In tune with Siva Himself;
Giving esoteric explanations,
Eyes filled with tears of joy,
Did you hear him hiccup?
Tell me, please.

15. Couldn't see him with your eyes
Hear him with ears?
Did you feel the relish, that
We had felt in his presence?
Didn't you even feel his touch?
Please, tell me.

16. If you did not recognize him so,
Couldn't you place him in mind?
The joy he radiated like camphor,
Could you feel for a moment now?
Did you experience that Bliss?
You tell me, dear.

17. The intellect could not reach him;
The 'I' did not gauge him well;
Ashta-Bhairava - the eight-fold Reality of Truth -
Whom we treasured so dearly,
Did you notice him oversee you?
Just tell me, please.

18. Tracing him somewhere, anywhere,
    Reveal him please, if you find him
    And taste his countenance Divine -
    Supreme Bliss in bloom?
    Did you apprehend him anywhere?
    Pray, tell me.

19. Though present everywhere,
    He manifests somewhere;
    Knowable by the Doctrine -
    'Thou art That' - ever present,
    Did you realize him as such?
    Tell me, please.

20. In thy own Heart-Cave,
    In the interior of Silence,
    Enter there and seek him within;
    For sure you will find him
    Strive hard and you won't miss Him -
    Will you, Pray, tell me.

--*-*-*-*-*-*

Chapter - 78

POEMS ON KASHMIR

M.K. Kaw

It is a numb pain inside -
a dead, blunt pain,
that cannot utter itself
in shrieks and maniac cries,
I have to carry it concealed,
as one an illicit foetus hides.

Whom shall I tell,
who has time to sympathize?
In a field of upturned brown earth
What if another uprooted plant lies
gazing at the grey sky
with unseeing eyes?

The green-blue vale beckons
as it beckoned over centuries.

The allure of its sky-mirroring fields,
golden women with dimpled cheeks,
placid lakes, apple-laden trees
made feral hordes of the Asian plain,
savage mountain tribes,
dribble at the mouth,
scramble full-tilt to east or south
with club, cutlass, Kalashnikov

Readied ripeness
its greatest foe.

Time without count
have they hacked at the branches,
'convert' die or flee'
their muezzin cry.

And the twigs that flew as under
grew reluctant roots in alien soil
and somehow, anyhow
they survive,
though the ache remains.

This time
they went for the roots,
'convert' flee or die
their muezzin cry.

How do you transplant
a full-grown tree,
Nature seems to ask.

Dreary, sweltering summers have we stewed
in sweating dust,
found local nostrums for prickly boils,
dyed skin black.

But on hot, August evenings,
when the skin oozes salt
and a clammy wetness usurps the air,

sometimes, suddenly
a *doonga* hovers on the lake
waves gently lapping at the bow,
the aroma of *kehva* is wafted
on saffron fragrance

While a departing sun bequeaths
a voluptuous warmth
through flowered curtain,
and deep from the bowels of the darkened barge filters
the chirruping drone women make
with concurrent chatter.

Across the threshold,
from beneath the door,
reinforced,
double-padlocked,

I counted their feet,
eight in all
six nylon chappals on left,
the leader to the right
in shoes,

as they coaxed me to come out,
there was something
important
to discuss,

I did not budge;
there was smell
of something -
something
in the air.

Yes, I did teach
tuitions
to Muslim children.
No, I did not
charge
a fee.

Yes, I was
in Islamiya College;
No, I had never been
beyond Banihal.

So it went on
and would have gone on
and on
had not stone fallen on roof
and frightened them
away.

They came
at seventeen
minutes past seven
on tenth March.
I can never forget
the hour
Death came hunting
for me.

He had just come away
from a bank on Residency Road
when they got him.
There his long body lay,
felled at last, grim,
white crown of hair
in dust, abandoned,
none venturing near.

His offence?
As judge in usual course of business.
on homicide he had passed sentence.

Twenty years he walked
under threat, unafraid,
survived bomb attacks,
sniper shots, a commando raid.

Two days ago,
against all advice,
he returned.

They would not dictate
where he could go -
his cheeks burned.
If he had to die,
he would do so
with head held high.

When the bullets pierced him
he had just come forth, quite trim,
from a bank on Residency Road,
decided to walk, the day was so clear,
fresh inhaled a lungful of air,
his head held high,
all set to die.

Not that my house stood
on main road;
rather it crouched, half-hid,
in lonesome alley.
But it was the sole
Hindu in that mohalla.

So when India beat Pakistan,
I lost my window panes.
Bhutto was hanged;
they broke my window panes.
Rambhaktas scrambled up
a dome; their wrath splintered
my window panes.

No longer
glass shields
to keep the cruel wind out;
just so many brittle
hated Indians.
He stares,
long and slow
at the photograph
of his burnt-down house
just arrived from friend.

I look at him,
as one observes with curious dread
the close-up of an exploding face
in oft-viewed horror film.

He is a man; men don't weep.
Clear-eyed,
with a hint of hoarseness in voice
he points - ...

See, here was the gate
with the sign 'Sharika Niwas'.

There the staircase rose
to the second floor.
What a huge *Kaani* it was,
the entire mohalla
used it for weddings.

This the door to the kitchen,
It was low,
one had to bend.

Here in the courtyard
mud-hearths were built
and large *degchis* of *basmati* rice
cooked and kept warm over a slow fire.

That was my neighbour's house,
I think I rcognize
the G.I. sheet.
What do you say, Pyaari,
is that not Raghunath's roof?

I peer over his shoulder.
There in that bleak plain of ruined rubble
I can see
nothing...

In the conference room
they sit around in awkward chairs
and prophesy doom.

Someone suggests
committees,
full half a dozen of these,
to arrange relief
publicity
and collect a crore rupees.

Another debunks
committees,
what have we done
but sit on these?
They kill us, maim us, hang us
steal our women,
all we do is shoot the breeze.

Talk, talk, we just talk
says the next with a wheeze.
Why don't we buy guns and cause
casualities
or join them and ask for
liberty

Gabbling froth he decrees
inaudible assassination
or dumb decease.

The lone woman
has a lot to say.
All want to be leaders,
inflate their me's.
If others follow
she is willing to lead
a fast to death
under the Raj Path trees.

Towards the end
they appoint
committees
and adjourn for rice
and peas and cheese.

Driven into the street
she now squats there,
unabashed,
cooks slow yakhni on jittery stove
resting on makeshift stool.

He bakes bread
and does not tremble
at the obloquy of low calling.

Butchers, grocers, hawkers, drivers -
unfazed, they loosen
the shackles that secured us
to service and punditry.

Will daughters fail
to land husbands?
They don't seem to care ...

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Notes and References

Chapter - 59

1. A useful discussion of religious pluralism in Kashmir is presented in Madan 1972.
2. For a brief discussion of and references on Kashmiri language and literature, see, Kachru 1973:2-4, and 1981:4-6.
3. This preliminary paper and her dissertation (forthcoming) provide the first detailed treatment of this topic with appropriate references from Indian languages.
4. For socio-cultural and other viewpoints on the naming patterns in India see *Indic Names* 1961: Karve 1947; Masani 1966; Sharma 1969; and Van Velze 1938.
5. A number of sobriquets are also shared, e.g., *mandal* 'buttocks', *vakil* 'attorney'; *vazi* 'cook'.
6. If there is a middle name, it is not the name of one's grandfather (from mother's or father's side) as may be the case in the U.S.A. Cf., e.g., "middle names are often family names of mother's father or of the grandfather's from either side" (Vanburen 1974:85n).

7. In addition to the points discussed in D'souza 1985.
8. Among other forms, note also *treyi, premi,* which are the reduced forms of *treloki*, and *prem* respectively.

Chapter 63

1. p. 86.
2. p. 263.
3. Buhler Report.
4. Acharya Shankar (Hindi). by Swami Apurvananda. pp. 193-195.
5. Abhinavagupta by K. C. Pandey
6. A History of Kashmiri Pandits, By Justice Jialal Kilam Chap. 28 Cf. Kashmir through the Ages, By G. L. Kaul. p.2.
7. Kashmiri Ramavatar Charit of Prakashram Kurygami edited in Devanagari script by Dr. S. K. Raina. Published—Bhuvana Vani Press, Lucknow.
8. 'Bulbul' Lakshman Joo (1812-1884 A. D.), a disclipe of Swami Paramananda (Nundram) of Mattan, Kashmir, whose Upanishadic utterances in his Shiva-Lagna and Radha-Swayamvar have made a place in the hearts of Kashmiri Pandit.
9. p. 25.
10. p. 32.
11. p. 32.
12. p. 34.
13. pp. 34-35.
14. pp. 91-94.

Chapter - 66

1. SIAM is a Sanskrit word SHYAM. CAMBODIA is derived from KAMBOJ, which is nearer the recently changed name KAMPUCHEA, and MALAYM (the original name of the country, changed to Malaysia in 1964) is a Tamil word which means HILL.
2. The similarities between Sufism and Vedanta are : the Sufis and Vedantins practise the control of the breath (PRANAYAMA); both believe in meditation, service and submission to the spiritual teacher (PIR: GURU relationship); both observe fasting and penance (RIYAZET) and practise recitation of sacred words (ZIKR). Both believe in union with the Supreme Being and aim at the realisation of the Ultimate Reality.

PART IV

(Chapters 79 to 94)

ASPECTS OF HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

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KASHMIR AS THEY SAW HER

Prof. S. L. Pandit

Since the very dawn of history the valley of Kashmir has been one of the most celebrated part of our planet. Its special importance has been recorded by historians and travellers. Its scenic beauty has been extolled in prose and verse. In his immortal verse, Kalidas mentions it as the land famous for its natural beauty, salubrious climate, loveliness of its women, and its special and very rare produce, called *Saffron.*

In ancient times, seekers after light and learning were drawn to its confines from distant regions of the Far East and West Asia. That was centuries ago, Even in later times, when Kashmir had ceased to be one of the great centres of learning in Asia, European travellers were attracted to it by the fame of its natural beauty and the excellence of its crafts and manufactures. Among the first such Western travellers to visit the land and to record his impressions of life here was a French physician, named Francois Bernier. Bernier came here over the old Moghul Road in the reign of Emperor Aurengzeb around the year 1665 A. D. In his famous *Travels* he gave a detailed' account of the journey from Delhi to Srinagar across Pir Panchal Range. And Kashmir did attract Bernier, for he called it" the paradise of the Indies". Also he was struck by the unsurpassed beauty of Kashmir shawls and other manufactures in metal and woodwork.

Bernier was followed by many other well known European travellers down to our own times. They wrote glowing accounts of the valley. Among these may be mentioned Hippolyte Desiderian, an Italian Jesuit Priest who reached Srinagar in November, 1714 A. D. In 1783 A. D. an Englishman, by name Forster, an officer of the Bengal Army of the East India Company, travelled from India to

St. Petersburgh. While on this journey, he passed through Kashmir and left an account of the then conditions prevailing here. By this time the Moghul power had declined and Kashmir had come under the Afghan rule, resulting in considerable degeneration in the living conditions of the people and in the quality of their world-famous handicrafts.

Next, an interesting visitor to the valley was Vigne. He arrived in Bombay in 1833 and travelled extensively in the Punjab before entering the valley through Jammu. At the latter place he met Raja Gulab Singh, who was at this time a feudatory chief under Ranjit Singh, the then redoubtable Sikh ruler of the Punjab. In 1842 A. D. Vigue published a memorable book, *Travels in Kashmir Ladakh, Iskardo.* At this time, Kashmir was part of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's dominion, and it was not long before Gulab Singh was to acquire it when the Sikh empire collapsed under the British onslaught soon after the death of Ranjit Singh. From Jammu, Vigne passed on to the valley and found the living conditions of the people in utter decline. In spite of its vast natural resources and its fertile soil, as he wrote, earthquakes, famine, cholera and the tyranny of the Afghan and Sikh rulers had combined to reduce the mass of the population to dire straits. And yet at one point Vigne makes an interesting observation on the potentialities lying dormant in the natural wealth of the valley and the talents of its sons and daughters. "Kashmir can become the focus of Asiatic civilization, a miniature England in the heart of Asia," he said.

In times much closer to our own, foreign visitors and administrators have published valuable books on Kashmir. Among these special mention may be made of Sir Walter Lawrence and Sir Francis Younghusband. Lawrence was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. About a hundred years ago his services were requisitioned by Maharaja Pratap Singh for organizing the first modern revenue settlement in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Lawrence's "*Valley of Kashmir*", published in 1895 A. D. gives an objective and faithful account of life here about a century ago. This volume can provide quite valuable reading matter even to those who administer the state today. Young-husband, one of the greatest travellers and explorers of Central Asia, first visited Kashmir in 1887 and later functioned as Political Resident here for some years. In his book, "*Kashmir*," he gives a colourful account of various beauty spots and places of archaelogical interest visited by him in

the valley and beyond Zojila Pass, called "the gateway to Central Asia".

In the context of this very brief survey of how some foreign visitors and observers reacted to the beauty of Kashmir, it would appear appropriate to conclude with a few references to how some distinguished persons were inspired to poetic utterances by the well known attractive features of this land. It is widely known that Emperor Jehangir composed the following couplet when he felt gratified by the scenic beauty of this valley :-

If there is heaven on earth
It is here, it is here.

Before Jehangir, however, it was Fyzee, a highly learned and distinguished member at Emperor Akbar's Court, who exclaimed:- *A thousand caravans of desire*: are on the move every night, So that all the load of enjoyment may find fulfilment in the realm of Kashmir.Still earlier, it appears that the reputation of the physical beauty of the people of Kashmir had travelled to Iran at least as early as in the time of Iran's celebrated poet, Hafiz of Shiraz, for he says somewhere :-

They, sing and they dance to the tune of Hafiz's verses,
The dark-eyed Kashmiris
and the turks of Samar Can.

So far as European literature is concerned, the fame of Kashmiri's unique scenic beauty appears to have become widely publicized following the publication of Bernier's *Travels* in the late seventeenth century. Strangely enough, the spell of Kashmiri's loveliness appears to have held thrall a number of English poets who themselves never set their feet in these regions. Early in the nineteenth century Thomes Moore located the main scenes of his famous verse tale, *Lalla Rookh,* in the Valley. At one point in this long poem, Moore bursts forth into the following rhapsody:-

"Who has not heard of the Vale of Kashmir, with its roses, the brightest that earth ever gave' Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear, As the love-lighted eyes that hang over thier wave?"

Also Percy Byshe Shelley, the famous contemporary of Thomes Moore, appears to have been fascinated by the far-famed beauty of

this "*paradise on earth*". In his poem, *Alastor*, the lovely wandering poet of that name reaches the climax of his long quest for ideal beauty in this very mountain Valley. To quote:-

"Till in the Vale of Cashmire,
Far within Sun its loneliest dell, where odorous
Plants entwised Sun beneath the hollow rocks a natural bower
Beside a sparkling rivulet he stretched
His languid limbs....."

In our own times many foreign writers have woven their themes, political, fictional and pseudo-historical round the mountains, lakes, rivers, of this land of enchantment.

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Chapter - 80

KASHMIR - SEAT OF INDIAN CULTURE

N.L. Kachroo

Kashmir is a meeting place of three great religions and is a symbol of the nation's tolerant spirit. Its contribution to Indians art, literature and culture from time immemorial is not only rich but also unique. "Kashmir", observes Nehru, "has always been in history for thousands of years—not always politically but essentially a part of India, for hundreds of years, it was politically a part of India long before the British came. Culturally, of course, it has been one of the biggest seats of Indian culture and learning throughout history for about 2,000 years".

"The people of Kashmir love learning and are well cultured" writes Yuan Chwang - a famous Chinese traveller. Alberuni a great and famous Arabic scholar said about Kashmir that this land, "*is the high school of Hindu sciences*". Kalhana the great historian and author of the *Rajatarangini*, a book on ancient history of Kashmir, also mentions that Kashmir has been a seat of learning. Kashmir is a place of harmony among religions and cultures which have influenced socio-economic and political atmosphere of the valley.

Language - Religion - Art

Modern Kashmiri language owes its origin to Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit language. Sanskrit was the literary language of the country and its official use continued in Kashmir even in Kalhana's time. The special interest of the Pandits of Kashmir was the development of the Sanskrit language.

There are many theories regarding the origin of the Kashmiri language. It is beyond any doubt that it was a popular language of the valley even before the time of Kalhana. The earliest known work in the old Kashmiri, the *Mahanay Prakash,* was written by Siti Kantha. When we talk of this language we cannot afford to ignore the names of great saints and philosophers like Lelleshwari and Shiekh Nurud-din who were contemporaries. The former was 'Saiva' prophetess and propagated her doctrine in this language, and the latter was an Islamic Rishi, who is the author of '*Shrukh*' which contains his mystical experiences and techniques. Habba Khatun, the poetess-queen of Kashmir, and Arnim—also contributed a lot to make Kashmiri language rich with human love as its sole theme. After these noted personalities a large number of Kashmiri authors have appeared one after the other and producted literature in this language.

Kashmir has produced many eminent Sanskrit Scholars - like Panini, Jaiditta, Vamana, Kedara-Bhatta etc. All branches of Sanasrit literature i.e. prose, poetry, drama, criticism, grammar etc.—received full attention and Kashmir has a galaxy of authors who are now only known in Kashmir but have earned a name outside. Some of them are mentioned here in support of this claim:

1. Bilhana was the court poet of the Chalaukya King Parmadi Vikramaditya.
2. Maukha is the author of Sanskrit dictionary.
3. Somadeva was a famous fiction writer.
4. Kalhana is author of famous historical literature.
5. Dribhabhatta, wrote on medicine.

Buddhism was popular in Kashmir about two thousand years ago and it had the privilege of providing venue for Buddhist Councils that were held during and after the time of Kanishka. The Pandits of Kashmir who are known for their high standard of learning and knowledge quickly mastered the Buddhist scriptures

and other books of philosophy with the result that a large number of scholars and pilgrims from many countries like China, Tibet and other lands came to Kashmir to learn the Buddhist texts from these learned pandits. Many Kashmiris also went to propogate Buddhist faith in other countries and one of them was a great philosopher and scholar named Kumarajiva.

Kashmir has produced great philosophers, astrologers and people of deep religious thinking. Many of them would visit other places of learning like Banaras etc. and exchange and enrich their knowledge and scholars from these places would also visit Kashmir for the same purpose. Although the philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism differs so fundamentally from other system of Shaivism yet it has now become an object of intensive study for scholars in India and abroad. This is also the contribution of these great philosophers and thinkers.

Kashmiri art and handicrafts have flooded the world market. Most famous of these are shawls, carpets, wood carving, papier-mache and silver work. Napolean presented Kashmiri shawls to the Empress Josephine. The best shawls were manufactured in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh between years 1865 and 1872. "They were very fine in texture, very soft in colour and of the most elaborate and graceful patterns, of purely eastern style of decoration". The prestige and importance of Kashmiri shawls can be judged from the fact that according to one of the clauses of Amritsar Treaty Maharajah Gulab Singh had agreed to present beside other things, three pairs of Kashmiri shawls to the British Government.

Most famous shawls are the old, 'ring shawls' so called because such shawls are very fine. In short this industry is not only popular but a source of drawing huge amount of money from various parts of the world. Wood-carving art of Kashmir is still very unique and popular. No doubt wood carving on window shutters or door screens etc. Exhibits some best efforts of these craftsmen in Punjab, Gujarat and Rajasthan—but this "Khatan-bandi" style of ceiling is still the monopoly of Kashmir. Boat industry of Kashmir is also very old and has had a very important place in the Kashmiri economy and trade.

Kashmir carpets have found their market in big places of the world and have been in high demand. These present patterns related to Kashmiri culture—natural beauty and fine art. This is still a flourishing industry of Kashmir. Papier-mache and silver work too have occupied important and prestigious place in the history of art and culture of this valley. These items are still very popular.

Tourism is very old industry of the valley and has served as an effective agency of exchanging cultural ties with other parts of the world. Thomas Moore in his immortal '*Lalla Rookh*' has given Kashmir the well deserved title of '*Tourist Paradise*'. It will be worthwhile to reproduce his original, a few lines written in a couplet form show how much influenced he was by the scenic beauty and bracing climate of the valley:

'Who has not heard of the vale of Kashmere,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottos and fountains clear,

As the love lighted eyes that hanged their wave. It is because of these charms that Kashmir has attracted a number of travellers and tourists from ancient times. In the language of *Lawrence* "*the valley is an emerald,set in pearls, a land of lakes, clear streams, turf, magnificient trees and mighty mountain where the air is cool and the water sweet; where men are strong and the women view the soil in fruitfulness*". The Moghul Emperor Jehangir described it as a paradise on earth and Abu-I-Fazl as a garden of perpetual spirit. In short Kashmir art, beauty, culture, religion, and language, have given the valley a distinct place for which it claims to be the seat of Indian culture.

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Chapter - 81
SUCESSORS OF KALHANA

Prof. S.L. Sadhu

The *Rajatarangini* is a unique work in the classical literature of India. Composed nearly 850 years ago in Sanskrit verse by Kalhan Pandit, the scholarly scion of a noble family in Kashmir, it records events of the kings and queens of the mountain kingdom from the earliest times to the 12th century. Kalhana made use of a number of older chronicles, including those of Suvrata, Padmamihira, Chavillakar and Kshemendra's *Nrpavali*, of the earlier times but narrated events of his own times in greater detail. Of the total of 7826 verses comprising the whole work, he has devoted as many as 3449

to the eighth *taranga* or book recording the happenings to which he was practically an eye-witness. In seeking to confer immortality on the rulers of his country Kalhana attained celebrity. He wrote:

"Worthy of praise is that power of true poets, whatever it may be, which surpasses even the stream of nectar, in as much as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality".

Kalhana regarded himself a poet, a term which bore a wider connotation at the time, and closed his chronicle in the Saptrishi year 4225, i.e., A.C. 1149.

For nearly three hundred years princes and Pandits enjoyed reading the verses but neither any scholar seems to have thought of emulating Kalhana's example nor did any ruler care to have the events of his own rule recorded. Kalhana's work appears, however, to have retained its interest for readers and it came to the notice of Zain-ul-Abdin who ruled Kashmir for half-a-century, 1420-70 A D. Known as Budshah, or the great King, he was an enlightened sovereign and attracted a large number of scholars and men of attainment to his court. Impressed with the account given by Kalhana of ancient rulers of Kashmir, Zain-ul-Abdin expressed a desire to have the chronicle updated. Says Jonaraja in his *Jainarajatarangini*:

"The past kings were sunk in the sea of oblivion and Shri Jain-oll-abhadina wished, out of a tender regard to rescue them. He employed for the purpose the noble-hearted Shri Shiryyabhatta, chief of all the courts of Justice. I received orders from him, and I have now ventured to complete the story of the kingly line".

Jonaraja thus became the first successor to Kalhana in continuing the story of the kings of Kashmir from where the master had left it in A.C. 1149 in the reign of Jaisimha. He brought it down to his own time and records many interesting facts about his sovereign and patron Zain-ul-Abdin. Jonaraja passed away in the year 35 (i.e., Saptrishi year 4535 corresponding to A.C. 1459) and the mantle of maintaining the continuity of the chronicle fell on the shoulders of his pupil Shrivara Pandit. The latter survived his patron and brought the account down to the year 4562, i.e., 1486 A.C. when Fateh Shah ruled the kingdom.

Shrivara calls himself a pupil of his predecessor Jonaraja and maintains the title of the chronicle as *Jainarajatarangini.* His successor Prajyabhatta took up the thread of the narrative from the year 4562, i.e., 1486 A.C. and called it *Rajavalipataka.* By this time leadership in the country was divided among warring camps and the throne changed its occupants frequently. The prolonged civil war provoked very strong partisan feelings and Prajyabhatta felt it unsafe to continue with the chronicle. Says his successor Shuka:

"Then (in the year 4589, i.e., 1513 A.C.) the poet (Prajyabhatta) did not write the account of the kings, owing to the tumults in the kingdom and on account of the fear of the wicked and avaricious...."

Shuka was a contemporary of the later Chuks and the political climate in the country during the period was no better. He was witness to the entry of the Mughal troops into the Valley in 1586 and the loss of independent status held by Kashmir so long. Among the last events mentioned by Shukla is the construction of the rampart round Nagnagri the township with the Hariparbat as its centre. He also mentions that people made festivals when under orders of the Emperor Akbar the Mughal troops were asked to vacate the main city and shift their residence to the cantonment inside the rampart. Thus the accounts of the chroniclers Jonaraja, Shrivara, Prajyabhatta and Shuka comes to a close about the turn of the 16th century.

II

From the foregoing discussion it is obvious that Jonaraja, Shrivara and Prajyabhatta carried out their respective assignments under the patronage of the rulers and were probably on the payroll of the State. There were, evidently, close contacts between the first two, and perhaps collaboration. Shuka closed his account of events around 1600 A.C. and he could, probably not have met his immediate predecessor Prajyabhatta who folded up his pentray in 1513 A.C. Whether he also was an official chronicler or took up the task as labour of love worthy of a scholar, even as Kalhana had done, is not clear. But all the four acknowledge Kalhana as their lodestar, admire his role as poet and try to keep close to his style of narration.

Jonaraja and Shrivara were very close to their sovereign Zain-ul-Abdin. Shrivara mentions that the king took him along with

Simhabhatta round the mountain lake Konarnag (altitude 13500') in a boat and that he entertained his liege with the recitation of the *Gita Govinda*. Probably he maintained his influence at the courts of Zain-ul-Abdin's successors till he passed away. Zain-ul-Abdin and his successor were well-versed in Persian and Sanskrit and enjoyed the company of scholars, poets and men who had attained eminence in various arts and sciences. The chroniclers must have read out their own compositions in the court, or privately before kings, even as they read out from other works. Under the circumstances it would be expecting too much of them to be directly critical of the king or be absolutely impartial and detached in references to various events or assessment of policies and achievements. It is therefore not at all surprising to find adulatory references to kings and princes interspersed lavishly in the text. Critical comments are also on record but indirectly and in innuenploys does. For instance, referring to the feelings of Zain-ul-Abdin after a battle with his own son Haider (1472—1484 A.C.) Shrivara says:

"He (Zain-ul-Abdin) blamed himself for having cast aside prudence in his kindness, and accused himself as the cause of the mischief".

Shrivara was attached to Hassan Shah (1472-'84 A.C.), grandson of Zain-ul-Abdin, from the king's infancy and when Hassan Shah ascended the throne he extended patronage to the chronicler. While acknowledging gratitude to Hassan Shah for his patronage Shrivara caustically comments on the shortcomings ofhis reign. In unequivocal language he calls the king an 'unworthy descendant of Jainaraja' when he caused his uncle Behram Khan to be blinded. The king (Hassanshah) and his men inflicted great suffering on villagers and paid no heed to their complaints when his servants 'killed the people in their own houses'. Shrivara remarks:

"The impotent king heard the people express their wish that he might not come again.... If to tie down and kill hundreds of deer, like beasts of sacrifice, be sport, what then is butcher's work?"

While commenting upon the state of affairs towards the end of the king's reign the chronicler says,

"Accepting bribes was considered by the officers of the State as a virtue, oppressing the subjects was regarded as wisdom, and addiction to women was reckoned happiness. All opposition ceased....."

Hassan Shah died in the prime of his youth. His early death was generally attributed to the use of wine and the company of women. The chronicler puts it in words thus:

"Those who are attached to this world and enjoy youth and prosperity, and who yield themselves to the love of women, to enjoyments and drinking, they all pass away in a few days.... Thus the people said and lamented in the burial ground...."

Tolerance and respect for truth appear to have suffered erosion by the time Shuka assumed the mantle of chronicling the events. His comments are obviously less candid and he appears to have written under a self-imposed constraint.

III

The chroniclers were orthodox Brahmins and, therefore, generous towards those Hindu and Muslim kings and leaders who upheld the honour and prestige of the Brahmins, the scholarly and the learned. Zain-ul-Abdin, his grandson Hassan Shah and the Mughal emperor Akbar stand prominent as patrons of the Brahmins and the learned. As members of the contemporary society the chroniclers had a stake in good government, administration of justice and survival of the unwritten moral code. They consequently shower priase on those kings, ministers and administrators who were able to maintain peace and tranquillity and displayed honesty, loyalty to the land and dedication to duty. As a corollary, they could not applaud those who persecuted Brahmins by imposing poll-tax, by demolishing temples or by resorting to ruthless proselytisation. The chroniclers detest leaders and feudal barons who *received pay from both contending parties*, changed sides frequently for selfish ends, thus precipitating conflicts and civil wars which unleashed misery and death. They also cannot conceal their contempt for cowardly rulers who, unwilling to organise defence against an aggressor, quiet on the contrary exposing innocent people to plunder, arson and murder at the hands

of merciless invaders. Appreciation recorded by Jonaraja of the role of Shahmir in defeating the machinations of Achala is genuine even as the condemnation for Sahadeva is.

Though Shrivara has an obvious prejudice against the Syed faction during the civil war in late 1480s, he very generously praises the valour of one of their heroes Baqir (Bakhira). The chronicler upheld the cause of Kashmiri nobles against the Syeds during the civil war in 1484 A.C. He, however does not mince words in expressing disapproval of Kashmiris who organised a mass killing of the Syeds at 'Amrita Park' or Aanta Bhavan. Says he:

"The tree of enemity first grew out of the murder of the Saidas and gradually unfolded its leaves".

IV

Zain-ul-Abdin encouraged Hindus to revive their customs and rituals publicly without fear of persecution. He also remitted invidious taxes on them. Some orthodox Muslim historians have disapproved of this policy. Among them is the author of *Baharistani Shahi* which was written long after the end of the dynasty of the Sultans of Kashmir. He also gives interesting details of the conflict between the Task or Chak clan of Trehgam and Sultan Badshah. Chaks were fierce and desperate fighters but highly self-respecting. When Zain-ul-Abdin constructed the Zainagir canal and started building palaces, the Chaks who appear to have remained untamed so far apprehended, an encroachment upon their liberty and the liability to undertake *begar* or forced labour for the king and his nobles. They therefore burnt the king's palace and indulged in other forms of protest and revolt. The king was left with no alternative but to crush them. Neither Jonaraja nor Shrivara allude to these apprehensions of the Chaks. Likewise Shuka lavishes praise on Kanchana or Kaji Chak. Some Muslim historians have represented his administration in adverse colours and the *Baharistani Shahi* euologises him on having murdered about 800 'infidels and idol-worshippers' during one night. That Shuka does not mention such a calamity overtaking his relations and friends indicates that intolerance had taken deep roots.

Likewise several other important events have escaped mention by the successors of Kalhana. Lalla Yogeshwari and her younger contemporary Sheikh Noor-ud-din who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have exercised tremendous influence over

life, language, literature, philosophy and culture in the Valley. But they have not even been mentioned by Jonaraja. Other historians state that when Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, also known as Sheikh-ul-Alam, shuffled his mortal coil, the king, Zain-ul-Abdin, personally went to Tsrari Sharief to be one of the pall-bearers. Jonaraja was alive at the time and should not have missed the important event. Similarly, he makes no reference to the celebrated Mir Syed Ali Hamdani who commands profound respect in the Valley, or to the saint Bulbul Shah who is said to have inspired Rentchen (1335-'38) to embrace Islam after the Brahmin leader Devaswami declined to admit him to the Hindu fold.

Shuka who is very particular to impress the reader with his painstaking search for authenticity fails to mention that during the chaotic conditions of 1580s a deputation of Kashmiri leaders under the leadership of Baba Dawood Khaki waited upon the Mughal emperor Akbar and persuaded him to annex Kashmir. Jonaraja and Shrivara have given harrowing accounts of famines but Shuka makes no reference to the famine following the Mughal conquest when the rampart of Nagnagri was built. A reference to Haba Khatoon, poetess and queen of song, who was his contemporary and also close to Yusuf Shah Chak, is also wanting.

V

An interesting episode in the chronicle of Shrivara is the ascendency of the Syeds to power. The Muslim Sultanate had been ushered in Kashmir long before the Syeds began to trek in from Central Asia and elsewhere to escape from the onslaught of Taimur. The people of Kashmir have had long experience of sufferings caused by small coteries of out-siders whose numbers proliferated with snowball effect. Such small communities gained control over key-posts in the administration and exploited the natural resources of the Valley with a vengeance. In addition, they treated the sons of the soil with contempt and did everything to bar their way to progress.

In their anxiety to secure a homeland for themselves in Kashmir the Syed immigrants probably did all they could to secure power. For many generations the Muslim kings of Kashmir continued with the old traditions and they also patronised Sanskrit language and learning. The Syeds persuaded the rulers to conform to orthodox

Muslim customs, entered into matrimonial relationship with the royal family and managed to seek enviable eminence at the court and in the administration. Patriotic leaders fell into discord under their influence and immense suffering was unleashed for the common people. The resentment of the local people is thus expressed by Shrivara:

"The Saidas enjoyed many large estates and by their marriages with the kings, 'daughters had lived like kings for a long time..... These foreigners had become rich after coming to this country and had forgotten their previous history..... They regarded the people of Kashmir scarcely as grass...."

The chronicler laments the 'folly' of King Hassan in permitting the Syeds to strengthen their stronghold over the country under the influence of his spouse born of Syeds. He graphically describes how under the advice of the patriotic leader Jehangir the king promised to stand firm against the Syeds but

"When he went to his wife at night he was overcome by affection, and he told her all that had been said to him. Whereupon the queen who had espoused the cause of her father's party (Syeds) became enraged, and like a fearful she-serpent sought to injure the Margapati (Jehangir).... Rising from the side of his beloved, the king became anxious to favour her party, and placed the kingdom in their power......."

Shrivara states that top Kashmiri leaders like Pheradamar, Jehangir Magray, Tazibhatta and Malik Ahmad considered the Syeds like 'thorns to the country'. Subsequent events narrated by him show how much misery was caused to the people on account of the rivalry between the Syeds and the Kashmiris.

As a patriot interested in the welfare of the sons of the soil, including his own kith and kin Shrivara expresses strong dislike against the Syeds whose presence in Kashmir gradually strengthened Muslim orthodoxy, thereby causing an emotional shock to the Hindus at the elimination of the traditional customs and festivals. Weakening of the authority of the kings made matters worse for the common man. Persian language dominated the elitist circles and the court and the Syeds had a mastery over it. The Brahmins found their native prestige and leadership challenged. Further the onslaught on

them through proselytisation and persecution engineered by Suhabhatta and others decimated their numbers and this was attributed partly to the Syeds. The chronicler also complains:

"The Saidas had no reverence for Brahmins, and they gave wealth to the Mausalas for the benefit of the king (Hassan Shah) in his final rest".

Hence the bitterness expressed by the chronicler.

VI

Be that as it may, it would not be correct to charge the Brahmin chroniclers with fanaticism or prejudice against the rulers who from 1339 AC onwards were Muslims. Since they enjoyed the patronage of the rulers, they could not afford to be fanatical in their approach. But they, at least the first two, did not hesitate to express themselves unequivocally against policies and deeds of kings and ministers which merited disapproval or condemnation. For instance, writing under Zain-ul-Abdin, Jonaraja condemns the destruction of temples carried out by his father Sikander who is therefore called *butshikan* or iconoclast. In the same breath he bestows the denigrating appellation of 'Turushuka' (Turk) on Harshadeva, a Hindu king (1089-1101 AC) who had despoiled temples of their precious images to mint coins to replenish his treasure which had been exhausted on frivolous pre texts. Jonaraja, however, does not fail the acknowledge the administrative ability of king, Sikander and partially shifts the blame for iconoclastic fury to Suhabhatta, his minister who had become a neo-convert to Islam. He also brings into focus the liberal attitude of Shahab-ud-din, father of Sikander and grand father of Zain-ul-Abdin who, even though hardpressed for money, turned down the suggestion that Hindu temples and their valuable idols be despoiled to enrich the treasury. Many Muslims chroniclers accuse him of having demolished temples.

The chroniclers admired kings who patronised learning and arts, who were solicitous for dispensing justice, who could ensure peace and protection to weaker sections and who could keep turbulent elements under strict control. They obviously shared the age-old belief that adherence to one's *dharma* or creed earned one merit which warded off difficulties in this life and the life hereafter. But occasionally political events took an ugly turn and Brahmins came in for bitter persecution so much so that Jonaraja turns cynical and his lamentation becomes caustic:

"Where was then their bath, their meditation, their austerity, and where was their prayer?"

These periods of misrule or Brahmin-baiting made sporadic appearance under different kings and apparently all the four chroniclers were witness to suffering and hardships laid upon them or their relations. This, however, does not embitter them against the Muslim as such. The reaction in the mind of Shrivara against the Syed has been referred to. Nevertheless, without mincing words he blames Kashmiri compatriots for conspiring to murder Syed after the death of Hassan Shah, as a chain reaction led to regimentation and provoked them to adopt an aggressive attitude against Kashmiris.

During a period of turmoil the Jama Masjid which had been constructed by Sultan Sikander caught fire and the flames engulfed the whole edifice in a short while. Much upset at this accident Shrivara opens out his heart thus:

"The Masjida was a spacious building, extending on all sides, and was always white-washed. It was like the embodiment of the fame of King Shri Shekhandera. It was within this building that crowds of "worshippers used to fall down and rise at prayers.... It was here that the Yavanas chanted mantras and looked graceful like the supporters of virtue... It was here that the sun shone like an umbrella of gold... Such was the great building which towered to the sky and was decorated with wonderful sculptures... In a moment the fire, all destroying like the fire at the end of the cycle, left nothing of that building but its walls...."

At the back of this outpouring of noble sentiments is obviously a liberal mind with a catholic outlook and profound respect for all the faiths worthy of the highest traditions in historiography.

VII

The chroniclers appear to have been familiar with the geography not only of the Valley but also of the outer hilly areas like Poonch, Rajpuri, Jammu, Ladakh, the Indus Valley, Punjab etc. Whenever an event is mentioned, the chroniclers give all significant geographical details, even of unfamiliar places like Kalidhara hill and Mangaldevi fort in Bhimber area. This is commendable for scholars at a time

when many hazards faced travellers even inside the Valley, let alone those venturing into the glens outside infested with desperadoes. Even Stein who knew the topography of Kashmir and the outer hills more intimately than anyone else has expressed appreciation of the geographical knowledge of Shrivara, in reference to the Kalyanpur-Drabhagam-Bhedavan-Rajouri route.

It has been alleged in some quarters that the chroniclers give an exaggerated account of the military exploits of their masters. Knowing how difficult it is to write objectively on history, especially contemporary history, one cannot be unduly harsh on Jonaraja and his successors. But the writers have actually lived through the events they narrate. The intimate details of geography, deployment of troops and field tactics described by them make it clear that they watched these events closely. Shrivara was an eye-witness to the engagement between Zain-ul-Abdin and his son fought near Mulashul. The accounts of the civil war between the Syeds and the Kashmiris, various encounters with the Kashgaries under Mirza Haider and the engagements between Yaqubshah Chak and the Mughals convince by their details that the writers could understand the nuances of military tactics. Simshabhatta, Shrivara's colleague, was killed in conclave of his Syed partymen on the outbreak of hostilities between them and the Kashmiris. Likewise the chroniclers have given minute details of earthquakes, floods, fires, famines and other calamities to which they were witness.

VIII

The chroniclers acknowledged Kalhana as the master historian and their attempt is to keep close to his style of narration. To illustrate his point here and there Kalhana has interspersed in the *Rajatarangini* quite a large number of ancedotes, eg., the curse that turns Damodara into a snake, the birth of Pratapaditya, the suicide of Jayapida's queen, suicide committed by Lalitaditya, Avanti varman feigning an attack of colic.... His successors have similarly embroidered their narration with many anecdotes. Some of these anecdotes help re-inforce the point at issue while a few are of the nature of discursions. The anecdotes, whether based on fact or fiction, are quite interesting in themselves, for instance, the charge made by Lassa, beloved of Shahab-ud-Din, against his minister Udaishree, the escape of Mohammed Margapati from the fort of

Bahurupa (Beeruv), or the destruction of the town around the Wular lake, help the reader in understanding the conditions peculiar to the age.

IX

The chronicles have been composed in Sanskrit verse and an appraisal in English may not be the right choice to discuss the peculiarities of the authors' style. One can, however, size up the characteristics of the style of the Sanskritists at a glance. As said earlier Kalhana regarded himself a poet and probably conceived of his work as a *kavya*, a composition in poetry, permeated with *santa rasa*, the sentiment of serenity. Jonaraja, Shrivara and Shukha call themselves poets with some pride and keep close to Kalhana's model. From the reference he makes about himself here and there, Shrivara appears to have been a man of many talents, a scholar well-versed in the classic, equally at home in *Mokshpaya, Gita, Govinda and Brihatkatha*, a courtier, a diplomat, a musician of high distinction, a man well travelled and something of a soldier too. His predecessor Jonaraja was also a man of high attaiments in the court of Zain-ul-Abdin to be able to hold his own against the many peers. The depth of their learning and their eminence in social life urges them to intervent frequently in the narrative to air their own reflections and comments. While the narration of events is in couplets, the chroniclers comments have been put in four-lined stanza. These last do not always make for heightening of the effect of narration. They often appear in the form of instrusions and made for prolixity and verbosity. The poet, in the footsteps of Kalhana, does not feel apologetic but regards his role in this behalf as inseparable from and, in fact, superior so that of a chronicler.

In such instances the chroniclers lay emphasis on the observance of moral principles by king, nobles and the common people and draw upon the *Ramayana* the *Mahabharta* and other classics to underscore the point:

"The results of our action manifest themselves in every direction, and general wisdom or ignorance...."

Referring to the Nemises that overtook Pratihara Abhimanryu....he was blinded one year after he had got plucked the eyes of Prince Behramkhan, grandson of Zain-ul-Abdin .... Shrivara observes:

"On the same day and in the same month of the year in which Pratihara had done injury to the Khana, did he himself injury....The very means which adopts for the injury of others leads to his own destruction...."

Commenting upon the murder of Jonarajanaka one time chief minister, who had amassed immense wealth by exaction and extortion, Shrivara says:

"Fie to the lust of enjoyment!.... Others said that Jonarajanaka with the Madra chiefs had killed the Saidas, and it was for that crime he was killed within a year.... Enemies rob us of all objects the same way in which we acquire them. Wealth wrongly obtained does not remain long in the house...."

Shrivara narrates the sufferings caused to the people during the rivalry between Mohammad Shah, son of Hassan Shah, and Fateh Khan, son of Adham Khan (the eldest son of Zain-ul-Abdin) and remarks:

"Conflagrations and robbery were now witnessed in Kashmira, such as the people of this country had inflicted on other countries when they had made foreign conquests.... and the poor of those lands exclaimed that they (the Kashmiris) too, would, in their turn, be similarly robbed by their enemies...."

At the time of their suffering, as at the humiliation caused to the Margapati, or the killings resorted to by the Khasas, he tells people how these are result of the harm caused by them to others.

X

A historian studies the interaction of cause and effect on the social and political plain and chroniclers 'observations and comments in behalf are therefore well advised and close to the mark. But Kalhana often sought refuge in predestination and even astrological constellations when faced with tragic events, as the steady, deterioriation in the conduct of Harsha and his tragic death when he was endowed with intelligence, understanding, love of arts, matched with courage and valour. Jonaraja and his successors similarly find solace in fate. Commenting on the defeat of Fateh Khan near Drabhgam (Shupyan-Herapore) Shrivara says:

"Fate is beyond our comprehension; and though it is not really the cause, yet it is considered the strang cause of events. It casts down, all of a sudden, some person in high places and prospers some who should be cast down...."

In another situation Shrivara, who makes the maximum contribution to the chronicles singlehanded, comments:

"Fie to fortune! What does not come about with the reverse of fortune!"

It is surprising that Jonaraja who could sum his assessment of worldly affairs in the sentence:

"Enmity attended with want of circumspection is first germ of destruction...."

Balanced it with another observation in contrast:

"It was Fate that had killed the one (Bhikhshana Bhatt's) by making the other an instrument...."

Probably, like Kalhana, they aimed at giving predominence to *Santa rasa* (the sentiment of serenity) and invoked fate and predestination.

XI

It is not difficult to find various faults with the chroniclers. The narrative is burdened with unnecessary prolixity, reflections, digressions and even exaggerations in the manner typical of the oriental ways of expression. There are, occasionally, poetic flourishes and the chroniclers do not feel shy of the use of pathetic fallacy. Every king, with rare exceptions, ushered into the presence of the reader with adulation, makes his exit amidst condemnation. The narrators, obviously, convey their good-wishes for an auspicious reign but sum up the king's conduct and achievements towards the end. They also refer to persons by their designations with their modifying forms such as Margapat, Margesha-Margadhipati, Chkra-Chakresha-Chakradhipati. Sometimes this creates confusion in the mind of the reader. They have mentioned names of a very large

number of participants in different events, especially during factional rivalries, and quite a few of them bear the same or a similar name which naturally strains the reader. Most of the participants belonged to the feudal elite to whose names the suffix *rajanaka* is added, and the reader finds endless repetitions boring.

On the positive side it has to be stated that the narration of events is precise and enlivening. As the occasion demands, the narrator builds a congenial atmosphere with appropriate details, be it a display of music and acting in the court of Hassan Shah, a confrontation in the field of battle, or a glimpse of the Eternal as on the waves of Kramsaras or Kaunsarnag. Before giving an account of a calamity, ominous occurences in the shape of shooting stars, barking of dogs, untimely flowers, a rains of blood or apparitions are indicated. The severity of a famine is to be gauged from 'a manufacturer of iron utensils who killed a barber's boy, or people cut off flesh from the caracass of a dead elephant. The massacre of the Syeds by Kashmiri nobles and their allies is narrated graphically:

"They raised the cry 'hala', 'hala', but the *Madras*, their hands red with blood, were busy killing them, and moved about like the servants of Death!"

Similarly, a dramatic effect is created in giving an account of battles as between Zain-ul-Abdin and his son Haji Khan, those during the civil war or between the Kashmiris and the Mughals:

"The battle between the Chakresha and the Margesha ranged round him, and as the combatants fell, there arose the cries of 'come', 'kill', stay....!"

The eagerness of Kashmiri women to catch a glimpse of the Mugal emperor Akbar on his first arrival in the Valley is depicted by Shuka with deft accuracy as endorsed by readers, especially local ones. These significant touches and deft details make for a willing suspension of disbelief.

XII

The chronicles project certain stylistic characteristics. Many of the similes have been used with a telling effect:

"He frightened the king day and night by holding up Haidera before him, even as one frightens a bird by holding up his hawk".

"He (Haider shah) fainted away and lay on his bed, and was like a mirror that did not reflect any image on it.

'Like bees in the month of Magha'...'...hungry even as tanks in hot season...', etc., etc.

A trick frequently met with is the use of parallelism usually with a contrasting effect:

"His great prowess coloured the world red, but made colourless the nails of the sorrowing wives of hostile kings..."

"Bhikshana and Avatara went into Shahmira, but their protecting deities did not enter with them..."

"Jameshed had caused a bridge to be built to, cross the river at Suyyapora, but did not devise means to cross over his dangers!"

"The world trembled as if through fear, but not so the mind of the wicked!"

"The king had vowed not to touch the wives of others but broke the vow when he embraced the goddess of Fortune".

In a narrative highlighting the oppression, suffering, natural calamities, betrayals, revolts, invasions and bloodshed in abundance, there is not much for indulging in humour. But folk humour is recorded faithfully as in 'Margesha curry' i.e., without salt on account of the seizure of the salt-route by the enemy'. There is no dearth of occasion for the use of sarcasm:

"He (Haider shah) wished to build an edifice by the side of Sheikhedderpuri, it was like the desire to light a lamp under the sun".

XIII

The names of places have undergone a good deal of change in Kashmir from the days of Kalhana and to our own. The changes must have been on during the period covered by the chronicles but they offer no clear evidence. The suffines largely used now, viz. 'bal' and 'year' are nowhere mentioned. The old-time suffixes 'ashram' (now 'hom') and 'matha' (now 'mar') continue in the chronicles. There is no mention of the older bridges Ali Kadal Fateh Kadal or Haba Kadal, only Zaina Kadal is mentioned: but several bridges of boats '*nava setu*' have been referred to. But names have been in the process

of transformation: *Kitsahom* below Baramulla is referred to by its original names, viz, *Krityashram*, but later *Keechashram* is also used. The use of *Puranadhishthan* for *Purvandhishthan* suggests a re-sanskritisation of a name which was in the process of change to the present Pandrethan. Quite a number of place-names found in the book can not be identified with certainty today.

XIV

The use of the term *mlechha* by the chroniclers is likely to cause some misunderstanding unless it is considered in its proper context. They used the terms Turushukas for Turks, Mughals, Afghans, etc. Sometimes the term *Yavana* which is believed to have been coined for the Greeks originally is also used in this behalf: Babar has been referred to as a *Yavama*, so also some other Mughal adventures and foreigners. On one or two occasions its use covers Muslims also as when burial is referred to as 'the last rite of the Yavanas'. The term *mlechha* does not as such connote Muslims for whom the word *Mausla* has been used as in 'Veda of the Mausulas' ... 'he was named Mohammad Khana, a name worthy of Mausalas' ... 'some merchants, favourites of Mausalas...' ....'the Saidas gave wealth to Mausalas'... 'oppression of the Mausalas... was made prominent by Mosa-chandra (Mosa Raina). It has very rarely been used for the Muslims but frequently to connote *outsiders:*

"The king of *mlechhas* (Taimur) had plundered Dilli"
"Dalacha, the king of mlechhas"
"the mlechha army.....", ".....a host of mlechhas (invaders)

"...the enemies and the mlechha soldiers (covered) all sides...."
...."the mlechha soldiers outnumbered the Kashmirian worriors....";
"..... how can I (Yaqub Shah) alone cope with the mlechhas?"

A little reflection should make it obvious that the word *mlechha* does not imply 'unclean' or 'low'. It is highly probable that it did not signify 'contempt', 'meanness' or anything derogatory at the time. A clean proof of this lies in that Brahmin chroniclers were in the employment of Mulim kings and who would dare suggest, even by implication, that the patron, or his co-religionist, was 'unclean'. These patrons included not only Zain-u-Abdul but also his less

liberal son Haider in whose reign coercion led Brahmins to cry bhatto for physical survival, the dominated puppets, Ghazi Chak who had his own son hanged and other Chak zealots encouraged Shia proselytisation and imposed taxes on Brahmins. The chroniclers could enjoy court patronage, prestige and respect yet use derogatory terms for the king, fell with courtiers and powerful feudal chiefs to a whom Sanskrit was no alien tongue.

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Chapter - 82

KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA : THE BUDDHIST LINK

J. N. Ganhar

Kashmir and Central Asia: the two are separated by thousands of kilometres and some of the world's mightiest mountain chains and the raging rivers issuing from them. But it was the faith of the Buddha that brought them together into intimate religious and cultural contact. Distances disappeared and mountains melted away, as it were, before the devoted determination and selfless devotion of Buddhist bhikshus. Theres was not a case of the faith following the flag or the sword. They went in response to the call of the Master, i.e., the Buddha, who had enjoined it upon the monks to go forth in all directions to carry the light of the new faith to people everywhere. But no force or coercion was to be used in the propagation. People were free to accept it or not. The Buddha had clearly pointed our that his was but a way—the Golden Middle Way—to end sorrow and misery and achieve enlightment and it was for the people themselves to decide if they should adopt it or not. The monks went on their own with a begging bowl in their hand and with the light of the new faith as their guide.

Buddhism, as we all know, took its birth in India in the sixth century B.C. But during the first three centuries thereafter its hold was confined largely to Magadha (Bihar) and the territories around it. But gradually it developed from a strictly monastic religion into

a popular one and began to spread rapidly. It spread to Kashmir some years before the time of Ashoka but during his reign, and thereafter, it received support and spread far and wide.

Buddhism witnessed its golden age in Kashmir during the reign of Kushans. The greatest of the Kushan rulers, Kaniskha, Convened the Fourth Great Buddhist Council in Kashmir about the end of the first century A.D. This conferred great prestige on the celestial valley and Kashmir emerged as a great seat of Buddhist learning to which even eminent Buddhists from other countries came for edification or on pilgrimage. Among the celebrities who came to Kashmir in the wake of the Buddhist Council mention may be made of the redoubtable philosopher—monk, Nagarjuna, who wrought a near miracle by converting practically the whole of Kashmir to the Buddhist faith. Other eminent monks who came included such master-minds as the brothers, Asanga and Vasubandhu, from what is now the northwest of Pakistan, and Buddhadana, Buddhabhadra and Kumarajiva. But of them later. Let us first trace the beginning of Kashmir's connection with Central Asia.

Kashmir was included in the domain of Ashoka. The celebrated Emperor sent missionaries to different countries for the propagation of Buddhism. It is well known that the Emperor's own son and daughter-Mahendra and Sanghamitra-were sent to Sri Lanka. Another of his sons, Jalauka, is stated by Kalhana, (the Kashmir historian,)to have succeeded him in Kashmir. Still, another, named Kustana, is believed to have left his home for Khoten in central Asia. Apparently Buddhism must have been introdced into Central Asia in the time of the great Indian Emperor, who did so much for the propagation of the faith. Kustana's grandson, Vijayasambhava, who ruled over the territory, was an ardent Buddhist. According to the famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, Vijayasambhava had erected a monastery in honour of a monk from Kashmir named Vairochana. The monastery built about 211 B.C. housed sacred relics which Vairochana had brought from Kashmir. This is the first historical contact between Kashmir and Central Asia. The first Central Asian monk to visit Kashmir was named Buddhadana. He visited the valley twice at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. But the greatest Central Asian monk to come to Kashmir for studies was Kumarajiva.

Kumarajiva was the son of a Kashmiri monk named Kumarayana

who had gone to Kucha for the propagation of the faith. At Kucha, Kumarayana, who originally hailed from a noble faimly of Kashmir, rose to be the ruler's chief preceptor Rajguru. The ruler's mistress or near relation fell in love with him and be was constrained to marry her. She bore him a son who was named Kumarajiva, from the names of his father Kumarayana and his mother named Jiva.

Kumarajiva's mother also joined the Buddhist Sangha soon after she was blessed with a son. She wanted the child to be devoted to the faith as his father was and therefore she brought him to Kashmir for his studies at a very early age. Here he studied under a venerable old scholar, Bandhudatta. He remained in Kashmir for three years during which he studied the various Buddhist texts, etc.

On their way back mother and son spent some time in visiting the Buddhist institutions in Tukharistan and Kashgar. In the latter principality they remained for about a year. The local ruler wanted them to remain there permanently but on the pressing invitations of the ruler of Kucha, who was their close relation, the pious nun and her teen-aged son returned to their native place.

Kumarajiva is believed to have been born in 344 A.D. He was ordained at the age of twenty and was the recipient of high honours in Kucha and other Central Asian territories. A new convent was specially built for him in his native place. Later on, when he moved into China, he was held in the highest estimation and came to be known as one of the four 'sons' of Buddhism.

Kumarajiva visited Kashmir when he was very young. His understanding of the sacred texts could therefore have not been adequate or complete. But it was an age when Kashmiri monks travelled the length and breadth of Central Asia. He therefore took advantage of the presence of some prominent Kashmir monks, then in Central Asian territories, to continue and complete his studies. One eminent Kashmiri scholar then in Kucha at the invitation of the native ruler was named Vimal aksha. Kumarajiva studied with him further in *Sarvastivadin Vinaya*, i.e., the rules of conduct for the monks according to Sarvastivada, a Buddhist tenet, developed largely in Kashmir, which emphasised the reality of whatever exists as against the impermanence of things emphasised by certain other Buddhist sects.

Other distinguished Buddhist monk-scholars of Kashmir who worked in Central Asian territories during Kumarajiva's time were named Dharmaraksha, Sanghabhata and Gautam Sanghadeva.

Buddaysha was another mastermind from Kashmir who worked in Kashgar and other Central Asian territories when Kumarajiva was there. It was in Kashgar that Kumarajiva came into contact with Buddhayasha. The latter had gone there in response to an invitation from the local ruler who had called an assembly of three thousand monks on the lines of the councils established by Asoka and Kanishka in India. The pious ruler was so much impressed by Buddayasha's piety and scholarship that he invited him to reside in the palace itself. And it was here that Kumarajiva studied with him some more Buddhist texts, Hindu shastras and sciences.

Buddhayasha lived in Kashgar for a number of years at the end of which he went to China and collaborated with Kumarajiva in the translation of Buddhist text into Chinese.

Large numbers of Kashmiri monks went to China from the third century onwards inevitably spending some time in Central Asian territories. Though Kashmir is singularly fortunate in having a historical record in Kalhana's Rajatarangini—from the earliest times, it has little to say about these distinguished sons of the valley. In recent times, however, certain details about them have come forth from Chinese and Tibetan sources.

It is not to be assumed from the foregoing that Kashmiri monks alone contributed to the propagation of Buddhism in Central Asian territories; monks from other parts of India also went there on this noble mission, though in the initial stages the Kashmiris played a major role in it. And as Kashmir lay nearest to Central Asia, aspirants found it convenient to visit Kashmir in preference to the other regions of India. And as Sanskrit has emerged as language of Buddhist thought and philosophy from the time of the 4th Buddhist Council held in Kashmir, the Central Asian got what might well be called Sanskrit Buddhism. Knowledge of Sanskrit facilitated the transference of Indian art, science, sculpture, music, etc. In short Buddhism which went to Central Asia played a most civilising role among the people there.

An important contributing factor that helped the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia from Kashmir was that Kashmir, pursued that of Buddhism, which accorded well with the mental and temperamental make-up of the people of Central Asia. The Asians are a brave, lively people with a zest for life. The comparatively speaking negative ethics of Hinayana could hold little fascination for them. On the contrary, Mahayana, which prevailed in Kashmir,

was more adequate and more satisfying. In it, the monk works not for his own self emancipation alone, but for emancipation of the whole humanity. The Hinayana was the path of discipline and renunciation; the Mahayana, on the contraray, showed the path of selfless activity for the benefit of humanity.

An important question that remains to be answered is—Why did the Central Asians take so avidly to Buddhism? This is not easy to answer. We may, however, refer to what an eminent Chinese professor has to say about what his country got from India. According to him, India or Buddhism gave to his country that fundamental freedom which is not merely the negative aspect of freedom which consists of ridding ourselves of outward oppression and slavery but that emancipation of the individual from his own self, through which men attain liberation, peace and fearlessness. He adds that it also taught them the idea of absolute love, that pure love towards all living beings which eliminates, jealousy, anger, impatience, disgust and emulation, which expresses itself in a deep pity and sympathy for the foolish, the wicked and the simple, that absolute love which recognises the inseparability of all beings, the quality of friend and enemy, the oneness of self and all beings. It was perhaps these things that attracted the higher sensibilities of the peoples of Central Asia.

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Chapter - 83

KALAHANA AND BUDDHISM

Moti Lal Saqi

The learned Pandits of Kashmir have played a creditable role in the development and propagation of peace loving message of Buddha, in the far off regions of Asia.

Buddhism came to Kashmir prior to the reign of Ashoka the Great, which is evident from the fact that Kashmir was a centre of Buddhist learning at the time when the Great Ashoka bestowed this land of Sati upon Buddha Sanga (Buddhist-Church).

It is an established fact of history now that the great Ashoka ruled during 3rd century B. C. In the light of the above fact it will not be wrong to say that the history of Buddhism in Kashmir is more or less 23 hundred years old. There are some self styled scholars who claim that King Ashoka, who ruled Kashmir, was a different King from Ashoka the great of Maurayan dynasty, but their claim is just a conjecture born out of personal whim and fancy, as there is no historical evidence, whatsoever, to support their claim.

Kashmir as a part of Ashoka's great empire is not only supported by the Kalhana's Rajatarangini, but by Hiuen-Tsiang and other Buddhist works also. It is strange to believe that Kashmir was not part of the great empire of Ashoka, when Afganistan and Bactria were under his direct sway, as is revealed by the inscription of Shahbaz Gari which is situated in present day Afganistan.

It is said that Buddhism was for the first time brought to Kashmir by Madhyantika, a great Buddhist Arhat in the fiftieth year after the Nirvana of the Buddha. The legend of Satisara which is oftenly repeated by the scholars has a different version in '*The Buddhist records of the Western lands*' by Hiuen-Tsiang, who remained in Kashmir from May 631 A. D. to April 632 A. D. There is no justification to doubt Hiuen-Tsiang's evidence as we have nothing substantial to challenge his statement.

It is often said that Kalhana has been fair enough to record the various facts in Rajatarangini, but ample evidence provided by Chinese and Tibetan sources reveal that he has not been fair enough in recording the progress of Buddism in Kashmir. Rajatarangini tells us about the great Kashmiri Pandits who carried the message of Buddhism to Tibet, Central Asia, China and other parts of Asia and South-East Asia. He is silent about the development of Mahayana in Kashmir, though it is universally acknowledged that Kashmir was a great centre of Mahayana school of Buddhism, which had the blessings of great scholar of Nagarjun's calibre, who lived in Kashmir at Harwan in the Kushan period (150 A. D.). As a matter of fact Kashmir was the cradle of Northern Buddhism, when Mathura was deprived of its granduer because of the split of Buddism in Hinyana and Mahayana Schools. It was the holy land of Mahayana Buddhists.

It is noteworthy to record that the 'Bon' religion of Tibet had a close link with Kashmir and the source of many of the Bon-pa'

traditions had their source in Kashmir. Bhutanese chronicles reveal that Bon-pa' teachers were imported into Bhutan from Kashmir, Kailash and other parts of the Country. The presence of Kashmir Guru's was deemed essential even at the time of funeral.

Though Kalhana is partial in recording the development of Buddhism in Kashmir, how gratifying it looks that one of the earliest references to Kashmir, as an important centre of Buddhism and its learning, is recorded in the Sinhalese chronicle named *Maha-vamsa*. In this is maintained the record of those Indian monasteries which represented the consecration of great Stupa Anuradhapura of Sri-Lanka in A.D. 104. In this congregation the second largest delegation is listed as having come from Kashmir.

Buddhism in Java is the gift of a Kashmiri Monk Gunavermana, who visited this island in about 424 A.D. Before proceeding to Java he had been for sometime in Sri-Lanka. He first converted the Mother of the King of that island to Buddhism and after that King too embraced the same faith.

Gunavermn's visit to Java is significant in other sense also. He brought a novel style of architecture from that far off region to Kashmir, which is known in Kashmir as pagoda and eastern Java type in the terms of architecture. This style of architecture was later adopted by the great Lalitaditya whene he built his great capital Parihaspora in the eighth century, because of this adoption this style is some times named as Parihaspora style also. This great architectural style is still very much alive in our valley in the form of great Reshi monasteries at various places. These monasteries resemble some very eminint buildings in Central Asia, Nepal, Bhutan, China and South East Asia. These remind us of the cultural links of Kashmir with far off regions in the fifth century A.D.

It has been already stated that Kashmir was the sacred land of Mahayana School of Buddhism. The Biographer of Hiuen Tsiang, records that, the pilgrim found in Kashmir a master aged 70 after his heart, with whom he studied the works of Nagarjuna. Revealing the merits of this old man the biographer writes, 'this master of outstanding virtue, observed the rules of discipline, with a rigorous purism'. He was gifted with a profound intellect and his vast learning embraced every branch of knowledge. His talents and his enlightenment partook of the divine and his benevolent heart was full of affection for the sages and respect for the learning'.

It is surprising that Kalhana has not made any mention of all

these things. It is a fact that he was writing about the Kings, and he has almost ignored all the Siva Scholars in his chronicle, but even then there are more details of state of Hinduism in Kashmir, than that of the Buddhism, which has played a prominent role in shaping the behaviour and conduct of Kashmiris. It is not the fact either that the tradition of Buddhism had completely faded out when Kalhana lived; while writing about his own period he has here and there referred to the construction of Viharas and it is an admitted fact that Buddhism was a living religion of Kashmir up to the time of Budshah the great. His Buddhist Minister Tilik Achraya was the last Buddhist luminary, whose name has gone down in the annals of Kashmir. Kalhana has made no mention of Buddhist Council held in Kashmir during the region of Kanishka. Hiuen-Tsiang clearly says that the council was held in Kashmir. Hiuen-Tsiang's statement is supported by an ardent Buddhist scholar Tara Nath, who categorically says that the council was held in Kashmir. Some scholars infer that this council was held at Julandhara the present day Jullunder, but there is nothing worthwhile to accept their conjecture.

Very little of Buddhist remains have survived in Kashmir. It is perhaps because of the fact that mostly perishable materials were used in their construction. We have the noble basements of Chaitya and the basement of Rajvihara at Parihaspora table land at present before us. Remains at Ushkar and Kanispora are there, but the grandeur of Parihaspora is something different and novel. We cannot say what the future will bring forth if at all archaelogical excavations are undertaken in Kashmir at various places. Kalhana, stands as an only historian of rank in the galaxy of world historians but his forgetfulness about Buddhism is something that is thought provoking. This lapse on the part of Kalhana could indicate the non-availability of relevant documents and other sources. But here too another point goes against him.

He has made no mention of his contemporary and near contemporary Buddhist Pandits who had made their mark in the field of Buddhist theology and philosophy. We should be thankful to Tibetan chroniclers who have recorded their achievements and activities with a special reference to Kashmir.

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Chapter - 84

ARCHAEOLOGY IN KASHMIR -PAST AND PROSPECTS-

Sardari Lal Shali

Archaeology is primarily a fact finding subject. It gives us a greater insight into the culture of the people than would be possible from a mere study of records. Archaeology of Kashmir had attracted the attention of the scientific world long before the Kashmir Government established a Department for this subject. General Cunninghum had published an interesting account of the architecture of Kashmir. He was followed by a number of scholars. These reports considerably added to our knowledge of the subject.

The department of Archaeology was instituted by the Government in the year 1903 mainly to explore the many out of way places and thus bring to light all the antiquarian sites. In doing so, it was intended to collect all the available historical material such as epigraphs, coins and traditions bearing upon the history and archaeology of Kashmir.

The excavations at Ushkur, Parihaspur, Pandrethan, Awantipur, Martand., Tapar, Harwan and the work on some of the standing monuments have yielded evidences of a highly developed plastic art in Kashmir from 1st century A. D. to 15th century A. D. These included decorated terracotta tiles from Harwan (Shadarhadwan), well preserved terracotta heads from Ushkur (Huvishkapura), images of Buddha especially his birth scene and life size goddesses representing Ashta-matrikas from Pandrethan (Purandhisthana) Goddess Sri and Vishnu images from Bijibehara (Vijayeshwara) and similar artistic images, both Brahminical and Buddhist from Parihaspur (the capital city of great king Lalitaditya), Awantipur (the capital city of king Avantiwarman) Verinag besides highly decorated tiles bearing various motifs from the tomb of Madin Sahib at Zadibal.

Among the collections mention may be made of terracotta tiles from Harwan (ancient Shadarhadwan) which are interesting in as much as they present unmistakably Sassanian and Central Asian features indicating thereby that Kashmir from 2nd century A.D. to 500 A.D. was the chief emporium of trade between India and Central Asia. This resulted in social, political, religious, commerial and culture exchanges between Kashmir and the regions of Central Asia as well during this period and thereafter. Similar discoveries

were made in relation to epigraphical and numismatic sides. All this could give a chronological sequence of the architectural master pieces belonging to Buddhist (Kushan period), Hindu and Inslamic periods but no serious attempt was made for bringing to light prehistoric sites or as a matter of fact town sites associated with the monuments. No archaeological evidence was available before the advent of Kushan period in Kashmir.

It is only with the aid of systematic exploration and excavations that we come to know about the potentiality of a particular site, about the life of people who occupied it, the houses they lived in, the customs, beliefs, the economic conditions and the amenities they enjoyed.

In the year 1958 as result of persistent efforts made by the local scholars, the Department of state unit of Archaeology was integrated with that of the Central Department of Archaeology. The field work undertaken since then has proved highly fruitful. The results so achieved have almost changed our conception of the history of ancient Kashmir. The exploration and excavations conducted on scientific lines have pushed back the history of the valley millions of years now.

The discovery of old Stone Age tools from the Lidder valley near Pahalgam distinctly raised the possibility of early Paleolithic man having lived in Kashmir about more than two millions years back. Indian scientists were keen to take up the work further. Dr. D. P. Agarwal of Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad with his deep insight into the scientific treatment of the problems established a palaeoclimate project at Srinagar. The scientific analysis of the various sedimentary sections at Hirpur (Shopian), Nagum (Badgam), Saki Paprian (Bijibehara), Burzahom (Srinagar) and other places have produced rewarding results.

The New Stone Age Culture in the valley is now very well documented. The excavations conducted at neolithic site of Burzahom-a village about a mile and a half north of the famous Shalimar Gardens has given a clear picture of the life, fauna and economy of the ancient people of Kashmir who occupied the valley about 4000 years back. The site is capped by massive stones, known to archaeologists as Megaliths. These roughly form a semi circle with an opening in the east. Investigations have shown that these are not associated with burials as we generally come across in South India where numerous such mounments are found. The

exacavations have now revealed the cultural sequence ranging from 2375 B.C. (Carbon-14 dating of the earliest level so far examined) to early Christian era. According to findings four periods have so far been identified. Of these Period I and II belong exclusively to neolithic stage. Period III to Megalithic and Period IV to early historical times.

Period I is indicated by the presence of *Pits* or *Pit Chambers* directly cut into the natural soil. These were utilised for dwellings. Existence of clay or stone lined hearths over the fringe of the pits or in the centre of the chambers clearly suggest an early habitational process. Post holes over the periphery of the dwelling pits and deeper ones in the corners of the pit chambers indicate a well planned roofing arrangement of reeds and birch bark. Specimens of burnt birch bark were found in one of the pits. In Period II structural patterns are slightly changed. Mud platforms have been used for occupational purposes and series of post holes represented a regular timber structure with distinct floor levels. The Megalithic complex at Burzahom has been raised pretty late and the life of the earliest settlers of Kashmir is known in the occupational levels below it. The artefacts found make an interesting study. These comprise bone and stone tools. The bone tools are harpoons (Kashmiri Narus), scrapers, needles with or without eyes, long and curved awls, double edged points, arrow heads, spear points which were used for fishing, cleaning the skin, making garments, sewing and for hunting the game. Tradition of using double edged points in wood is still in vogue in Kashmir for preparation of Kani shawls. Similarly the tools in stone such a axes, adzes, chisels were used for cutting the trees and using them in their structures. The incidence of tools in bone and stone is greater in Period II than in Period I. In stone there are new types in Period II such as harvestors, picks, mace heads, ring balls, engravers etc. These imply knowledge of husbandry. The seeds have been identified as 'wild barley'.

Associated with the Period I is also a very important find. It is a stone slab with engravings. The engraving bears a hunting scene of the neolithic people. The scene represents a male deer in the centre being pierced by a hunter (woman) from behind while another hunter (man) is discharging arrows from the front. The top register shows a male hunting dog and two suns shining brightly. Obviously this is an earliest attemept on art in the Valley.

Human burials and some times pet animals were found buried

within the habitation. The Anthropological Survey of India have indicated that the inhabitants had many traits in common with the Harappa R 37 and that the traces of Burzahom phenotypes are still to be found in the present day populations in Punjab.

Pottery of the neolithic people is generally hand made. There are few painted pots (wheel made) which is an intrusion at the site towards the end of Period II. There is an interesting feature of mat impressions on the bases of the pots which indicates a skill in weaving. It is remarkable to note that some of the pottery types used then are still in vogue in the villages like modern 'Math', 'Deiga'; 'Choda', 'Toaka', 'Pyala', 'Khosa', 'Dulla', 'Voara', 'Bushkab', 'Leiji', 'Posh Gamla' etc. In the succeeding two periods there is sufficient change in the living pattern of the people though the types of tools continue and wheel makes it appearance. This is, therefore, the story of our ancestors in the valley whose main economy was hunting, fowling and fishing.

The presence of various forms of bone tools, the rectangular perforated stone knife of harvestor the pit dwellings and the placing of the domestic dog with their masters appear foreign to the Indian tradition. However, there appears favourable similarity with such cultural traits in the Central Asia and more so with the findings found in the North of China. It therefore, makes it clear that the ancient Silk route or the route followed by Fahein or Heiun Tsang was already known to the Neolithic people of Kashmir.

The ancient site of Burzahom had been reported to be the only site of its kind in North Western part of the sub-continent but during the course of exploration conducted from Khanabal to Pampur in the year 1962-3 many more such neolithic sites were spotted in the valley. These are at Pampur (near Srinagar), Hariparigom, Begund, Dadsar, Gofakhral, Haire Bous (near Tral), Brah and Waztal (near Ancient temple at Martand and Spring at Mattan). In Anantnag District at Dadsar, on one of the standing megalithis a seated figure of a deity has been carved which indicates that these carried some ritualistic traditions and were not to serve as memorial stones even in the neolithic period. However, further positión is being examined at a nearby site of Gofakral so as to confirm the purpose for erection of such massive stones over the neolithic settlements.

It is noteworthy to mention that almost all these sites are situated on the elevated parts of the Karewas or Udars invariably

over looking streams or rivers. The archaeologists of Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad, Garhwal and Kashmir Universities are further exploring the valley and it is heartening to know that dozens of such neolithic sites have been found in Baramulla and Badgam districs also. Only the detailed suruey will show the different stages of Neolithic expansion in the valley.

Occupation of the valley by the Mauryans is challenged by some of the scholars. The occurrence of northern black polished ware with associated red ware (2nd-6th century B. C.) at Samethan near Bijibehara (ancient Vijayeshwara) has now opened a new chapter towards the close contacts with the Mauryan empire. With further work at the site, it is well confirmed that Kashmir was very much within be domain of Ashoka (2nd-3rd century B.C.) as is rightly stated by Kalhana in his Rajatarangini and also referred to by some the eminent historians.

Coming to Kushan times, the picture is not still clear. The excavations at Buddhist sites at Harwan (ancient Shadardwan) and Ushkur (ancient Huvishkapura) have been found incomplete. Curiously enough during recent years, trial dig at the lowest terrace at Harwan has brought to light Taxila type of cells which still remained buried. The diaper pebble wall of one the cells goes under the rubble enclosure wall of the three based stupa and is separated by a thick burnt layer indicative of the fact that the earlier structure has been destroyed by fire. Recently fresh plinths of stupas have been found over the top most terrace of the site. A remarkable structural evidence has been found on the other side of the mountainous range near village Takya Bala in Tral Tehsil. Steps for extensive exploration and survey of the whole area is, therefore, the need of the hour. This must be followed by probings at isolated spots to confirm or set aside the theory regarding the convening of the Great Buddhist conference by Kanishka and the location of *copper plates*, if any. At Ushkur also, during the course of scientific clearance, earlier traces of *plinth* were encountered which has only been enlarged by Lalityaditya in 8th century A.D.

This will show that systematic work on the archaeology of Kashmir needs to be attempted. It is, however, clear now that the valley has been inhabited right from the Stone Age onwards. There is a very extensive distribution of Kushan period site in the valley which have never been excavated. The factual position can only be brought to light with the romance of spade. This could be achieved

only if serious efforts are made to trace unknown portions of some important sites as time and opportunity offer themselves when the history of Kashmir can further be put on a firm footing.

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Chapter - 85

SOME SALIENT ASPECTS OF KASHMIRI HISTORY

Prof. S. L. Pandit

It is obvious that the Valley of Kashmir has since the very dawn of history, enjoyed a special position in the Indian *sub-continent.* According to the Nilamat Purana, the distinctive scripture of the Indo-Aryan settlers in the Valley, this region was once a vast inland sea stretching from the Pir Panchal to the Haramukh mountain ranges. This semi-mythological belief has been confirmed by modern geological studies of the region. Apparently some natural catastrophic eruption opened up the mountain gorge beyond Baramulla, causing the vast primordial lake to be drained out into plains of the Punjab. In course of time the bottom of this lake dried up and became a convenient habitat for homo-sapiens. Recent archaelogical excavations, carried out at Burzuhom above the eastern bank of the Dal Lake, have revealed a state of human evolution possibly very much more ancient than the pre-Aryan Indus Valley civilization.

Coming down to more recent eras of recorded history, it may be noted that, while Kashmir became, from time to time, a part of North Indian empires, it has remained for far longer stretches of time, as an independent kingdom under Hindu and Muslim rulers. In this context the names of two great rulers deserve special attention. First, there is Lalitaditya (724-760 A. D.) who was not only a great military genius, but also an outstanding administrator. He extended his way not only over large parts of the Indo-Gangetic plain but also carried his conquests towards the north beyond the stupendous mountain barriers that separate Kashmir from Central Asia. For our times his greatness is enshrined in the glorious ruins of the Martand temple still standing erect in all its majesty over the plateau above the Hindu pilgrimage centre of Mattan. No less memorable are the achievements of Zain-ul-Abidin (1422-1474 A. D.), popularly called

Bad Shah (the Great King) by Kashmiris. The impress of his constructive genius is still revealed by the many places named after him and the irrigation canals built at his initiative all over the Valley. Moreover, he anticipated the great Akbar by a century through his secular outlook, by his love of learning and the arts, and by religious tolerance. All Kashmiris today are fully justified in taking pride in the achievements of these two great rulers of Kashmir.

Culturally speaking, Kashmir has undoubtedly been through the centuries linked firmly with the mainstream of Indian thinking and Indian way of life. This region has, at the same time, retained through the ages close affinities with the trans-Himalayan regions of Central Asia. Kashmiri music, architecture, and language itself have absorbed and retained indissoluble links with the Northern regions, lying beyond the Karakuram and the Pamirs.

Next, when we consider the development of religious ideas and religious practices in Kashmir, we are confronted with a picture in many ways distinct from what we see in regions close towards both our Southern and Northern borders. Kashmir was no doubt in ancient times a centre of Hindu religion as practised in the Vedic period. Later it became an important focal point of Buddhism. Most probably the Hindu caste system substantially disintergrated here through the impact of Buddhism. Later on, Islam was popular and the only Hindus that stuck fast to their ancient religion were a handful of Brahmins—a phenomenon almost unparalelled in any other parts of India.

This small community of Brahmins evolved, in course of time, a unique religious philosophy, known as Trika or Kashmir Saivism.It may be mentioned here that Islam itself got modified to some extent in this land by many pre-Islamic traditions, and more so by the influence of Sufi mystics. The late fourteenth century saw the emergence of two mystic saints, a Hindu and a Muslim, who are venerated equally down to this day by both Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir and whose utterances have become an invaluable cultural heritage of all Kashmiris.

First, there appeared on the scene Laleshwari or Lal Ded (Mother Lala), as she is popularly called. She was an inspired soul whose early religious training appears to have been moulded largely by Saivite philosophy. It is her unrivalled distinction that she was able to express the basic tenets of this philosophy in language and

imagery easily understood by even the illiterate sections of the people.

Soon after came Nund Rishi, better known as Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, whose mortal remains lie burried in a tomb at Chrar-i-Sharif a shrine that has been a popular place of pilgrimage. There is a tradition that this great Kashmiri saint was physically a cripple and had to be carried in a litter from place to place by his devotees. He was greatly influenced by Sufism and, as in the case of Laleshwari, his sayings too have become a valued treasure for both the learned few and also the mass of common folk. And, in like manner, his memory and his name are venerated by the Hindus as well as Muslims of Kashmir.

Thus we see that these two cultural trends of Hindu Saivism and Muslim Sufisim seem to have achieved a lovely integration in the lives and utterances of Lal Ded and Shiekh-ul-Alam.

When we consider these several outstanding aspects of historical evolution in Kashmir, we may conclude that communal harmony and religious toleration, on which the Kashmiris may in our times rightly pride themselves are a matter of historical growth stamping our identity as a people. Let us bear it in mind that it would be a sad day indeed in our history, if we at any time lose sight of this noble national heritage.

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Chapter - 86

GREATNESS OF KASHMIR

Prof. P. N. Kaula

The Ancient Past

Kashmir has been a centre of learning and culture in the ancient times. Even during the Buddhist period the whole land was under the sway of learned Brahmin scholars whose fame for Sanskrit learning and literature had extended beyond India to China, Java and Japan. Hiuen-Tsang who visited Kashmir in 121 A. D. remarked "*People are beautiful. They are learned and instructed*".

Intellectual and Spiritual Glory

Kalhana says in *Rajtarangini* :

"*Learning,* lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes : things that even in heaven are difficult to find, are common here (in Kashmir)".

The first-name among the boons that Kalhana mentions have been the distinguishing endowment of this land of gods and constitutes the solid basis of Kashmir's greatness in the comparatively remote past of its chequered history. Kashmir has had its era of intellectual and spiritual glory lying in its rich florescence with the magic splendour of its natural wealth—crystal streams, bubbling springs, indulgent flora and fauna, lush green meadows, forest-clad and snow-capped lofty mountains. With a natural boundary of mountains which provided the necessary solitude to the sages and saints of this Valley, their learning and intellectual acumen spread far and wide in the Country. No wonder that this small but blessed land provided within its boundaries the counterparts of almost all the spiritual abodes and pilgrimages, sacred rivers and fanes available in the length and breadth of India, to symbolies the spiritual and the cultural affinity and indissoluble unity of Kashmir with the rest of the country. This small but mighty land evolved its own system of philosophy through its scholars and which marked distinctly the spiritual and literary greatness of the country. In the beginning of Christian era, Kashmir was, indeed, the greatest centre of Sanskrit learning, the Hindu and Buddhist philosophy and attracted scholars from distant lands who came to this physically inaccessible but nature's carved our place, cut off from the rest of the world by lofty mountains, for advanced studies and for obtaining recognition of their works—that recognition being regarded as the hall-mark of proficiency and achievement.

Alberuni who lived in the eleventh century writes as under :

Banaras and Kashmir are the great seats of Hindu Science. It is Kashmir that has produced greatest historians, poets and philosophers".

Gems of the Past

Thus Kashmir maintained the cultural greatness for centuries. Many of us are not quite aware of the contributions of our ancestors to the stream of Indian Culture. Let us take pride in the achievements of Kallatabhata and Utpaldeva, Kalhana and Bilhana, Damodargupta and Somadeva, Abhinavagupta and Kshemaraja, Kayyata and Mammata. Let not the wheel of time which has diverted our scholarship from Sanskrit and ancient lore to other linguistic fields, make us forget what has been our cultural heritage.

Kashmiri Language

Kashmiri language in still a live-wire of this cultural heritage. The language is spoken in the Valley and, in varying dialectical forms, in other areas like the valley of Kishtwar in the southeast and the southern region across the Pir Panchal Range of Himalyas, lying north of the River Chenab.

It is also spoken by a large number of Kashmiris who have migrated to India in the recent past. The total number of Kashmiri speaking people does not exceed 20 lakhs which makes them an insignificent minority in the linguistic horizon of India. In early stages, the *Sharada* script, a variation of the old *Brahmi* script or even older by itself, was exclusively used for writing Kashmiri. Today the script is still used by our *purohits* for preparing our horoscopes. They are adept in the art of astronomical calculations, through this script, But now the *Sharada script* is no longer a means of communication and has been replaced by Devanagri and Roman scripts. Due to political changes, Persian-Arabic script came to be used as the official script for Kashmiri.

Sir George Gierson who had made considerable study of languages in India has recorded in the *Linguistic Survey of India* that Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic sub-family of languages. He considers its original source to be some tribal dialect possibly no less ancient than Vedic Sanskrit. Many other scholars, however, do not agree with the views of Gierson and regard the language as being basically a branch of the Indo-Aryan family of languages.

Outstanding Contributions

Kashmiri language has survived even during the 14th and 15th centuries when Kashmir witnessed many political upheavals accompanied by an unprecedented spiritual upsurge recorded in the literature of this period. In the 14th century Kashmir produced two outstanding religious poets, Lal Ded and Nand Rishi. Lalleshwari, popularly known as Lalla and reveredly called Lal Ded was a mystic saint of the highest order whose verses, now translated into English and other languages, epitomized the very essence of Hindu Philosophy. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, popularly known as Nund Rishi, born in 1377, was the greatest exponent of sufi movement.

Rise of Illiteracy

During the later part of the medieval period, Kashmir knew no appreciable increase in her literary contributions owing to internecine wars, general unrest and non-stability of the governments. There was no security of life and property. Hence it became a hot bed of illiteracy and ignorance. In spite of some efforts of the Dogra rulers, the lot of Kashmiris remained the same. The literacy of the State was raised to 6.9%, of this percentage the males were 11.1% and females 2.2%.

Free Education for All

After the partition of India, Kashmir rightly acceded to India. Since then a great change has taken place in the literary aspect of Kashmiris. Education has become *free* for all people right from the primary stage upto research level. This has provided a great impetus to the growth of literacy and literary talents among the less fortunately placed people. But much has yet to be achieved.

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Chapter - 87

LALLESHWARI'S CONTRIBUTION TO KASHMIRI CULTURE

Prof. D. N. Parimoo

Lalla the Yogeshwari was a devoted follower of Shaivism. It is an original religious philosophy of the Kashmiri Brahmins of yore who had established a very important and famous seat of learning at Sharda (now in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, 60 miles from Baramulla) where religion was taught and discussed through Sharda script. It is a philosophy which aims at transcending the illusion of this external world and restricting one's thoughts to meditation on one's inner self and learning to appreciate all externals at their true value. While doing so, it would direct the devotee to surrender the world wholly and become united with Lord Shiva, typifying the course of cosmos under God's rule. It would do away with some unnecessary inhibitions too and even allow naked dances like Tandva of Lord Shiva as a means of catharsis and emancipation, besides Yoga, as a self-discipline to achieve the goal.

The Essence

Lalla's contribution to our culture was to make an easy understanding of Shaivism by the common man through her songs and sayings. She, as a genius, bore in mind the hopes and fears of the man in the street and it is for him that she extracted and concentrated the essence of this cult within herself only to spread its fragrance in very simple, serene and attractive sayings, as will be evinced by a few reproduced below :-

(I stopped my breath, slowly and slowly, in the bellowspipe (of my lungs). Subsequently, the lamp of knowledge brightened within me and at this stage my true nature was revealed to my own self. I emitted my inner light. Thus in the darkness [helped by the light] I could catch hold of Him tightly.) The essence of Yoga.

(One who thinks himself not different from the other; one who accepts night (sorrow) as good as day (pleasure); one who frees himself from duality; he and he alone tells the Lord of the Lords-Almighty.) The essence of Shaivism.

Non-Duality

This essence of non duality got a strong hold over Lalla's thought process. In spite of having a Kashmiri Brahmin, Seda Boyu, as her Guru, she did not desist from coming very close to Sayyid Ali Hamadani (Shah-e-Hamadan), the famous Muslim saint who arrived in Kashmir in 1380 A.D., when Sultan Qutb-ud-Din was the ruler. She recognised in him godliness and legend has it that when she came across him by chance in a semi-nude state she ran away to hide herself in a nearby grocer's shop who refused her shelter and then to a baker's only to jump into the blazing oven. Shah-e-Hamadan followed her but could not trace her even in the oven till she appeared in garments. Asked to explain, she is believed to have said that she could not find any other godly person than the Muslim saint and as such she would not like to appear semi-nude before him; as for the rest she did not care. The whole episode she explained in one sentence :

(I came to seek shelter in a grocer's shop but was forced to go to the baker's).

A Precursor

With this Muslim saint she was spiritually associated for six long years that he was in Kashmir. In a way she became a precursor of Hindu-Muslim unity, rather harmonry. She, like a true Yogin, transcended even the barriers of caste, creed and religious bigotry which influenced Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus alike. Both held her in great esteem. This too is an invaluable contribution to our culture since it laid deep roots of the tree of harmony between the votaries of the two religions.

Granny Lal, as she is known in the West, enriched Kashmiri language by making appropriate, brief and beautiful usage of Kashmiri saws and sayings. According to Western scholars, Kashmiri language is very rich in all respects. Its script, Sharda, was mercilessly obliterated by Muslim rulers. Lonel D. Barnett, in his introduction to *The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded,* published in London by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1920, says: "Kashmiri language is most rich in wise and proverbial sayings... and very few languages can compare to this richness". In fact, because of its

richness, J. Hunten Knowles has compiled and published *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings* (Bombay and London editions 1885). Likewise, *A Manual of Kashmiri Language* has been compiled by Sir George Grierson.

Pithy Words

This richness of Kashmiri language helped our beloved Granny Lal to express and communicate faithfully and with ease her innermost feelings in a brief, lucid and impressive manner, Brevity being the soul of wit, she communicated volumes in a few pithy words. One can learn much more from her songs contained in about 120 available stanzas which had come down by word of mouth till the end of the 19th century when some anonymous Shaivite scholar recorded these in a manuscript found later with a Kashmiri Brahmin, Shri Dharm Das Derwish, of Guchh village near Sharda. This manuscript was discovered in 1914 by Pt. Mukund Ram Shastri, Head Assistant, Research Department, Kashmir Government, who handed it over to Sir George Grierson.

A few beautiful stanzas are reproduced here:
(My Guru gave me one word; he said to me to enter from without into within. This word became my rule and precept. And as such I started dancing nude.)

This implies Shiva Tandva dance as indicated in the tenets of Shaivism to bring about emanicipation through catharsis:
(An idol is only a stone and so is the temple. From top to bottom there is one coordination and only one, Oh you obstinate Pandit, what will you worship. Enforce union of your mind with your soul.) This shows her emancipated state of mind and the zenith of spiritual powers.

Insight

About female nature she very briefly and beautifully put it:
(Some have wives like chinar full of shade; go out under it and cool ourselves. Some have wives like the bitch at the door; let us go out and get our legs bitten. Some have wives victim to confusion, some have wives like thatch full of holes.) This shows her insight into human nature.

Once a discourse was held between her and her Guru, Seda

Boyu, about the following: (1) Which was the greatest of all lights? (2) Which was the most famous pilgrimage? (3) Who was the best of all relations? (4) Which was the most easy state of mind? Lalla spoke out first:

Seda Boyu rendered it thus :

Lalla improved upon her Guru leaving no room for further improvement, by saying :

First (Lala): There is no light like that of the sun; there is no pilgrimage like the Ganga; there is no relation like a brother; there is no ease like that of a wife.

Second (Guru) : There is no light like that of the eyes; there is no pilgrimage like that of knees; there is no relation like one's pocket; there is no ease like that of food.

Finally (Lalla): There is no light like that knowledge of God; there is no pilgrimage like that of ardent love; there is no relation like that of God; there is no ease like that got from the fear of God.

GREAT POET

These expressions make Lalla a poet for all times and not of a particular age.

Lalla was a true Jivanmukhta as defined in the following Mantra of Vedanta-Sara Upanishad. (For the Jivanmukhta who is free from 'I-ness' and 'Mine-ness' and desires, where is delusion? Where is sorrow? What to renounce, what to gain? He is always satisfied in the self;)

In spite of her being a true Jivanmukhta, unconcerned with this world, she seems to have contributed a lot for an ordinary man of Kashmir by way of simplifying the tenets of Shaivaism through her sweet sayings and also enriching her mother-tongue which attracted great scholar-cum researchers of the West, and emancipating the layman from religious bigotry and communal barriers. All this has, no doubt, a healthy impact on the thought process and the development of our culture.

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Chapter - 88

WOMEN OF KASHMIR: PAST AND PRESENT

Mrs. Asha Dhar

Down the ages, Kashmiri women have been extolled as the best specimens of oriental beauty. James Milne in *Road to Kashmir* characterised a Kashmiri woman as a "primal creature in her Garden of Eden". Kashmiri women's artistic creativity and their promotion of art as connoisseurs have left an imprint on the cultural life of the state. A few women evolved new philosophical thoughts and new rhythms. Most women of the middle class society pursued their interests and contributed to the general upliftment of the poor. On the whole, Kashmiri women lived unfettered lives. They, however, witnessed varying fortunes, largely due to politico-social upheavals in the state, much too frequent in the medieval period. As such, their growth got stunning blows. During the dark periods, they were pressurized with servitude and deprivation. Their activities got confined to the four walls of the house. This seclusion sapped their intellectual curiosity and artistic creativity. In periods of comparative reprieve, some of them fought valiantly against injustices and as such were able to leave an enduring imprint on Kashmir's annals. Since the early 30s of the present century, and especially since the Independence of the country, Kashmiri women, as all over India, saw their spirits rekindle. They are seen unfolding their potentialities and exploring new avenues, with a zest which is at once astonishing and remarkable.

An incisive analysis of the sparsely written history of Kashmir should help in tracing the position of Kashmiri women through different periods and help place them in proper perspective.

Yashovati and others

Going back to the epic *Mahabharata* period, King Damodara ruled Kashmir. After the King's death, his wife, Queen Yashovati, of a noble disposition, became the queen-regent of Kashmir, until their infant son came of age. As a *de facto* ruler, Yashovati proved very successful. The noted historian, Kalhana, writes eloquently about Yashovati in the celebrated chronicle, *the Rajatarangini*. The eyes of men which viewed womankind with scant courtesy, considering it as one of the objects of their pleasure, looked upon this mother of her subjects as if she were a goddess".

Long before the beginning of the Christian era, a Hindu king, Jaluka, ruled Kashmir, for well over 60 years. He brought about a significant constitutional reform in Kashmir. He was keenly interested in art, architecture and religion. The king acknowledged that his extremely gifted wife, Ishan Devi, was the inspiration to him for his noteworthy achievements.

King Tunjina and Queen Vakpushta ruled Kashmir in 2nd century A.D. and lived in blissful companionship. Vakpushta was a virtuous lady, who worked tirelessly with her husband to better the condition of their subjects. The queen was a philanthropist, (her alms-house functioned in Kashmir right up to the middle of the 12th century A.D.), a social reformer and a builder. She had an iron will and determination to face any crisis. She proved an epitome of self-sacrifice.

The dynasty, founded by Pravarsena-II, ruled Kashmir for more than five hundred years and had expanded its suzerainty beyond the state frontiers. Baladitya, one of the scions of this dynasty, had a daughter, Ananglekha. She was very well accomplished but her talent was ignored and she was pushed into marriage to a very subordinate official in the palace, named Durlabhvardhan. Disappointed, young Ananglekha became rather wayward, but her husband's cool-headedness, magnanimity and philosophical temperament had a reforming influence on her in due course.

Baladitya passed away in 519 A.D. Durlabhvardhan secured the throne Anangalekha, as queen-consort, gave unstinted support to her husband who ruled ably for thirty-five years (up to 554 A.D.) Poet-historian, Kalhana, refers to Anangalekha's beauty and grace, her contribution with her consort king, in laying the foundation of the Karkota dynasty, which produced the best rulers for Kashmir, including the illustrious Lalitaditya Mukhtapida. Queen Anangalekha was secular in outlook and loved to promote scholars and savants, whether Brahmanas or Buddhists.

King Shankaravarman, son of king Avantivarman (10th century A.D.) was married to a wise young woman, Sugandha. Upon Shankaravarman's demise, Queen Sugandha acted as a regent to their infant son, Gopalavarman, and guardian to their another delinquent son, Samkata. During the minorship of Gopalavarman, Sugandha administered the state efficiently.

Gopalavarman was assassinated as the result of an intrigue. Samkata died a natural death. In the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana notes:

"Upon the prayer of subjects, Sugandha assumed royal authority in person". For two years, Sugandha responded to the trust reposed in her by her subjects, by administering the State to their absolute satisfaction.

Famous Queen Didda

Half a century after Suganda's rule, queen consort of King Kshemagupta, Didda occupied a centre-stage in the course of destiny that shaped the events in Kashmir during that period. As the custom ordained, she did not commit *Sati* on the death of her husband, Kshemagupta. Instead, she lived as regent to her only son, Abhimanyu. Besides inheriting her indolent husband's mantle Didda had to pass through a difficult period which was also a trying time in Kashmir's history. After Shankaravarman's death, sixteen kings ruled the state for short periods, mostly inefficient, bringing near ruin to Kashmir. It turned out to be a period of moral decay and social degeneration. Didda had to face formidable enemies as well. But, with her iron grit and remarkable valour, coupled with diplomatic brinkmanship, she succeeded to rid the soil of Kashmir of malignant growths, treachery and ruthlessly she eliminated the wicked and patronised loyal supporters. Time and again, she used Machiavellian methods of divide and rule in order to gain advantage for the state.

Didda proved an outstanding ruler of medieval Kashmir, aptly ranked equal to King Avantivarman by historians. Her son, Abhimanyu's death, changed Didda completely. A voluptuous woman that she was to the core, she turned dissolute. A ferocious military commander and efficient but ruthless administrator, an indefatigable worker and a shrewd diplomat, she oddly enough, sought solace in religion and charity. Thus she earned the appellation of Did (grand-mother) - benefactor of the masses. It is a tribute to her outstanding competence and ability that Didda remained at the helm of affairs in Kashmir for about half a century—as a regent and as a queen. Her memory is cherished in Kashmir even today.

Prince Sangramraja (1017-1028 A.D.) was queen Didda's choice for the throne of Kashmir. He was married to the sagacious and talented Srilekha. The king and the queen ruled together peacefully for twenty-five years, keeping the foreign invaders at bay. Mahmud Gaznavi had ravaged the whole of North India and the only invasion of his that miscarried was the one to Kashmir, during Sangramraja

and Srilekha's rule. This enhanced the prestige of the royal couple.

Srilekha was admired by the people for lending unstinted support to her husband and for ushering in peace and prosperity for the masses. She was an able administrator, a reformist and a liberal at heart. She built monasteries for the monks, nuns and ascetics. She fought Brahmin orthodoxy tooth and nail.

After Sangramraja's death, she desired to be the ruler herself, but was pressurised to instal her son Hariraja on the throne. Hariraja died prematurely. Srilekha, acted as the regent to her infant son and in that capacity took decisive administrative steps to repulse usurpers to the throne and put the rebellious nobles and chieftains on the leash.

Suryamati, Jayamati

King Anantadeva, who ruled Kashmir 1028 to 1063 A.D. was a contemporary of Mahmud Ghaznavi. It was the time when Gandhara and India had close cultural links. The fugitives from Gandhara found a welcome niche in Kashmir. But they misused this welcome. King Anantadeva's queen Suryamati had a keen intellect. She understood the disaffection of the people, and the intrigues and treacherous tendencies of the courtiers. Being a pragmatic administrator, she found it imperative to raise an army—the first time in the history of Kashmir—paid the soldiers regularly from the state treasury. She exercised the utmost restraint on King Anantadeva's profligacies. The king got almost sidelined in the process.

Suryamati initiated various reforms to streamline the administration and made it effective to bring the powerful rebel Damaras under control. She took it upon herself to remove the people's grievances with single-minded determination. With exemplary zeal, she started building temples, monasteries and other edifices for the use and comfort of the religious mendicants.

Her failure arose from her restless temperament and her unwavering love for her wayward son, Kalsha. While king Anantadeva thought Kalsha unfit to rule, Suryamati obstinately desired her son to be the king. Torn between conflicting emotions, she made many compromises which were detrimental to the country's interest.

Kalsha showed his treacherous traits when he burnt down his father's residence at Vijayeshwara, which was the storehouse of

Anantadeva's treasures.

This clinched the issue. Kalsha's son, Harsha, was made the king instead. King Anantadeva and queen Suryamati fought bitterly. Anantadeva committed suicide. Suryamati committed *Sati*. Suryamati's role as the queen-consort found merited acclaim in the history of Kashmir.

King Harsha got murdered in a local uprising. Uchchala took over and ruled Kashmir for ten years, from 1101-1111 A.D. He married Jayamati, who was beautiful, adept in singing and music. Uchchala had met Jayanti, of humble parentage, by sheer coincidence and declared her the queen at an impressive *abhishekha* ceremony, as was the custom.

Queen Jayanti was benevolent and of a gentle disposition. She charmed her subjects by working tirelessly to better their lot and save them from poverty and destitution. So captivating were her manners that her strongest antagonists became friends instantly. So kind was she that she saved the life of infant Bhikshachari from the intrigue of the king who had ordered that he must be eliminated. This invited her husband's wrath and indifference.

But it did not deter Jayanti is from her unwavering loyalty to Uchchala and to show it, committed *Sati* on Uchchala's pyre. She had distinguished herself already and carved a memorable niche for herself in the peoples' minds, as well as in history.

When historian Kalhana lived in Kashmir, King Jayasimha was the ruling monarch (1127-1154 A.D.). Radhadevi was one of Jayasimha's queens. Serene and dignified, she showed remarkable qualities of statemanship, diplomacy and administration. She kept advising the king in matters of state. She even deputised for the king when the need arose and she always succeeded in conducting negotiations with adversaries.

Kalhanika was king Jayasimha's another councillor-cum-mediator queen. Her acumen in diplomacy was helped by her charming personality, cultivated manners and a keen analytical mind. Kashmir was passing through a grim phase of civil war. It was due to her deft handling on the tricky situations that normalcy was restored in the country. Once she headed a peace mission to tackle an obdurate kinsman 'pretender to the throne', Bhoja, and powerful Damara Chiefs who were leading the rebellions. Charmed by her captivating ways and statesmanlike gestures, the arch-enemy of yester-years, Bhoja, turned into a loyal friend. The rebellion of

Damaras was quelled immediately afterwards. She was honoured as the "First Councillor" to the King. The historian Kalhana recorded "she was adept in statecraft and an impressive orator". She became the beloved queen of Kashmiris in her lifetime.

Unfortunately, this euphoria was not to last long. Internal strife, slothful kings and indulgent queens expedited the downfall of the Hindu rule in Kashmir. In the year 1319 A.D. began the Muslim rule in the Valley.

Kotadevi: her name writ large

Kotadevi (a woman of unknown lineage) lived in this period of turmoil in Kashmir. She was patriotic and brave. Apparently for the expediency of the state, and hoping to resuscitate Hindu rule in Kashmir, she sought Rinchana's hand in marriage. Together, King Sadar-ud-Din and Kotadevi tried to restore some confidence among the unhappy and oppressed Kashmiris. But just three years after Sadar-ud-Din's rule, he was killed by his opponent Tukka, in the year 1323 A.D.

Kotadevi remained undaunted by the turn of events. She refused pointblank to install her son by Sadar-ud-Din Haidar, on the throne nor did she herself become a ruling queen. Instead, she recalled her trusted councillor, Udyananda, who had absconded to Gandhara, and installed him on the throne. Again, in the interest of the state, she married king Udyananda. But king Udyananda turned indolent and imbecile, much against Kotadevi's expectations. Wilful and powerful, she decided to rule herself by proxy. In 1330 A.D., Urwan (also called achala)—a desperado attacked the Valley with full force. Udyananda fled the Valley but Kotadevi bravely stuck to her roots. With her diplomatic prowess, she turned the attacker into a pitiable position. He made an ignoble retreat. Brazen-faced Udyananda came out from hiding and returned to the palace.

Kotadevi would never have forgiven her husband but she desperately desired a child who had royal blood in his veins. For that reason, she pardoned her errant husband and restored him to kingship. A son was born to them and named Bhota Rattan.

Meanwhile, Shah Mir, a courtier, had carved a cosy niche for himself in the people's minds. He spread disaffection amongst the masses against Kotadevi and also pointed out the imbecility of kind Udyananda. He supported Haidar (Kotadevi's son by Sadar-ud-Din)

as the rightful heir to the throne, instead of Udyananda-Kotadevi issue, Bhota Rattan. This discomforted the royal couple.

Kotadevi, however, would have neither Haider nor Bhota Rattan as king. Instead she took the belated decision to rule the state in her own right. She was on the throne for just five months. She made Bikshana Batta—and not Shah Mir her prime minister. Scheming Shah Mir was furious and rose up in revolt, murdered Bikshana Bhatta and his companion Avatara. Kotadevi would have avenged her prime minister's murder but was dissuaded from doing so by her ministers, who connived with Shah Mir.

The year 1339 A.D. saw Shah Mir as the powerful ruler of the Valley. Kotadevi wouldn't let the situation slip out of her hands. Again, she resorted to expediency and married Shah Mir. Her innate desire in this matrimonial alliance was to regain Hindu rule in the Valley. The marriage did not work. The two fell out. Kotadevi was arrested. She committed suicide in 1339 A.D.

Kotadevi's name is writ large in the history of Kashmir for her distinguished role in defending the Valley from foreign intruders. She used sheer dogged perseverance, quiet diplomacy and manipulated marriage alliances simply in the interest of her motherland. Many years after her death, historian Jonaraja thus analysed Kotadevi's role in Kashmir's history in his annals: "As the canal nourishes cultivated fields with water, so did the queen nourish the people by bestowing much wealth on them. She was to the kingdom what the moon is to the blue lotus; and to the enemy she was what that luminary is to the white lotus". Kotadevi's death saw the end of the Hindu rule in Kashmir.

The story of women's contribution to Kashmir does not begin or end with the exploits of queens only. In king Sussala's reign (1112-1128 A.D.), Silla, a woman of aristocratic birth, stout heart and iron grit, fought valiantly against disgruntled courtiers, Mallakoshta, Prithvihara and Bhikshachara. She died in the battlefield due to a fatal wound but her undaunted spirit remained an inspiration to posterity.

Women Fighters

Another heroine, Chudda, born in a statesman-soldier family, was married to King Sussala's prime minister, Garga Chandra—the king-maker in Kashmir's history. For reasons, not known, king Sussala had Garga Chandra and his son executed. Chudda was

mortified with grief. But the love for her motherland was so firm in her mind that she pushed back her hatred for Sussala and accepted the job to command Sussala's army. She succeeded in defeating the formidable and disgruntled courtier, Mallakoshla, in a battle. Prithvihara, another opponent of the king, finding Chudda a deadly adversary, had her treacherously murdered. Chudda's name also stands out in the annals of Kashmir recording for posterity the patriotism and dedication of women fighters who became martyrs.

Nor was women's interest limited to warfare. Reverting to ancient Kashmir, queens and influential women participated whole-heartedly in the drive to raise temples, *viharas*, shrines—in order to gain spiritual merit. Such edifices have remained as so many prized cultural legacies.

Queens Amritaprabha, Yukadevi, Indradevi, Khodama and Samma quintet wives of King Meghvahana (1 A.D.—35 A.D.)—vied with one another to build *viharas* for the use of the Buddhist *bikshus*. In subsequent centuries, Queen Ranarambha (436-497 A.D.), Bimba (582-617 A.D.), Narendradevi (635-685 A.D.), Kamlavati (697-734 A.D.), Ishandevi (697-734 A.D.) Kalyanadevi (746-779 A.D.), Jayadevi (779-791 A.D.), Gunadevi (810-847 A.D.), Kavyadevi (855-883 A.D.), Sambhavali (905-916 A.D.), Srilekha (1003-1028 A.D.), Kalhanika (1101-1111 A.D.)—the list is almost endless—built temples, *maths, gokuls,* convents, *viharas*, curative ponds, water wheels, charitable institutions and satellite towns, all over the Valley. Unfortunately, not one has survived the ravages of time and weather.

If the women of Kashmir, in ancient and early medieval period, could throw up heroines in governance, army and diplomacy, who predominated in the fields of creative arts, it can be concluded fairly accurately that there was no discrimination between the genders. And, that there was an atmosphere of freedom as well as ample opportunity for intellectual fecundity. Unfortunately, historians have been rather niggardly in recording their multi-faceted capabilities. That there were no die-hard taboos to intercaste marriages, and that such alliances and social mixing was allowed, is evident from various ancedotes connected with the kings and gentry. King Jayadeva (746-779 A.D.) married a professional dancer. King Chakravarman (922-936 A.D.) wedded a low-caste singing girl, Hamsi. King Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) married a temple dancer, Shahja. King Harsha, a connoisseur of fine arts, went a step further

and himself instructed girls in singing and dancing.

Women in Kashmir were not only equal but considered a little superior in many spheres of mundane life. Abhinavagupta, the versatile exponent of Shaivist philosophy—the indigenous religious philosophy of Kashmir—says that according to the creed "a man must have a woman as a messenger for communication with the All-Powerful, who must be treated as one's equal and with honour' otherwise, he forfeits his rights to perform religious ceremonies and rituals laid down by the Shaivist preceptors".

Buddhism reached Kashmir in emperor Ashoka's time. At first the new creed was opposed tooth and nail by the indigenous Brahmins, as everywhere else in India. The new creed had offered equal opportunity to men and women in spiritual spheres and in realizing the Ultimate Goal. This suited the Kashmiri psyche. A remarkable change in religious thought came in the 9th century A.D., when the ancient and indigenous religious doctrine, Shaivism, (or the Trika Shastra) got fused with the agnostic doctrines of Buddhism, cherishing and preserving the best of both.

It was Krityadevi, a Buddhist nun, endowed with the gift of great oratory, who pleaded with King Jaluka of Kashmir, against the persecution of non-violent Buddhists by the Brahmis. Her gift of persuasion had a tremendous impact on the king. He ordered complete freedom of religious practice and preaching in his kingdom. So impressed was the king with Krityadevi's spirit of tolerance and opposition to religious proselytisation, that he ordered, *Krityashrama* built in her honour.

About 1000 A.D., Islam came to Kashmir quite peacefully, as nowhere else in India. The Hindu kings in Kashmir welcomed Muslim saints and preachers and left them free to preach the new creed, for Kashmir had a tradition of enquiry and assimilating new truths and thus enrich the national culture and multi-dimensional heritage. But once the new breed of Muslim enthusiasts challenged Hindu beliefs and traditions as immoral and irreligious, the early euphoria changed into fear and oppression. Subsequent events turned their fears true, when Shah deposed Kotadevi and gave Muslim rule to Kashmir for the first time in 1335 A.D.

Women Saints and Savants

The unhappy times threw up saints, sages and savants steeped in the Sufi-tradition of tolerance and harmony. One of these was Lal

or Lalla, born to a Brahmin couple near Shrinagar when the Hindu rule in Kashmir was drawing virtually to a close under Udayananda, and the ideological warfare between Brahminism and Islam was assuming a critical shape. Lalla was a child prodigy. It was her keen intellect, complimented with an arduous and long spiritual search, which hit at a new symphony between the two religious thoughts. She churned the basic truth of Trika (Shaivism) and Islam: "There is one and only one God. He is the Universal Law and the All-pervading force".

The core of Lalla's philosophy consisted in equality of men and women, human brotherhood and unity of God and man. Her "religious humanism" generated an intellectual revolution in Kashmir. *Lallavakyani*—a poetic compendium of Lalla's philosophical and mystical outpourings—is a message for all humans and for all ages. She was affectionately called Lal Ded (Lal the grandmother) and has remained ever since the beloved saint of Kashmiris—Hindus and Muslims alike.

After Lalla's death (1377 A.D.) one more master of religious resurgence, Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, added another dimension to religious thought in Kashmir, known as Sufism-and the order of *Rishis* and *Babas*. All Kashmiris respect this syncretic creed.

Fourteenth century onwards, the liberties and privileges of women had got clipped, as it were. The downward slide became worse from 1586 A.D.. when Kashmir came under the direct rule of the Mughals in Delhi, for the Mughals were not aware of the privileges that the women of Kashmir had enjoyed. Deprivation of rights the women suffered no doubt, but their honour remained fairly intact in the Mughal period.

The 11th century Kashmiri historian, Bilhana in the poem, *Vikramankadevacharita*, describes women in Kashmir speaking Sanskrit fluently, indicating thereby that education among the women was fairly widespread though perhaps not universal. There is a possibility that in that intellectual freedom, they would have made some literary contribution. Not much is known about it though. There is, however, ample mention of their artistic creativity in the fields of music, dancing and architecture. The queen's proximity was compulsory at the coronation of the king. The *Raj-abhishekha* (coronation) ceremony was administered alike on the king and the queen. The queens had their separate funds, owned treasures and had their own counsellors to help them in the affairs of

the State. They got levies and received homage from the feudal chiefs and prominent nobles of the state. This trained them in governance and came handy when the need arose.

They were given opportunities to distinguish themselves in any sphere of life. R.S. Pandit in the *River of Kings* (1935)—The English translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*—says: "They had emerged from the domestic life on to the political stage. They were free, owned landed and other immovable property, managed their own estates and even fought in the battlefields as generals and commanders at the head of troops".

Habba Khatun : melody queen

The worse fate for Kashmiri women, as for all people of the state, became a sad reality with the advent of the oppressive Afghan rule in 1752. The lustful Pathan mercenaries indulged in molestation and kidnapping of women and carting them all the way to Afghanistan and Iran as concubines. The constant fear of saving their chastity and honour, led to their total seclusion, adoption of the *purdah*, deliberate negligence of personal appearance, child marriages, and endless procreation, and worse still, near total stagnation. Fearful menfolk laid down their rule of thumb on the hapless womenfolk. The Shaivite *Shakti* became a prisoner of bigotry, superstition and neglect. Parents pulled long faces at the birth of a girl child. In the Hindu terminology her birth was termed as 'brahm hatya' (a doom to Brahminism), and, amongst the Muslims as 'qahar-khuda' (the wrath of god).

Every dark cloud has, however, a silver lining. While most women took to the humiliating and corrosive pressures that came after the 14th century, the seclusion threw up some intelligent, thoughtful women, sharpened their sense of introspection and soul-searching. Habba Khatun, the spouse of the Muslim ruler, Yusuf Shah Chak (1578-1583), was the last of the Muslim queens in Kashmir. Politics was not her forte but singing was her passion. She lived in her own world, where affluence, power and intrigues had no place.

Zoon (means moon or moon-faced) was her original name. She was born in a poor agricultural family. Beautiful and sweet-throated, she indulged in reciting compositions of great Kashmiri poets. She herself composed lyrics in the Kashmir dialect. She read the Persian

classics, *Gulistan* and *Bostan* as well as poet Saadi voraciously. As a devout Muslim, she had studied the *Quran*. And, very early in life, Zoon was married off to a village rustic. He and his family tried to stop her muse and domesticate her. Her inner self revolted at this and she continued her singing.

Luck turned in favour of Zoon one day when Yusuf Shah bumped into this singing lark. He sought divorce for her and married her. Zoon (Habba) was then twenty. The Prince allowed her freedom to unfold her inner spirit. Habba's intellect bloomed in the fourteen years of their conjugal bliss. She produced some literary gems in Kashmiri dialect.

Alas, Habba's happy years of conjugal bliss came to an end in 1586 A.D., when the Mughal emperor Akbar annexed Kashmir. Yusuf Shah was deposed and taken prisoner. Later, he was made a provincial *subedar* in Bihar. This involuntary separation from her beloved pained her on end. She left the palace and wandered all over the Valley. Her bruised emotions added new poignancy to her poetry and infused melody into her songs. She addressed the agony of her separation from her beloved Yusuf Shah Chak to the bountiful nature around her in the Valley. Hers was the perfect *Lol* (love) lyric—a special enduring feature of Kashmiri poetry.

Ropa and Arnimal

Ropa (Roff), born in 1624 A.D., in highly religious Brahman Pandit of Srinagar headed by Pandit Madho Dhar, possessed uncommon fortitude. She took to religious experiments, soul searching, broke the shackles of domesticity, and became a mendicant. She studied Yoga, Vedanta, Sanskrit, Persian as well as contemporary philosophies. She went in for asceticism and took to esoteric practices. Her quest was to search the fundamental truths. Her thoughts matured considerably in the company of a contemporary Muslim religious man, Shah Sadiq Qalandar. She achieved sainthood. Ropa Bhawani's birth anniversary is celebrated with eclat in Srinagar by her clan and her adherents.

Another bright, saintly star that shone on the firmament of Kashmir in those troubled times was Arnimal. She was the wife of Bhawani Dass Kachru, an erudite Pandit, who was a scholar in the Persian language and had evolved a new style in writing Persian, called *Bahar-i-Tavil*. He was honoured by the Afghan court. Arnimal

had an unhappy marriage, resulting in her husband deserting her. Separation from her husband hurt her feelings and from the bruised heart flowed the sweet melodious poetry full of grief and pathos. Some of her invaluable lyrics, rooted to the earth, belong to the classics in Kashmiri.

The tragedies in life of Habba Khatun and Arnimal were similar. Somehow, their outpourings in verse projected the feelings and ethos of Kashmiri women in general; they had been quietly yearning for freedom, equality and intellectual liberty. These longings were amply reflected in the poems of these poetesses, who are remembered to this day.

But the Kashmiri women suffered untold miseries and continued to stagnate and wither away thus until the end of the Dogra ruler, Ranbir Singh. Thereafter, some modernisation was introduced in the Valley under the Dogras, albeit under the supervision of the British rulers from time to time.

Role of Missionaries...

As if by a quirk of fate, in the early fifties of the 19th century, Christian missionaries, motivated by humanitarian zeal, arrived in the Valley. The first item on their agenda was to look into the health problems of the masses. In 1863, a Christian mission started in Srinagar. In 1874, a missionary hospital was opened in Srinagar followed by another hospital for women.

The illiteracy of the people—worse in the case of women - confronted the Christian missionaries everywhere. Not one government run school existed in the Valley, though *purohits* and *mullahs* ran a few *pathshalas* and *muktabs* to impart Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Urdu studies, all purely relating to religion. The missionaries filled the gaping vacuum by opening the C.M. School in Srinagar. A new scientific outlook was introduced in the mission school. It included: change in their mental attitudes, from orthodoxy and superstition to inquiry; in their dress, from *pheran* to shirt, blazer, knickers and stockings; introduced trekking, climbing, swimming, boating, regattas and other physical activities. This met with resistance from the older generation. By the 90s, the C.M.S. Girls school had started, adjacent to the boys school. In dealing with the girl students, the missionaries were extra careful. Except for imparting 3Rs in the English language, they didn't directly venture

much in their overall development, though some changes were becoming a continuous.

The effect of the reformist drive of the Christian missionaries in both the health and educational fields had a widespread salutary effect. Age-old supersitions, irrational beliefs and dogmas, were being replaced by an intellectual awakening. From the classrooms, the new resurgence spread across the Valley. By the beginning of the 20th century, the need arose to open many more Mission schools in other towns.

What became by and by conspicuously discernible was the change in the mental outlook of the womenfolk, for the missionaries had attended to their physical well-being as well as their mental awakening. A spark of the age-old freedom was rekindled in their hearts. A cultural renaissance was ushered in Kashmir.

... and Pandits

By now the local response was gaining momentum. In 1912, a committee consisting of official and non-official members recommended to Maharaja Pratap Singh to start two government schools—one in Srinagar and one in Jammu—for girls, in order to bring the state in line with the rest of the country.

Public-spirited people like Pandit Hargopal Kaul and Pandit Jankinath Kaul tookup the gauntlet to cooperate with the government in promoting women's education. A primary school was opened for girls, in the heart of Srinagar, on an experimental basis. Tekri, a Kashmiri woman, privately coached, braved the taunts and opposition from the orthodox and took over teaching in this school. Later, Hargopal's daughter, Padmavati (affectionately called Nanni) - also tutored at home-braved the onslaughts from the bigots, and became the Head Mistress of the Government Girls School and continued to serve this for over a quarter of a century. These schools produced the first batches of girls endowed with elementary education and craft teaching. In due course of time, a government girls school for Muslim students was opened in Srinagar; it was managed by Muslim educationists.

Progress in Girls Education

By 1920 girls' education had made considerable progress. There were three Mission schools, one Muslim School, three Hindu

schools and one non-denominational school, in the Valley. Yet these schools were unable to turn out even one female school graduate; many had, however, passed the middle standard.

A gigantic social upheaval suddenly took place in Kashmiri Hindu society, when education of the women came to be considered essential for the regeneration of the community. The spark had been kindled by Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society of India. She had in the early years of the century come to Kashmir and laid the foundation of a Hindu college in Srinagar—later named Sri Pratap College and affiliated to the Punjab University, Lahore. And, most important, Mrs. Besant sounded the clarion call for the need of women's education for the overall progress of the state as well as for domestic harmony. Her constant contact with the local Theosophists enthused the latter. In 1926, the Women's Welfare Trust was founded with the object of promoting women's physical health and well-being. Dr. Margaret E. Gensins became one of its founder members. The other Trust members were Mrs. L.D. Van Gheel Gildermeester, Prof. Srikantha Toshakhani, Shri Shridar Kaul Dulloo and Shri Aftab Kaul Nizamat.

These visionaries wanted to see Kashmiri women restored to their earlier historical status of dignity. In a period of four years, the Trust, secular in character, started six primary schools, three middle schools and one high school with a total of about 600 students on the roll. Women started coming for voluntary library classes. Prof. Toshakhani had by then prepared a set of elementary readers in Devanagri script for teaching Kashmiri in Hindu schools. Shri Nizamat's house became the centre for adult literacy; it was later termed *Seva Sadan*.

The graduates of the Trust schools formed the core group of the All Kashmir Girls Association, formed in 1944, with the aim of overall social reform of the community in mind. The Trust also sponsored a Women's League, as a forum to hold debates and discussion on the prevailing social evils and solicited public opinion to root these out so as to attain all-round progress. The League was able to plant a modern progressive outlook in the minds of women.

New Horizons

The State Government was by now getting increasingly involved in furthering women's education and their overall growth. Exposed

to western liberal societies, the ruler Maharaja Hari Singh, who ascended the throne in 1925, had women's education as one of his prime objectives. He launched a multi-pronged attack on women's illiteracy, backwardness, poverty and disease. Highly educated women teachers were recruited from other states of India, to teach in government schools. Liberal grants-in-aid were given to girls' private schools.

In 1929 the Women's Welfare Association was sponsored with the four-fold aim of total upliftment of women; more schools for them; building a park and gymnasium for their recreational activity; liquidating poverty among the destitute women by teaching them handicrafts; looking after women's physical health and so on. The Association's work was divided into four sub-committees and was funded from the state exchequer, the Maharaja's private contribution as well as from other donors.

With a reformist zeal the Maharaja enacted a legislation in the state, on the lines of the 1929 Sharda Act in force in India, whereby the marriageable age for boys was laid down as 18 and for girls, 15.

A band of earnest and visionary local youngmen rallied together in 1930 as the *Fraternity* to combat social evils which were cutting into the vitals of the Kashmiri Hindu community. Two humanists, Pt. Chandra Joo and Pt. Harihar went about tirelessly advocating the cause of widow-remarriage; 22% of the Kashmiri Hindu women were widows.

The year 1931 ushered in a political wave that was to grow into a storm. Freedom from the Dogra ruler and the demand for 'New Kashmir' were its watchwords. The stir was headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Under his aegis, Muslim women occupied the vanguard of the fighting forces. In the same year, Fraternity rechristined itself the Sanatam Dharma Young Men's Association (popularly known as the Yuvak Sabha) and rallied together with the specific purpose of safeguarding the interests of the Kashmiri Hindu community. Reforms were initiated in the costume of women and men, widow-remarriage (which had by then been legalised by Maharaja Hari Singh), restraint in wasteful spending on marriages and other social occasions. The movement was launched by a tireless hand of *Yuvak Sabha* workers and headed by Pandit Kashyap Bandhu.

The new look Saree-blouse petticoat ensemble became popular in Hindu households. Women's education gained a momentum. The

renewed Trust raised its school the Vasanta Girls Middle School—to high school standard, preparing girls for entrance to the universities. The denominational schools, Arya Putri Patshala, the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam the Christian Mission school (the Presentation Convent School opened in 1936 in Srinagar)—as well as more government schools were opened all over the place. The government earmarked substantial amounts in the annual state budget towards the education of women.

In 1932, Shrimati Vimla Kaul (wife of Pandit Kashyap Bandhu) enrolled in S.P. College as a lone woman among 500 men. She paved the way for the higher education of women.

In one way or the other, women's all-round development had become a point of popular concern. In 1944 the Social Sudhar Samitee was formed with an aggressive programme to achieve what Fraternity and Yuvak Sabha had been advocating. Some daring ones faced the wrath of the relatives and taunts of the society and went in for higher education, thus breaking age-old social barriers. As happens too often in tradition-bound Kashmiri society, the Samitee's initial effervescence subsided as quickly as it took off. It failed to eradicate rampant social evils, and unfortunately more superficiality and glamour became the practice which still persist. The momentum of the movement was frittered away.

Progress in Education

In the early fifties, a big change in education of girls came in Kashmir—and very fast at that. Earlier, girls and parents of the girls needed to be coaxed to send their daughters for higher education; then it became a spontaneous and voluntary process. In 1950, the first women's college, the Government Women's College, was inaugurated in Srinagar, opening the portals of higher education to a wider spectrum of Kashmiri women. Its all women faculty, as of many more women's colleges in the Valley now, comprised of earlier students who had availed of co-educational facilities of S.P. College and Amar Singh College. Women's education has since witnessed a phenomenal growth in the Jammu and Kashmir State. Now women enter the portals of education—middle, secondary or higher—chic, confident and ambitious. Unlike other states of India, education is free in the state up to the University level.

The first spurt of university graduates took to teaching and

medicine—which were more acceptable to the society. A different bug has crept into their system—an urge to compete with men in every field and compete equally with them. A new spirit of study, research, and daring permeates their cadres, snapping taboos here and prejudices there—and quite coolly. They are doctors, professors, teachers, engineers and architects, lawyers (even criminologists) and sociologists, scientists and researchers, writers and journalists, administrators managers, artists and designers. Name any line and they are there.

Achievements? Yes! Confidence? Yes! Their eastern tan buffeted by modern herbal cosmetics evolution, matching outfit from top to toes, they show ample evidence of quick uptake and provide a treat to ethical evaluators and admiring beholders.

They are not interested in chucking up their jobs at the first peal of wedding bells. The new generation is determined to go the full distance. Some of them won't even consider marriage before they get a grip on their professions—and their lives.

Now they are involved in multi-roles - deeply immersed in the day-to-day functioning of their families (the joint family has shrunk to a real nuclear one). At the work place, they are not mere wall flowers: they are proving as adept as men. They are determined to make their own mark, in whatever they take up to do, and maintain a tough stance. They are suave, not frivolous and are otherwise usually accommodating.

However, a deep lacuna persists, to be filled fast. The modern Kashmiri girls are highly qualified (hide-bound syllabi-wise, criteria-wise) yet haven't adopted the scientific temperament in their lives. Adventure, sports, recreational activities, which involve initiative, stamina, grit, rough and tumble hasn't attracted them yet. Neither do careers, like armed forces or administrative services, feature in their curriculum, for these require a major adjustment in the domestic set-up. Marriage has the first priority in the scheme of things and careers are chosen to maintain an equilibrium in married life. Any profession, which is likely to disturb this equilibrium is, so far, shunned.

Not many educated women appear interested in wiping off anachronistic customs, which set the clock back. Some of them still acquiesce in the dowry system and irrelevant rituals.

Summarising the progress of Kashmiri women in general one can write that modern women of Kashmir have come a long way. They are highly educated. Some of them have distinguished

themselves in many spheres of the country. Aspire higher, the daughters of Vitasta ! You have the determination and you have the rich legacy of your great past.

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Chapter - 89

GLIMPSES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE OF KASHMIRI

Prof. Somnath Dhar

Remarkable for the solidity, elegance and durability of its monuments and possessing an unbroken historical record from the hoary past to the present day, Kashmir has the added attribute of having been a great seat of learning from ancient times. For upwards of two thousand years, Kashmir has been the home of Sanskrit learning and "from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, Romance, fable and philosophy," thus observed Sir George Grierson.[1]

The idyllic surrounding of the Valley provided a congenial soil for the growth of Sanskrit. "Some of the greatest Sanskrit poets were born and wrote in the Valley, and from it has issued in the Sanskrit language a world-famous collection of folk-bore".[2]

The Language of Gods

Sanskrit became the language of religion, culture and knowledge in Kashmir soon after the immigration of Indo-Aryans. In Ashoka's time when Buddhism was established in the Valley, the texts and commentaries on the new religion were written in Sanskrit (in the Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts[3]), contrasting with the ones written in the rest of India in Pali. The Chinese scholar-travellers, Hieun Tseung and Ou-kong, visited Kashmir to study Sanskrit texts.

The 6th-century king of Kashmir, Matrigupta, was himself a poet and patron of learning. Among the best literary critics of ancient India, Bhamaha, who lived in the beginning of the 8th century A. D., wrote *Kavyalamkara,* the earliest work of poetics

(Alamkara) which has come down to us. Udhbhata, the court poet of Jayapida, defined 41 types of speech in his *Alamkara-samgraha.*

Science of Poetics

Udhbhata's contemporary was Vamana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of Jayapida. The fame of Anandavardhana, who lived during the rule of Avantivarman, rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics.

Kashmir became the land *par excellence* of the Saiva faith-based on the principles of idealistic monism *(Advaita)* which was founded by Vasugupta towards the end of the 9th century A.D. His teachings are now lost, but Somananda, Abhinavagupta, Utpala and others wrote works and learned commentaries on Saivisms, explaining its doctrine and dogma and on the Gita. Among these Abhinavagupta was a prolific writer and a versatile genius—poet, critic, philosopher and saint, who wrote more than 40 books, some of which exist. His literary career, which won him a unique place of honour in Indian aesthetics, extended over a quarter of a century, up to 1041 A.D.

The course of studies of Kshemendra, a pupil of Abhinavagupta, embraced all the arts and sciences then known in India. A many-sided scholar like Abhinavagupta, Kshemendra wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatise on rhetoric prosody. He made a notable contribution to fable literature with his *Brihatakathamanjari* in which he preserved for posterity the lost classical work of Gunaditya, credited to be the earliest story narrator of the world. The *Kathasaritasagara* (the ocean receiving rivers of stories from different sources) by his contemporary, *Somadeva,* is a collection of stories, based on the Kashmiri version of Gunaditya's *Brihatakathamanjari* and an important landmark of world folklore, in so far as it contains most of the stories of the *Panchatantra.*

Puranic Legends

Mankha wrote his famous poem *Srikanthacharita*—narrating a puranic legend of Siva—between the years 1135 and 1145 A.D. A dictionary called *Mankakosha* is current in Kashmir. Other celebrated writers in Sanskrit are Bilhana, Shambu, Jalhana and Kalhana. Of these, Jalhana, Mankha and Kalhana were the luminaries at the court of the second Lohara dynasty. Kalhana is famous for the *Rajatarangini,* the celebrated chronicle of the Kings

of Kashmir, which he composed between the years 1149-50 A.D. "A literary production of high merit", the chronicle is—according to Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray—"an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art". A contemporary of Kalhana, Ruyyaka, authored *Alamakarasarvasva,* a standard work on figures of speech.

Varied Contributions

Kashmir stood out as a great centre of Buddhism about two thousand years or more ago. From the 4th century A.D. onwards, the Valley was an important province of the Mauryan Empire. In Ashoka's time the province secured special attention (according to the *Rajatarangini* he had 500 monasteries built in the Valley). Scholars and pilgrims came from distant lands to study Buddhist texts at the feet of learned Pandits of Kashmir. Chinese sources mention Kashmiri scholar-monks — among them, the famous scholar and philosopher, Kumarajiva— who travelled all the way to China and South-East Asia to spread the message of Buddhism. Princes of Kashmir like the Guna Varma (452 A.D.) became Buddhist monks to propogate the new gospel in distant lands.

The contribution of Kashmir to literary and dramatic criticism and dance and music literature, by a succession of authorities from King Jayapida's time to that of Samgramdeva (1235-52 A.D.), the immortal story books by Kshemendra and Somadeva, the important chronicle by Kalhana and other historical writings that preceded and followed him—notably Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka—are recognised all over India. Similarly in medicine, Kashmir contributed a lot with the writings, of Pribhabhatta and Udhbhatta. The exclusive recensions of important classics like the *Mahabharata* and Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* by Kashmiri commentators is yet another feature of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir. Other Sanskrit works were also critically commented on.

For instance, the *Yudhisthiravijaya,* the premier "Kavya" on Vasudev Bhattatiri (of Kerala), was the subject of commentary by Ranakantha of Kashmir. Then, there was also a two-way concourse between Kashmir (the land of "Sharada"—the Goddess of learning) and the rest of India. The ancestors of a number of celebrated writers and philosophers of Kashmir came from India—from Gauda (Bengal), Kanyakubja, etc. This went on until the last days of Hindu rule, when minor works continued to be written.

After Muslim Rule

The advent of Muslim rule in Kashmir was marked by peaceful dissemination, though fanatical iconoclasts had the field occasionally in later times. The missionaries of the new faith mostly belonged to one or the other order of Sufis from Persia and Bukhara. In Kashmir, the Islamic teachers found a fertile soil for planting the seeds of the creed from Arabia. The meeting together of two great traditions—of Saivism, the Hindu monistic philosophy of Kashmir, and of Efran, 'Wisdom of the Quran'—gradually took place, giving rise to a unique order of Islamic 'Rishis', whose philosophic beliefs led to the ideal of religious tolerance and a shared faith in God, always cherished by Kashmiris. The comforting wisdom, mostly versified by these Rishis, in the Kashmiri, the language of the masses, provided solace to the people in the none too few periods of economic and political chaos.

Enter Persian

The Persian language came to Kashmir with the advent of Islam. The Kashmiri scholar took Persian—the classical language complementing his mild temperament and refined taste. Learning the court language was also essential for the Brahmins to maintain their position as government officials. Thus it came to pass that Hindus—who had made Kashmir the "high School" of Sanskrit learning—vied with Muslims in making a lasting contribution to Persian literature.

The Kashmiri Pandit, who had earned the title of *Pandit* in the early history of India for his high proficiency in Sanskrit, also distinguished himself in Persian. Dr. Sufi, the author of "*Kashir, A History of Kashmir*", gives the names of Pandits—Narayan Kaul, Chandra Bhan, Lachman Ram, Narayan Das, Bhwanidass Kachru, Raj Kaul Arzbegi, Shankar Joo Akhun, Tabak Ram Turki and others—as "great intellectual worthies of their motherland".

The literature of Kashmiri goes back as far as some six centuries when the indigenous script, Sharda, was developed. There is evidence that manuscripts in the Sharada script were written on the bark of birch trees. The *Nilamathpurana,* which is a significant source of the history of Kashmir, bears testimony to this fact. Lal Ded—the poetess-sage of the 14th century, also known as Yogeshwari Lalla—is credited with giving Kashmir her native

tongue, which led to its becoming a written language. The indigenous script, Sharada, already evolved, was akin to the Bodhi script of Ladakh, and the Takri of Kishtwar, though closer to the latter script.

The Saint-Poetess

Lalleshwari—that was Lal Ded's real name—is the first saint-poetess of Kashmir whose thoughts have come down to our times. She came into contact with the Muslim saint, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani—popularly known as Shah Hamadan—who had sought refuge in Kashmir from the persecution in Hamadan (Persia). Lal Ded was probably influenced by the Sufi philosophy through Shah Hamadan. In any case, she sought and found the basic truth permeating the outwardly incongruous cults and faiths—Brahmanic pantheism and Islamic monism, Saivism and Sufism—and gave it the best exposition in her poems which came down as her *Vakhyas*, by word of mouth until the early years of the present century, when these were recorded. The utterarces of Lal Ded, couched in the popular idiom of her time, reveal her struggle towards self-realisation, how she transcended desires and temptations.

O embodied One, dote not upon your body thus
Embellishing it, adorning it,
Providing luxuries for it;
Even its ashes will not endure.
(Prof. J. L. Kaul)

In her quest for the absolute, Lal Ded spurned idols :

Idol is of stone, temple is of stone,
Above (temple) and below (idol) are one,
Which of them shall thou worship, O follish pandit?
Cause thou the union of Mind with soul.

Lal Ded preached eternal truths, that are common to all faiths, in a language that struck the deepest chords in the minds of the people, Hindus and Muslims alike.

The *Vakhyas* of Lal Ded brought about a veritable intellectual revolution in Kashmir. Recent research, especially that of Prof. J. L. Kaul, has sifted the uncritical or overzealous additions which were made to the *Vakhyas* of Lal Ded from time to time. Out of the

authentic *Vakhyas*, thus retrieved, what is remarkable is the manner in which are established the secular traditions of harmony and tolerance—the priceless heritage of Kashmiris—and, however indirectly, it contributed to the glorious era of mutual good relations among Hindus and Muslims during and after the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

Nund Rishi and Habba Khatun

A contemporary of Lal Ded, with whom she had mystic rapport, Nur-ud-Din, or Nund Rishi, was the first Muslim saint of Kashmir to assume the title of Rishi. Propagating tolerance and respect of other religions, he is still remembered for his pithy sayings and maxims. His shrine at Chrar, where *Nur-Nama,* the collection of his writings is preserved, attracts pilgrims—Hindus and Muslims.

Whereas Lal Ded was the first and supreme exponent of the mystic experience in Kashmiri poetry, the most traditional impulse of love and song, deep-rooted in folk literature, again came from a woman—two centuries later—in the charming person of a poetess queen, Habba Khatun. She and her successor, Arnimal, were the precursors of the romantic movement in Kashmiri poetry. Their songs, remarkable for melody and spontaneity, expressed the deep craving of the heart and the soul—a refreshing departure from the classical style of their predecessors.

Queen of Songs

Habba Khatun is remembered more as a singer of songs than a queen who advised Sultan Yusuf Shah on all matters of State, and was a source of strength to him. She sang of love in its many moods. One of the popular love lyrics runs thus :

> The distant meadows are in bloom
> Hast thou not heard my plaint?
> Flowers bloom on mountain lakes,
> Come, let us to mountain meads;
> The lilac blooms in distant woods,
> Hast thou not heard my Plaint?

The Lol-lyrics of Habba Khatun, and her successor, Arnimal, have survived to this day, and are sung to the accompaniment of *Saz* and *Santoor, not* and *Tumbakhnari,* musical instruments which the Kashmiri musicians have made their own.

Arni is the wild pale-yellow rose, found in the countryside of the Valley. *Arnimal* literally means "a garland of *Arni.*" In a poem she wove her name deftly into one of her romantic poems :

I was a full-blown summer jasmine,
But for him I've turned as pale as the *arni-rose.*
Say, friend, when will my love come unto me? Say when?

The romantic poems of Arnimal constitute a watershed in the development of Kashmiri poetry. After her, there was a creative spurt in Kashmiri, notably in the form of epic poems, biographical and folk literature, including fables. Poems on mysticism and romantic themes were also composed from 1819 to 1880 A. D. The epics like the *Ramayana* by Prakash Ram, romances like *Shirin Khusro* by Mahmud Gami, *Gulrez* by Maqbool Shah Kralwari and tragedies like *Akanandun* by Walliullah and Saif-ud-Din belong to this period. The epic renderings by Parmanand typify achievements of this period.

Gami, Mir, Parmanand

Born (1765 A.D.) during the Pathan regime Mahmud Gami lived through the Sikh era of Kashmir and died in 1855 A.D.—nine years after the Treaty of Amritsar, which ushered in the Dogra rule in Kashmir. He stands out among the poets of his day by the fact that almost all of his output was in the Kashmiri language. During his long life, he became famous for his narrative, romantic poems *Shirin Khusro, Yusuf Zulekhah* and *Laila Manju.* He also versified in Kashmiri the histories of Mohamed Ghazni and Haroun-ul-Rashid. The *Ghazal* was Mahmud Gami's forte. His lyrics deal with *Sufiana (*Sufi) and love themes, the latter predominating. The love lyrics of Mahmud Gami were reminiscent of the passionate longing contained in the verses of Habba Khatun and Arnimal.

Father of Ghazal

The 19th-century poet who shares with Mahmud Gami the honour of being the father of the Kashmiri *Ghazal* is Rasul Mir. Like Gami and Habba Khatun, Mir also sang of earthly joys and sorrows, the love that enthralled the common folk and motivated their uneventful lives. He also wrote mystical verse.

Rasul Mir's poems exploited to the full the musical potential

of the Kashmiri language and produced *Ghazals* remarkable for their sweetness of diction. No wonder then that Rasul Mir became the favourite poet of musicians, and Rasul Mir Day is yearly celebrated in the Valley on October 24. He brought out a synthesis of Sufism with Vedanta, which has been a glorious tradition in the cultural development of Kashmir.

Parmanand (b. 1790 A.D.) left a lasting legacy. It was typical of Parmanand and his times that Hindus and Muslims, Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris, admired him to the point of adoration. His followers held him in high esteem until his demise at the ripe age 88.

Mahjoor and After

With the emergence of Ghulam Ahmed "Mahjoor" as a poet of wide and popular appeal in the early twenties of this century, Kashmiri literature entered a period of creative, poetic revival. When Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor died on April 9, 1952, at the age of 67, Kashmir lost the greatest poet of the century, one whose poetry had inspired generations of men and women for the best part of four decades. Determined to write in his own mother-tongue Mahjoor used the simple diction of the folk. Among the women poets of Kashmir,he esteemed and emulated Habba Khatun, and, in 1926, he modelled a poem (that became instantly popular) after her celebrated song (*Posh-e-mate-e-janano).* His poem "The flower of Nishat Bagh" became popular throughout the Valley. When recognised by Rabindranath Tagore, the Kashmiri bard's fame spread beyond the Valley.

'New Kashmir' Saga

Among the poets of the "New Kashmir" period, Mahjoor ranked the greatest in the love of his motherland. The poet of the Kashmiris sang :

> Who is the friend and who the foe of your native land
> Let you among yourselves thoughtfully make out .....
> The race and stock of all Kashmiris is one;
> Let us mingle milk and sugar once again,
> Hindus will man the helm and Muslims ply the oars,
> Let us together row (ashore) the boat of this country.

To usher in the new era of Kashmir, described as "New Kashmir", the poet sounded the clarion call :

> If thou shouldst awaken the habit of flowers
> Away with Zir-o-bam—the musical instrument,
> Bring about an earthquake, raise a storm, thunder aloud and let loose a flood.

When the tribals from Pakistan invaded the Valley of Kashmir in 1947, Mahjoor sang dolefully :

> The man-eating wild vultures (of the hilly tracts) pounded and killed innocent creatures without number".

Mahjoor showed his keen awareness of the pulsating movement of the post-independence era in the poem like *Vwolo Hao Baagvano* (Come, O Gardner!) and *Gulshan Vatan Chu Sonuy* (Our land is a garden).

Abdul Ahad Azad

When I witness ups and downs, banks and demarcations, I lose my temper,

I seek oneness and equality, for these I run and foam and fret.

These are a few representative lines from the poem *Dariyaav* (River) by Abdul Ahad Azad (1903-1948), who was a junior contemporary of Mahjoor, and was influenced by Mahjoor as well as by the passionate Kashmiri *Ghazals* of Rasul Mir and Mahmud Gami. He did not live long to see the glory of "New Kashmir" that he had visualised; he died prematurely on April 4, 1948.

Azad's poetry—his forte was *Ghazal*—did not reach the maturity that Mahjoor's did but even then it left an impress on Kashmiri literature all its own. Azad's complete works on Kashmiri-collected assiduously by Dr. Padam Nath Ganju—were posthumously published in 1967 by the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages. The Academy also published Azad's monumental book "*Kashmiri Language and Poetry*" written in Urdu, in three volumes.

Abdul Satar Asi

A people's poet in the real sesne of the word, Abdul Sattar Asi (died 1950) lived to see the realization of his dream of "New

Kashmir" come true. A milkman by profession, Asi Studied Hafiz and Saadi in his boyhood and translated into the Kashmiri verse two of Iqbal's poems *Shikhwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikhwa.* Asi blossomed into a poet, after his fruitful contact with Mahjoor.

Patriotism tempered by humanism, as personified by Mahatma Gandhi, appealed to Asi. Grief stricken at Gandhiji's assassination, Asi sang :

O, India's life, bereft of thee the country is lifeless:
O, India's pride, bereft of thee the country is desolate;
Alas, he who strove to resuscitate a garden in ruins,
Has lost life while laying it out.

Zinda Kaul, Nadim, Arif

The winner of the Sahitya Academi award for Kashmiri (in 1956, the first time an award was given for a work in Kashmiri), Master Zinda Kaul (1884-1966) ranks with Mahjoor and Nadim among the outstanding Kashmiri poets of the 20th century, who have left an indelible mark on the content and form of Kashmiri literature. Popularly known as "Masterji", Zinda Kaul also wrote in Kashmiri, Urdu and Persian. He was seeped in Vedanta and Saivism, and as such, unlike Mahjoor, involved in socio-economic realities of his day. The mystic in him believed in the true, the Good and the Beautiful even as Tennyson did—and the transcendental eternity.

Heights of Imagination

Seldom has Kashmiri lyric risen to such heights of ethereal imagination as in Zinda Kaul's poem "*Vadihe Manush*" (man would weep) which he penned after he had suffered personal tragedies, in the deaths of his wife and his eldest son.

Writing some of the finest *Ghazals* in Kashmiri, Zinda Kaul could nevertheless voice robust optimism, envisaging an Utopian society for his countrymen where :

Robbery is not in league with loot
The poor are not crushed .....
Where people read, sing and play

Where children weep not .....
Remembering God with love and prayer.
In the city of peace and love
Shall men attain spiritual heights.

Assessing Zinda Kaul's contribution to Kashmiri literature, Dr. A. N. Raina picks the poem "Helplessness" as the masterpiece of his depth of feeling and search which makes it a soliloquy interrogating and wondering for an answer which is not easy to find.

In the fifties, Dina Nath Nadim was "the most popular Kashmiri poet of full-blooded youth and vigour". Earlier, in 1947 at the time of Pakistani raid, he was one of the leading organisers of the new cultural movement that spearheaded Kashmir's literary renaissance. Also, Nadim was responsible for not only revoltutionising the content of the Kashmiri poetry, but making significant experiments in technique and recreating the vogue of writing lullabies and labour chants. Nadim's contributions of Kashmiri opera, apart from his introducing some new styles in Kashmiri poetry, will ensure him his place in Kashmiri literature.

Scientist Poet

A scientist turned poet, Arif has penned humorous quartets which comprise his matchless contribution to the Kashmiri poetry of today. His poems cover all subjects from the exploitation of the poor by vested interests to the war songs, lauding the heroism of the people who withstood the onslaught of the raiders from Pakistan in 1947.

The humanism of Mahatma Gandhi struck a sympathetic chord in the heart of Arif. When Gandhiji visited Srinagar in early 1947. Arif paid him a warm tribute. And, when Gandhiji fell to the bullets of an assassin he wrote an eulogy with a heavy heart :

Who has pulled the flower to Shreds?
...... The sky is rent asunder .....
Where has my darling gone, unseen?

Kashmiri poetry and other literature of the post-Independence era is a welcome product of the new forces unleashed by the struggle for political freedom and its aftermath. The Jammu and

Kashmir Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages established in October, 1958, has published a number of works by old Kashmir authors which were either in the Archieves or in private collections. The folk literature, available in Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Punjabi, has been collected and published by the Academy. It has also published a Kashmiri-Kashmiri dictionary, besides Kashmiri-Urdu, Dogri-Hindi and Dogri-Dogri dictionaries. The Academy published *Kashur Sargum* (Kashmiri music) by Sheikh Abdul Azim in two volumes, in which he gave, for the first time, scientific notations to *Sufiana Kalam,* the Kashmiri classical music.

The functioning of All India Radio stations in Srinagar and Jammu has greatly helped in bolstering the literary talent in the State. Pushkar Nath Bhan, a radio artiste, is well known for his humorous skits and other programmes. Likewise, writers are coming to the forefront in Jammu via the radio station. The TV station at Srinagar has given further incentives to the cultural movement. The State has thrown up a number of writers in Urdu, Hindi and English besides Kashmiri and Dogri, too numerous to be mentioned here. By and large, Dogri and Ladakhi and other State language are also coming up into their own.

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Chapter - 90

KASHMIR'S CULTURAL HERITAGE : A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

Prof. S. Bhatt

When we recall Kashmiri cultural heritage, we pay homage to our hallowed past. From our past history, customs and traditions, and from our ancestors, we seek wisdom and guidance for progress in present day world society.

Cultural heritage provides us a continuous vision of past, present, and future. It gives us a sense of belonging to Kashmir's great cultural past forming an important part of rich composite culture of India. Our heritage binds us together in a period when we are spread out in many paprts of the world. It also enriches the

global society through knowledge and wisdom contained in this heritage.

Some of the outstanding features of our past heritage and most relevant to contemporary times are the abundance of mysticism and spiritualsim of ancient Indian civilisation. It has also cosmological doctrines of great scholarly interest which seem to be complementary to scientific theories. Kashmir's traditions of synthesis and harmony are inspiring enough for evolving a world order based on combination of various elements of global culture from East and West. From the study of history we find that Kashmir has been a seat of great learning. This intellectual tradition is undoubtedly inspiring for our scholars and scientists to participate in the global creative processes and thereby promote common creativity of mankind.

Our ancestors excelled in mysticism and spiritual knowledge. The comprehension of nature was the basis of their striving. They were thinkers of the highest order, and enjoyed spiritual aristocracy. Disregarding mundance pleasures, they enjoyed higher values of life. Indeed these values have much relevance in present-day world in view of ecological problems of world society. Lalleswari, Bad Shah, Ruph Bhawani, Nund Rishi, and others, are a few examples amongst our great seers who saw Reality and conveyed their spiritual grace to mankind. Kashmir's cultural heritage comprises of high philosophical doctrines and these are compatible with modern scientific thought. Therefore, in present day world, there is necessity to see interaction between the two schools of thought. Both are enquiring about the phenomenon of nature. Mysticism provides fundamental emotion to both. In spiritual philosophy, such as Trika philosophy, Saivism, Sufism etc., there is an attemept through various approaches to seek higher consciousness, to comprehend forces of nature and see Reality.

In scientific world also, we dream of laws of nature and their relationship in order to grasp Reality. There is no antagonism between them and both are complementary. Both promote harmony with nature and have evolutionary approach. The spiritual heritage is concerned with the forces operating in the universe and the man's evolution. With the advent of space exploration, new knowledge is being obtained in regard to our mythological doctrines. If life is discovered elsewhere in the universe, the ideas concerning Karma theory, life after death, and man's evolution as discussed in

our cosmology and the Upanishads may find new scope for enquiry and discussion. A group of leading scientists of the world from various countries have in fact made a report to the Unitied Nations recently suggesting strong possibility of intellegent life elsewhere in the universe. We may also discover some hitherto undiscovered laws of nature, as Einstein said. In any case, outer space exploration is a paradigm and it is possible that knowledge from our heritage about cosmology will have interaction with scientific exploration.

We may also highlight the harmony in our cultural traditions, worthy of emulation for the evolving world order. Respect and tolerance in spiritual ánd cultural ways of life as available in the history of Kashmir are noble values which can be followed anywhere in world. This attitude derives its strength from our instinct for peace and harmony. Swastika and non-alignment are symbols of benediction and world peace. And peace has no motivation beyond itself. The world society is at the moment attempting to refrom to a common pattern of peaceful relations between peoples of the world. We are no doubt living in challenging times and our cultural heritage based on tolerance and common brotherhood of mankind has much to offer to the international society.

Above all, Kashmir's great learning from Abhinavagupta to Mahjur and Jawaharlal Nehru is a rich intellectual heritage for spreading enlightenment and knowledge. As scholars and thinkers, it is our task in contemporary society to interpret our ancient heritage in modern context. Jawaharla Nehru made an attempt in this direction and created a new order of unity and progress for the world society for which we remember him most. The papers in this volume, it is hoped, will promote knowledge and inspire enquiry about the phenomenon of nature and Kashmir's cultural heritage.

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Chapter - 91

CULTURAL SYNTHESIS IN KASHMIR

Dr. A. N. Raina

A historical study is required in the processes of progressive humanization of culture and civilisation in Kashmir. This study is to be related with the history of the rest of the country in which contribution of Kashmir has been real and remarkable. Such a study has to examine first the pre-Aryan period in this mountainous land where Aryanization was peacefully achieved in Vedic times.

The wave after wave of Aryan immigrants from Central Asia came across the Hindukush mountain and settled in Hunza, Nagir, Chilas, Swat and Dardistan. It was in the peaceful valley of Kashmir that leisure and contentment enabled the earlier settlers to attain something interesting and useful in some branches of knowledge. The *Burzhom site in* Kashmir is pre-Aryan in its origin and development. It is revealing for a study of ancient culture in the Himalayan land which had contacts with bordering lands across Sinkiang and China.

A synthesis of all the earlier elements of culture and thought appear in indigenous Shaiva philosophy propounded by great masters like Abhinavagupta, Somananda, Utpaldeva and others. The earliest sources will be of some help to prepare a reasoned account of termination or merger of the Vedic thought into that of *Nirvana* of Gautama. The Mahayana School of reformed Buddhism as enunciated in the *Fourth Council* under Vasumitra and Nagarjuna in Kashmir deserves a critical study in view of its universal appeal which enabled it to make its spiritual 'conquest' across the geographical frontiers of India. The spread of this religion in Tibet, China, Japan and Central Asia is a glorious story of how peace and non-violence—*Ahimsa*—exerted its healthy influence on human mind in different parts of Asia with varying geographical conditions. There is no proper documentation for the study of this period but the study of different various sources need to be examined for any conclusive assessment of this period.

Tantrik Philosophy

The Vedanta and its influence on intellectuals who preferred the Tantrik philosophy of self-recognition, is a process of thought and worship in a manner which was a deviation from painfully

disciplined way of life in which begging, wandering and half-naked life was discarded for its apathy to love and beauty of life in this part of India where Kashmir was like a papradise. The monistic Shaiva philosophy, therefore, developed into a different school of thought which was both blissful and attractive. Perhaps the soil of Kashmir was full of what man needs for his primary wants where gradual sublimation of emotions and instincts could be attained with ease. Thus the inspiring Rajyoga expressed itself through the medium of poetry. The names of Abhinavagupta, Somananda and Utpala may be mentioned as remarkable contributors. A happy household became the unit of work and worship in such an atmosphere. The nectar of spiritual attainments was concealed like a coconut fruit with its sweet juice and kernel hidden under its ugly covering and protected in its hard shell.

Ever-changing seasons with almond blossoms in spring spreading the scent in the air, multi-coloured flowers and chirping of birds bestow new colour and joy to the landscape in Kashmir. There is inspired vitality in flora and fauna, as summer approaches with paddy fields and luscious vegetations green in grandeur heading towards the ripening of cereals and fruits to be followed by a golden-antumn. Dryness stiffens the leaves which fall like petals till these are buried by a heavy snowfall in winter months. This study of the changing moods of nature instils a feeling of renunciation not of the world but worldiness, not of action but desires so aptly observed by saintly poets of Kashmir in which the names of Yogeshwari Lalla, "a proclaimer of Unity" (*Vahdat*) who flourished in the fourteenth century may be mentioned. Besides her having stood for "eternal values of the spirit of human goodness and purity, loving kindness and service of all this", this Universal Mother gave her *Vaakh* in old Kashmiri based on Sanskrit. To this mystic saint is given the credit of speaking Kashmiri as mother-tongue first. Later as time passed history dictated its own laws to life in Kashmir.

Mixture of Influences

A mixture of many influences began to show itself in superstition, rituals, customs and a way of thinking. Historically speaking right from Lalitaditya's time the influence from China, Tibet, Central Asia and Mongolia was bound to have shown itself

on the life and philosophy of Kashmir. There are, however, traces of an earlier culture in and around Kashmir Himalayas posing a problem to the archaeologist and the historian.

It was about this time that Islam entered Kashmir. Political life lost its peaceful norm and it took about a century for life to come to its own when benevolent Badshah brought about a sort of cultural renaissance with an active age of construction, tolerance and relief work. As already stated, religious experience and philosophic understanding created an atmosphere of trust and economic delopment in people.

Geopolitical Import

Economic history of Kashmir begins from this very reign when arts and crafts of Kashmir found a place in the market of this country and also across its mountain frontier through Ladakh, Sinkiang and Gilgit. The routes were already known and human activity in the region had already been active. By this time history had established itself on the geography of this mountain State which assumed an importance out of proportion to its natural beauty and resources. Geopolitical importance of Kashmir came to be recoginised as a factor of importance for holding this territory. "What is Kashmir"? was an important question to which it was difficult for a single discipline to find an answer. The problem was intertwined that it required an inter-disciplinary approach for its correct appreciation. For vividness and accuracy it is necessary that a critical study be attempted to highlight some of the aspects of fusion of cultures up to the beginning of the seventeenth century when Akbar the Great annexed Kashmir.

The Moghul emperors found much of value of this land. Persian had been accepted as the State language by the elite in Kashmir, and Mulla Mohammed Tahir "Ghani" had already won fame as the greatest non-Iranian poet in Persian whom Sa'ib, the Poet-Laureate of Iran, came to see and converse with on literature and mysticism. Ghani passed away in 1663 A. D. till the then eminent philosopher poets like Mulla Muhsin Fani, Mulla Abdul Satar, Rahmat Ullah Tarabali, Qazim Tirmizi, Mulla Mohammed Quas and Mohammed Zaman Nafi had already brought about a fusion of Persian thought and literature in Kashmir. In mysticism and spiritual knowledge Mir Syed Ali Hamdani, better known as Shah Hamdan, had come

to Kashmir with 700 Sayyids in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Peace, And Prosperity

The Mughal period aimed at cultural synthesis. It is interesting to lay strees on some of the events of this period during which peace resulted in prosperity. Saints in seclusion exerted influence on Mughal princes and nobles who valued their spiritual attainments and Scholarship. The instance of Darashakuh who sat at the feet of Kashmiri mystic Akhun Malshah is an instance.

The period of Afghan rule lasted for about half a century when many Brahmins migrated from Kashmir to Punjab, Agra and Oudh. Thes immigrants represented Kashmir and its traditions of Iranian influence of language and literature on Brahmins of Kashmir. This synthesis helped them in carving a place of honour for themselves in the century where they became an effective force. Appreciation of interrelationship of Hindu-Muslim points of view gave them a happy chance of harmonizing balance of differences between the communities.

Kashmiris settled in India first in the largest cities where they rose to eminence with their hard work and intelligence. In addition to power which most of them wielded, it is true that a Kashmiri formed a harmonious unity of culture within himself and created traditions of brotherhood and mutual respect in communities.

Thus a subtle cementing force of human relationship appeared in various cities where such collaboration was fruitful. Their presence began to be felt in the city-scape and it had a healthy influence on society. For national unity this influence has been noted as important.

Significant Part of History

The ninteenth century saw a political upheavel in Northern India when a great soldier-statesman Maharaja Gulab Singh extended the geographical frontiers of India to their natural limits in the north. The Dogra rulers had already got training at the Lahore Durbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh whose administration was based on liberal views. The contribution of Kashmir to the success of the Sikh rule in Punjab and Kashmir forms a significant part of history of India of that time. Many monographs have appeared in

several languages about historical importance and fusion of culture. These and other sources have to be examined to make a critical study of cultural history for this period.

The influence of Western education and national awakening which brought about a political revolution is essentially a study of synthesis of cultures which remained a strong basis of nationalistic politics in India.

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Chapter - 92

SOME SALIENT ASPECTS OF KASHMIRI CULTURE

Prof. S. L.Pandit

Even a very casual student of history will notice that, in spite of its multifaced character marked by distinctions stamped by region, history and religion, the Indian social scene has through the centuries maintained a basic cultural unity that survived the ravages of time. This unity somehow asserted itself through the length and breadth of this vast land. One may find common place names, like *Kurigram* and *Nandigram,* in regions as far off from each other as Bangladesh and Kashmir. During a rail journey by a passenger day train in the far South, I was once amazed to note that the names of several wayside stations in "Halle" as do the names of many like *Damhal, Namtahal* and others in Kashmir in the suffix Hal.

Linguistic Reorganization

The State of Jammu and Kashmir today has the distinction of being the only major State of the Indian Union left undisturbed by the process of linguistic three distinct cultural-cum-linguistic regions, namely Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. In the course of history these three regions have, no doubt, developed a common bond of culture that distinguishes this State from other neighbouring States. Nevertheless, each region has its own special cultural features. When we speak of Kashmiri culture, we generally mean the distinctive culture of the people of Kashmir Valley and involving also the Kashmiri-speaking groups living in the contiguous trans-Pirpanchal areas of the State.

Physical Isolation

Two factors have influenced the history of the Valley. Being girt-in by huge Himalayan ranges its comparative physical isolation from the Indian sub-contintent has for long periods kept it politically independent of the great empires that rose and fell in North India. Being for centuries the main gateway from India to Central Asia, the Valley became the meeting place of many diverse cultures. The languages, art and traditional music here bear marked influences of Central Asian cultural patterns.

Since ancient times, Indo-Aryans developed a body of religious-cum-nature mythology which, in its richness and beauty, is equalled only by ancient Greek mythological lore. Obviously, Kashmiris of the Vedic period adopted this lore and tradition whole-sale. And yet, in due course, the Hindus of Kashmir evolved a special mythology of their own, preserved for us not only in the traditional social customs of Kashmiri Brahmins but also recorded for us in the pages of *Nilamathapurana* and Kalhan's *Rajatarangini.* These myths and legends are closely associated with Kashmir's lakes, rivers, mountains, springs and streams. According to these traditions, at the source of each spring or lake lives a Naga or a serpent. Both *Rajatarangini* and *Nilamathapurana* mention interesting legends connected with these Nagas. Also it is recorded that Rishi Kashyapa, the traditional first coloniser of the Valley after its dry bed emerged when the vast mountain-girt lake was drained off through the gorge below Baramulla, established in various places in the Valley and the surrounding hills places of pilgrimage that were to function as replicas of the various pilgrim centres spread over the Indian sub-continent.

Religious Rites

So, in due course, Kashmiris came to offer worship and perform other religious rites at their local *tiraths* as desired by Kashyapa, named after the *Ganga,* the *Jamuna,* the *Godavari,* the *Prayag,* and so in.

From preserved records it is clear that in early ages the Hindu Vedic religion was supreme in the Valley. With the spread of Buddhism, Kashmir became one of the principal centres of this religion in the vast regions extending from North India to Central

Asia. In fact, Emperor Kanishika convened the Third Buddhist International Council in Kashmir in the second century A.D. With the revival of Hinduism, Brahmanism reasserted itself in a vastly changed milieu in Kashmir and it is on record that Shankaracharya visited Kashmir in the course of his wanderings over the sub-continent. Later there developed a new school of the non-dualistic philosophy of Saivism and Islamic Sufism both comprising the doctrine of Self-Recognition.

Socio-Religious Scene

The impact of Islam brought about changes in the socio-religious scene in the Valley. But Islam itself got to some extent influenced here by the Sufi cult. The result was a unique cultural synthesis the hallmark of which remains an abiding tolerance and respect for all faiths. The two great exponents of these trends are our pre-eminent mystic saints, Lal Ded and Nund Rishi, whose utterances have become an immortal treasure of our common cultural heritage.

In Kashmir, Hindus do not traditionally give as much importance to popular festivals like Holi, Lohri and Basant. Here a place of pre-eminence has been accorded to Shivratri, which has acquired as much social and religious significance as the Puja festival among the Bengali Hindu community. As for the Muslims of Kashmir, they follow certain practices not observed by the followers of their religion in other parts of the country. For example, worshippers are summoned to mosques for prayer by the sounding of gongs over and above the call of the Muezzin. Again in the Valley and the adjoining Kashmiri-speaking belt, Muslims offer devotional prayers at the tombs of saints or where their relics are preserved. The most important shrine of this kind is the Durgah Sharif at Hazratbal, where a sacred hair of the Holy Prophet has been enshrined for the past three centuries. Possibly this worship of relics is a practice adopted from Buddhists and not strictly in conformity with the orthodox tenets of Islam.

As regards the observance of festivals, it may surprise some people to know that many annual saints' days are observed by the Muslims in Kashmir according to the Hindu solar calendar and not on the basis of the Hijri lunar calendar. Nor may it be so well known that during the week of the annual *Urs* observed in Anantnag

in honour of Reshi Malu, entombed in the heart of the town, no Muslim or Hindu in the region may touch meat or any other flesh food. Here I am reminded also of my boyhood days in a village in South Kashmir where on the full moon day in Phalguna, corresponding to the well-known Hindu festival of Holi, Hindus and Muslims would collect in the evening in the village and observed the occasion by the lighting of bonfires. Probably this was the custom of celebrating the departure of the long winter, possibly with a tradition going back to the pre-Aryan times.

Some of the traditions of this culture have been kept alive till now by the small Brahmin or Kashmiri Pandit community of the Valley. A much smaller number of this community, who migrated from Kashmir during the last three centuries to settle in North India, tenaciously clung to these traditions in spite of their meagre numbers and their self-imposed exile from the land of forbears.

Today we are again on the crossroads of history, and it is to be seen whether we may be able to preserve these hoary cultural traditions in the midst of revolutionary changes sweeping over our small social group and over the world around us.

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Chapter - 93

KASHMIR PANDIT CULTURE—YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Dr. Raghunath Safaya

A. *Importance of Tradition*

The twin forces of tradition and change provide adequate stimulus for a society to grow and get sustenance. 'Tradition' ensures continuity of its culture and 'change' its progressive evolution, lest the society stagnates and degenerates. Tennyson forsaw this when he remarked poetically, "Old order changeth yielding place to new, lest one good custom corrupt the world!" Before we talk of change, it would be logical to start with tradition and its importance. Man the toiler and inventor is at the apex of civilization and culture.

Civilization and culture is comprised basically of two aspects—hereditary and environment. On one hand man is hereditarily endowed with some unique characteristics and on the other hand the physical and social environment provides the required nourishment. The most important influence of environment is acquisition, retention and transmission of knowledge from one generation to another, which we name as social heredity. It is through this social heredity that man has been accumulating knowledge and skill over generation and attaining power to control the forces of nature for his own benefit and thereby developing a material civilization and mental culture.

Concept and Meaning of Tradition: Tradition means accumulated experiences of humanity forming social heredity. It includes all the modes of living, knowledge (oral & written), all skills (physical and mental), accumulated from pre-historic times to the present day.

Thus man is bound to inherit all the knowledge and experience accumulated by previous generations so as to adjust himself to the physical and social environment wherein he has to spend his life. All these experiences are brought forward like the previous balance in a bank and form the basis of future experiences. For promotion of civilization and culture, past traditions form the edifice. Thus the importance of tradition in human life cannot be ignored. Besides, acquiring of past tradition economises man's effort. He need not make fresh experiments, on what has been experimented upon.

B. *Type of Tradition:*

The scholars have classified tradition into three grades. (a) Perfectly valid tradition (b) Presently doubtful tradition (c) Invalid tradition. Before classifying Kashmiri Pandit tradition into the three grades, a universal description is needed to crystalize the conceptual framework, of each grade.

(a) *Perfectly valid tradition:* It means traditional knowledge or practices which are universally accepted. This includes all knowledge like science, arts, humanities. These have been acclaimed as valid, universally acceptable and uncontradicted. Thus all positive sciences whose laws and theories are accepted universally belong to this catagory. These laws and theories may be in the domain of physiology hygiene, medicine,

psychology, physics, chemistry, bio-sciences, anthropology, geology, geography, mathematics and astronomy. Some aspects of normative sciences like economics, sociology, administration and law come, under this catagory as long as these are not contradicted. Malthus Theory of population forms the basis of family planning. Dollar still occupies the position of a universal currency. Kingship is no longer a tradition, as it has been substituted by other systems of headship. Laws of supply and demand govern the global trade. We are bound to respect international law. We have to produce passport and visa while travelling world-wide. This is our tradition.

(b) *Presently doubtful tradition:* These traditions abound in the domain of religion, philosophy, social living (eating, dressing and dwelling), social customs, mythology, conventions, fashion, habits, decorums and injunctions. Here all the theories, principles and usages come down to us traditionally, but may not be universally acceptable.

Social living in matters of food, dress, dwellings and customs differ from locality to locality. In this respect some universalisation is possible, but that needs a lot of interaction amongst the various sections of the human society. Traditions do differ in this realm from place to place, but our goal should be universalisation so that the best of the tradition is selected.

(c) *Invalid Traditions:* This includes all knowledge, all modes of living, customs, notions, all history, all geography, all preconceptions, forejudgements, prejudices, assumptions, beliefs and dogmas which have been proved to be wrong on the basis of investigations. The three major proofs of such investigations are: (i) perceptions and direct observations (called pratyaksha) (b) Inference (Anumana) and Anology (upamana) and (c) Anthority (Shabada).

On the basis of logical thinking and objective investigation, thousands of old customs and dogmas have been discarded and many other are still being discarded by the educated people. No longer do we believe that there are seven oceans of milk, curd, honey, ghee and water. The river Ganges does not originate from heaven, but from Gangotri in the Himalayas. Sanskrit is not the mother of all languages of the world. Sun does not actually rise, but it is the earth that rotates.

C. *Basis of Accepting Tradition*:

The first basis is the personal experience through perception and direct observation. I see the insanitary conditions of Dhabas or restaurants on the way when I travel and I refuse to take anything from there, although the workers there belong to any religious sect. I cannot confuse hygiene with religion. I also should make logical inferences like others, whose conclusions are universally accepted. I also should accept authority, or knowledge presented by persons of authority, provided that -

i) It is universally accepted; and
ii) There is no variance in the presented thoughts of two persons of authority. Who is a person of authority? It is one who has done noteworthy work in a particular field.

D. *Change in the Wake of Tradition*:

From time to time traditions go on accumulating. Some traditions are universally common, but some vary from community to community, place to place. With the passage of time, universal traditions do continue, but other traditions undergo change. Old traditions are substituted by new traditions. Hair cut, unisex dress, outdoor activity etc. During the past few decades the world population has seen tremendous change in the customs, habits and moors. Even the intelligentia is confused about what changes to imbibe and what not to imbibe. In this respect, it will not be out of place to discuss basis of accepting change.

Basis of Accepting Change

1. The first basis is the Valid Tradition, that has been accepted by all. Valid tradition has been discussed above.

2. Any new idea or mode of living that comes out of *Doubtful Tradition* can be reviewed with an attitude of scepticism making use of the instrument of pure logic like observation and inferences. Will you include taking eggs in vegetarianism or non-vegetarianism? The unfertilised eggs, scientifically viewed, have no life, and are as good as an apple. A intelligent man with reasoning will come to a valid conclusion.

3. There should be total rejection of all invalid tradition, eg. goddess controlling small-pox.

4. One should imbibe new knowledge, new facts and new modes of living as recommended by the present authorities in their respective fields.

You do not believe in God because many scientists don't believe in Him. But the scientists are no authority on spiritual science. One should also have an open mind and practise all modes of living (Indian or universal), when found valid and useful. But there is no danger that in accepting changes after changes we should not be swept off our culture. As Mahatma Gandhi has said, we should open windows to allow wind from all sides to enter, but it should not blow us off our feet".

E. *Implications for Kashmiri Pandit Society:*

Identity of our Society: We belong to Kashmir, our original home, and have descended from the Brahmin community originally residing on the banks of Saraswati in Punjab, but who migrated later to the valley of Kashmir (Satisar lake in the pre-historic times) under the leadership of sage Kashyapa. Since then we have maintained the social purity—physically as well as mentally. At the same time we are a part of Indian society. We do possess our old Kashmiri Pandit culture, but anything that is good in the Indian society and the world society, is to be imbibed by us while retaining our identity. Now the question arises as to what aspects of the Kashmiri Pandit tradition are to be retained and what should change in the light of discussions made above.

Language: Language is the mirror of a society. Kashmiri language born of Vedic language that was spoken by sage Kashyapa and others, should be considered sacred for us. It is unfortunate that Kashmiri Pandits who left the valley in past two centuries have forgotten their mother tongue and adopted the language of the new States as their mother tongue. By and large, the present generation who left the valley after 1947 has retained this language for their children. Hindi and English can be two additional languages for study, Hindi for the nation wide use and English as a window on the world. It is a grave blunder to lose our own mother tongue.

Dress: With the efforts of Kashap Bandhu, in the thirties of this century, we adopted Indian dress. This has been a welcome change

as the old 'Pheran' lacked basic utility qualities of any suitable dress. In the valley, 'pheran' may have some utility during the winters, but it has no utility in India. For women, Sari or salwar-kurta is a better dress, but in no case mini skirts and middies, as these go against modesty which is an ornament of Indian women. Mini skirts should be treated against our basic Kashmiri culture.

Food: Universalisation of food habits is the present healthy tendency. Restricting our food to rice, sag and damaloo, is a sign of backwardness. We should march ahead and develop taste for chapati, puri, dosa, idli, nan, noodles, piza and bread as cereals. We should extend our vegetables and take kofta, dahi-vada, bartha, kari, sambar, rasam, upma, bonda, dalia, etc. A number of sweet dishes are there and a number of pickles too. I am surprised at the wisdom of some of my Kashmiri friends who pay thousands of rupees to Kashmiri cooks at the time of a marriage ceremony, simply because a 'Damalu' and 'Yakhni' are a must, and these are not prepared by Indian cooks. Most of us are non-vegetarian and as such, there should be no problem on extending non-vegetarian taste to European or Chinese food (excepting beef and pork). There are still some orthodox pandits who will reject crockery and accept only brass 'thali' and 'khasu' (cup). They need a kerchief (even if it is dirty) for holding the 'khasu'. They will squat on floor and place the 'thali' on a dirty cloth or woollen blanket (that has not been washed for years together), but will desist taking food on a clean dining table. There is no validity of the tradition of 'jhootha' and 'sucha' (unclean and clean), when viewed hygienically. A fried eatable falling on floor is still clean, but a dry bread is called as unclean. An unclean cloth (Athatack) is still used in the kitchen to lift utensils. Cow-dung should no longer be considered hygienic, nor the urine of a calf, which is used at some religious ceremonies.

I want my brothers to reflect on the efficacy of some of our traditions. Many traditional customs like 'Atagat', 'gulimuth', 'Garachun', 'Shanda-kar', are all obsolete. There is need for simplifying the religious and social ceremonies, economising time, labour and expenditure, as many other communities have done.

Philosophy:

We have the richest inheritance—the philosophy developed by Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and others. Those who have made a comparative study of various philosophies extol Vedanta as the

highest philosophy and declare shaivism as an improvement on Vedanta. Shaivism teaches us the goal of our life and the way of realization. Unfortunately, at a particular stage in History our Shaivism got corrupted and adultrated with tantric mode of worship, introducing non-vegetarianism. There is need for presenting the original Shaivism as our best legacy to the whole world. We should be proud of this tradition.

Religious Ceremonies:

The 'sanskaras' of 'Kahanethar' and 'Meklala' have lost their original significance, but still a lot of time, money and energy are wasted on these. Sacred thread can be worn even at the time of marriage ceremony with a simple one hour ceremony. Marriage ceremony also needs to be simplified taking into consideration the restriction of modern living.

Dwelling: There has been an appreciable change in the dwelling habits of our community, ever since new architectural designs have come in vogue, and we have followed the same in our new dwellings inside or outside the valley. But inside these houses, the old unhygenic habits still persist. The bathrooms and toilets remain dirty. Unclean cloths hanging on the walls, clay used in place of soap for washing hand, and absence of daily washing make these toilets a breeding place of insects. The refrigerator is seldom cleaned, and it gives an obnoxious smell. The same soap and towel are used by many members of the family. The kitchens and compound remain dirty reflecting our aesthetic sense. We have discarded 'Vaguv' the grass mat, but are still sleeping on floor, even though we see that everybody in India sleeps on a cot. We pick lice in the hair, as our old custom but do not use germicide chemicals. We are very particular about 'jootha' and 'Sucha', but do not go deep into hygienic principles. We should not accept tea in Hindu house or Dhaba or Restaurant, in case we see these do not have hygienic premises. On the other hand we should have no objection in dining with the families of other religious groups where living habits are hygienic. Hygiene, not religion should be the criteria.

Social Customs: Hundreds of customs inherited by us have no meaning and utility in the present age. Some customs are ridiculous. Enough has been said on the cruelty of dowry system. But it is

surprising that the father of the bridegroom expects the father of the bride to keep a calendar mentioning all the birthdays of his valid tradition, vouchsafed by all spiritualities, yogis and saints. It is not to be discarded. It is connected with philosophical and mystical subject of human life and death. Religious ceremonies like Shivaratri, Janmashtami, may continue but 'Pan-dyun', 'Gada-bata', 'Khichdi-amavasi' etc. have no religious value. These serve occasions of special food.

Temple Worship:

Our worship in temples of Rama, Krishna, Shiva, Durga, Bhawani and Ganesha is universal in India. This is in accordance with Indian mode of worship. (Shaiva, Vaishnava Shakta). But Tantric Worship with non-vegetarian offering is to be discarded. This is invalid tradition.

Mysticism and Spiritualism:

Kashmir valley has been a fertile place for the spiritual Sadhana. Mystics have abounded herein. Abinavagupta, Lal Dad, Nund Rishi, Parmanand, Prakash Bhat, Rupa Bhavani, Kasha Kak, Nanda Mot, Sahil Kak, Zanana Zoi, Lachhman and Gopi Krishna are the few to be mentioned. They had intuition, clairvoyance, Sidhis and higher spiritual experiences. Spiritual experiences are valid as these have been acquired by a good number of saints all over the world. It is not a myth. This precious heredity of spiritual wealth is our legacy, and this can be imbibed by (a) study (b) practice (c) instructions from Guru. We can go beyond what our forefathers achieved and prove the superiority of our culture. We are balancing on the higher side in philosophy, religion and spiritualism, but are on the lower ebb in social customs, hygiene and material living. Presently we need to introspect, analyse our past and present and plan for future on the basis of our cultural past.

We have a glorious past, and in spite of vicissitudes of historical events, we have survived and retained our traditional cultures. Religion, philosophy and sainthood (spirituality) are the three broches on our crest. But some common traits of our character work as our denominator. These are egoism, intelligence shorn of wisdom, lack of unity among ourselves, as the three baneful characteristics of our community. From the academic side, we have record of greatest men of letters, and our contribution to Indian literature and culture

is significant. Professionally we are marching ahead of many and economically we are improving. We simply need to remember our traditions and to imbibe changes of modern life.

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Chapter - 94

KASHMIR'S PLACE IN THE CULTURAL MOSAIC OF INDIA

Manmohan Dhar

Kashmir suddenly flashed into the world news when Pakistani marauders and terrorists came over the mountains to annex Kashmir by force. Although, repeated attempts to annex Kashmir on the flimsy ground of majority Muslim population have been frustrated in the recent past, grim clouds of a more organized attempt, backed by modern arms and armoury that are being supplied to Pakistan and by Pakistan to the terrorists are again gathering in menacing proportions. India will again face such a situation with greater determination and united will and strength of the country, it is essential that every Indian should refresh his mind with a broader understanding of the place of Kashmir in the Indian cultural fabric.

When Pandit Nehru gave the call to the Nation to go to the assistance of Kashmiris to face the invaders; it was not because of a private alliance between Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Nehru or their Kashmiri descent and heritage, but because of much deeper and abiding relationship of Kashmir and Kashmiri ethos with the broader cultural and spiritual mosaic of India.

Kashmiri mind transcends the bounds of narrow religious and communal view of Hinduism and Islam, and has been a creation of thousands of years of cultural and spiritual enquiry and experiment. It was amidst its cool valleys, known for their enchanting beauty, that these fair coloured men - all of them brahmins - with their sharp features, aquiline noses and beautiful eyes, measured with and excessed in thought and spirit, the excellence of their surroundings. Different religions were considered as complementary aids to greater understanding of the human spirit and these geniuses

of thought, untangled the path of men from the snares of narrow religious creeds and conventions, sweatened by love, religious catholicity and enlightened human understanding.

From the ancient times, Kashmir had become a vibrant clearing house of spiritual knowledge, a laboratory to nourish and to give shape to new thoughts and a place where scholars concoursed, conversed and concurred to give ground rules for thinking processes, language, logic, aesthetics, religions, philosophies, music, dance and sciences. Scholars and spiritual seekers moved regularly from Kashmir to various parts of India and central Asia and from central Asia to India and Kashmir.

Says Grierson "For upward of two thousand years Kashmir has been the house of Sanskrit learning and from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, romance, fable and philosophy. For centuries Kashmir was the home of the greatest Sanskrit scholars...". According to Bilhana "Even women in Kashmir spoke Sanskrit and Prakit quite fluently"

Is it surprising, therefore, that Panini - the father of sanskrit grammer was born there in a village called Salatoor - for which reason he was also known as Salatooriya - but later moved to Patliputra (Patna in Bihar) where he taught Sanskrit grammer? Patanjali, the author of Mahabhashya - the commentary on Panini's grammer - and also one of the greatest systems of Yoga - 'Yoga Darshan', was a Kashmiri. '*Saivism*' which represents one of the most luminous attainments of spiritual endeavour to relate human with the Divine, was conceived there and was and is being taught in the valley, even today. According to Prof. Sylvan Levi, *Charaka*, author of the famous book on Medicine, *Charkasamhita*, was a Kashmiri, and so was *Koka* - author of *Kokh Shastra*, which is considered the most important book on sex after '*Kamasutra*'. Even '*Panchtantra*' is supposed to be of Kashmir origin. Damodara Gupta wrote *Kuttani Matam* an interesting poetical work dealing with the ethics of concubinage. Much can also be said in favour of Kalidas having been a Kashmiri.

The names of mighty minds who made contributions to Indian thought in the field of sanskrit learning, literature and sciences covering a wide field of philosophy, poetry, prosody, aesthetics, fables, play, medicine, astronomy, astrology etc., are legion. Volumes have been written on the work of these great personalities. What is, however, more important is that during this period and

even centuries before Chirst, there was a constant flow of scholars from Kashmir to the rest of India and vice-versa. Having become a seat of learning scholars from all over India used to go to Kashmir for higher studies.

As is well known, Kashmiri's had developed their own script, called the Sharada script for writing Sanskrit. It is significant, that 'recently several important manuscripts of works of Kashmirian Saivan philosophy in Sharada and some South Indian scripts have been found in Kerala and Madras'.

Kashmiri scholars wrote extensive commentaries on the Gita, *Mahabarata* and other important Sanskrit works including those of Kalidasa and others and actively participated in many important assemblies deliberating on religion, philosophy or literature in various parts of India.

According to Narayana Menon, the most important work on music in the medieval period is that on Karnataka Music - Sangit Ratnakara. This was written by Sarangdeva who was a Kashmiri. His father had immigrated to South in the 12th century and worked at Devagiri. Menon says that Sarangdeva's book formulates the basis of Karnataka Music and there are few West Asian and European works to compare with 'Sangita Ratnakara' when it comes to detailed accounts of theory and practice by scholarly musicians.

According to Professor Thattacheriar, Head of the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University, the contribution of Kashmiri scholars to South Indian Philosophy, aesthetics, dance and music has been very significant. For instance, it is known that *Thirumular*, one of the earliest teachers of Saivism in South (1st to 9th Century AD) came from Kashmir.

Similarly, many scholars from India went to Kashmir and settled there. Notable among these is Atrigupta, a well known scholar from *Kanaju* who came to Kashmir at the invitation of King Lalitaditya. His descendent, Abhinavagupta (950-960 AD), stands like a prince amongst Kashmiri thinkers, whose contribution in the field of aesthetics and philosophy has been the most profound.

There is a strong belief that Shankaracharya visited Kashmir and the legend has it that he held philosophical discussions with Mandan Misra and his wife. So did Ramanuja the doyen of the Vaishnava creed, who travelled to Kashmir all the way from Madras to argue with the Kashmiri Saivite philosophers.

In the field of Tantra Shastra, the links established between Bengal, Kashmir and Kerala, would in itself be a fertile field for study to provide considerable evidence of exchange and interaction that took place over many centuries. 'Kaula' is a title given to the adept in the Tantra Sadhana and the prevelance of this system of spiritual pursuit in Kashmir can be judged by the number of 'Kauls' in and outside Kashmir, whose surname is derived from the spiritual attainment their fore-fathers may have attained.

Earlier, during Ashoka's reign, 5000 monks were settled in the Valley to establish a centre of study and propogation of Budhist religious texts. Ashoka is stated to have gone to Kashmir and worshipped Lord Shiva at the famous temple of *Harmuktaganga*.

In the later period, Kanishka held the third Budhist Council in Kashmir and Mahayan Doctrine was born. The deliberations were conducted in sanskrit. Kashmiri missioneries, travelled into Tibet, China and other parts of south-east Asia. In order to make propogation in Tibet purposeful, Kashmiri scholars devised a scrirpt and grammer for the Tibetan language and translated Mahayan Budhist Doctrines into Tibetan. The greatest among these missionaries is SHYAM BHATTA who created the script and grammer for the Tibetan language.

Added to these facts, are the evidence in sculpture strewn all over the valley. Says Lawrence "The valley of Kashmir is the holy land of Hindus and I have rarely been in any village which cannot show some relic of Antiquity...". The ruins of Martanda and other old temples are even now called 'Pandawa Houses' and Kalhana says it was at Lord Krishna's advice that Yasovati was made queen regent of Kashmir after Krishna had defeated King Damodara, Yasovati's husband.

A whole population of Saraswat Brahmins, who gave themeselves up wholly to the refined graces of life, in the bracing and beautiful environment, unique in its own right, and kept alive the pursuit of spiritual enquiry and art of living, have to be seen in the foregoing back-drop of the pre-Budhist era and later, which gives some indication of the deep spiritual and cultural links of Kashmir with the rest of India.

But history was not to leave them at peace. While Muslim Kings invaded India, their ingress into the valley was at first thwarted by high mountains, cold weather and snow. Mahmud Ghazni made several attempts but finally like Napolean's retreat

from the Russian soil, he yielded to the geography of Kashmir and abandoned the idea of invading Kashmir again.

In spite of problems faced by the Hindus, Sanskrit language continued to be used by people. Several Kashmiri Pandits were in high position. But Persian and Arabic words were freely used and it was in about the 15th century that Persian became the official language under the rule of Sultan-Zain-ul-abdin. He was a great King, who lent Hindu content to the Persian language by getting some of the ancient Hindu scriptures translated into Persian. Kashmiris during this and later periods made outstanding contributions to the Persian literature. Zain-ul-Abidin laid the foundation for a cultural synthesis. It was difficult to find the dividing lines between Hinduism, Budhism and Islam.

During this period, the local language became the repository of Sanskrit, Arabic and the Persian words. Kashmir became the cradle of culture through unconscious accretion of various influences. synthesis resulted which became the dominant message in the poetry of some of the greatest seers of 'Unity in the diversity of religions', such as 'Laleshwari' and 'Nunda Rishi'.

Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus who lived in the valley, grew in an atmosphere of catholicity and evolved a common datum of the highest spiritual values in various religions, which became the bedrock of a secular culture, that has survived erosion by time.

Kashmiri's muslims or Hindus, wherever they are, in Kashmir or outside have carried this message of understanding and secularism in their mental make up and style of living.

We want the world to know a bit of the bubbling fountain of life that has been flowing through her (Kashmiri's) arteries, since the Aryan immigrants settled first in this snow-capped valley, which constitutes a diamond on the head of India".

India has thus a spiritual, cultural and an emotional stake in Kashmir, which has been the culmination of thousands of years of deep association, exchange and a living process. It is the duty of every Indian, not to barter it away because of lowly concept of communal claim on her, on the basis of majority Muslim population. Kashmir has indeed become the symbol of secularism.

Kashmiri Pandits have gone through different experiences in history. Nevertheless, they have played their enlightened and constructive role in various fields through the centuries over the length, and breadth of India, which can be written in letters of gold.

They have always been the torch bearers of cultural excellence of India.

Pandit Nehru's and the nation's spontaneous response to fight Pakistan have to be seen in this broad vision of Kashmir's place in the cultural mosaic of India. The nation must také due note of the efforts and role of the Kashmiri Pandit community, so as to ensure that the links between Kashmir and the rest of India enriched by the glorious past of thousands of years, are not disturbed by unscrupulous elements through subversive efforts.

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Notes and References

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1. Linguistic Survey of India, vol. II, Part 2.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The Sharada was a script developed by Kashmiri scholars. Based on the Devanagari script, Sharada was adopted by the eTibetans in the 9th century A. D. for their language as they had none of their own.

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AN EXPANDED VIEW OF KASHMIRI SOCIETY

Prof. S. Bhat

Kashmiri Pandits have in recent years, because of economic and other historical reasons, settled down in many corners of India and the world. This expansion of our society has been somewhat sudden and profound, indeed.

Our problem, in general, is, therefore, how do we keep our identity, our values, our traditions, so that we maintain our cultural heritage and also contribute to the enrichment of contemporary history and civilization.

Kashmiri society is as much subject to influences of global changes as any other society. Terrorism has forced in recent years a large number out of the valley. Technological changes in the world have affected our grass-roots, our tradition, and our values. Professor Arnold Toynbee, the historian, has admirably summed up this dilemma in his book : "*Change and Habit : the Challenge of our Times*". The rate of change in the pattern of our living has been faster than our minds can adjust. The result is that Kashmiris find themselves out of harmony with their cultural heritage.

We Kashmiris are, by and large, nature-loving, simple in habits, tolerant, intellectual, spiritual and cosmopolitan in outlook. We try to imbibe these values for excellence in life. These values have sustained us all through the convulsions of medieval times and the modern period. Shaivism and Sufism are products of this philosophy, so much needed in the contemporary times. Dr. D. N. Parimoo describes Shaivism as "a philosophy which aims at transcending the illusion of this external world and restricting one's thoughts to meditation on ones inner self and learning to appreciate all externals at their true values".

Lalleshwari interpreted this philosophy through her songs.

Swami Lakshmanjoo in Srinagar until recently was engaged in interpreting Kashmir Shaivism to the world outside.

Our Kashmiri society has undergone a huge change during past forty years or so. Let us look back to our life-style in Srinagar in the year 1945. Very few people moved outside the municipal limits of Srinagar. Very few, indeed, went outside the limits of the valley and outside India. It was a quiet and integrated life along the banks of the Vitasta (River Jehlum) and the suburbs of Srinagar. To recapitulate, before the recent turmoil in Kashmir one had to take the road from Amira Kadal to Safa Kadal and feel integration and harmony between people and the environment temples, mosques and the shop-lined roads, all a part of ancient history of Kashmir.

People had a great sense of gregariousness. They met on road side to exchange views and news and felt a sense of belonging to one another. The joint family living was the social and economic order. All that seems to have changed in a single generation of time.

Did we at all anticipate this change? No one would imagine the scattering of families as far apart as New York, Canada, Europe and West Indies. Our social fabric has shaken at its very roots. Our culture has had a dramatic change because of global changes and disintegration of our community. We recall nostalgically the festivals of *Herat* and *Navreh.* We dream of the snowful winters and the enchanting spring time. While uprooted from our culture, Kashmiris particularly outside Kashmir, are naturally in search of their identity.

At this point we look to past history and derive some solace from it. Kashmiris have demonstrated a great sense of adaptation to local habitat and love for their values and culture. We shall continue to act likewise in future. We do, however, need to organize ourselves so that we maintain our culture and identity, and, may be, present this culture to the world at large.

One way to keep our identity and provide opportunities for the development of values of our society is to keep up the image of our intellectual and social life. *Koshur Samachar* is a great source and symbol of our identity. It provides us news, more so to our overseas brethren, thereby establishing common links. Communication need not necessarily be physical. It can be indirect. Secondly, it may be worthwhile to explore the formation of an association of our intellectuals who are mostly mystics or believe in mysticism

and sufism with modern blending. We may discover our hidden wealth within our society.

The world needs such a kind of collective approach by our intellectuals and mystics to face problems of environment and life in general. We Kashmiris could establish in Delhi or Srinagar a Kashmiri Foundation for our cultural, social and intellectual activities. Our great resources both material and intellectual should be used to shape this idea immediately. Funds could be organised on a global scale. Our overseas members could in this respect be more helpful. This international Kashmiri Foundation could also provide fellowships to our young scholars.

In conclusion, I submit that we Kashmiris can contribute substantially to the brave new world of our times. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, honourable member from our earlier generation shaped the events of India and the world because of his great excellence, nobility and mysticism. Irrespective of social status, all of us have common attributes and virtues which form a part of our culture. We need to organize and identify ourselves with our great cultural heritage of Kashmir. Let us strengthen these sentiments through our writings in *Koshur Samachar,* through our Kashmiri Foundation which may be established soon so that our great intellectual and spiritual heritage is made available to the international society. Let us give this message of harmony from to the world, as poet Mehjoor says :

Subuh chhum, bagh chhum, mastana dil chhum, taza yavun chhum;
Baharas dad dyun chhum, shoka san gulzar chhavun chhum.

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Chapter - 96

THE MAKING OF AN INDIAN

*Mr. P.N. Haksar**

In the citation which the Vice-Chancellor, has just read out, some flattering things have been said about me. I was rather pleased hearing it all. At the same time doubts began assailing me. I asked myself: What led the University of Kashmir to honour me. Was it because by accident of birth I am classified as a Kashmiri Pandit? But there are many such Pandits. And there are quite a few who are, if anything, more distinguished than I am. So, being a Kashmiri Pandit could not be the real reason. Nor indeed could I fall back on my achievements which are merely by-products of trying to earn an honest living. Not being satisfied, I have been searching for an answer.

My mind began wandering through the corridors of time reviewing the time lived and the time spent. I thought of the year 1947. In that year, I got involved, by sheer accident, with Kashmir. The involvement deepened. I was included in our delegation to the Security Council. And so I arrived in New York in January 1948. It was bitterly cold. The only memorable thing which happened to me in the long wintry months spent at Lake Success was the meeting with the Sher-i-Kashmir — my very first.

The word secularism was an abstraction. It was something in the realm of the desirable. Partition had made me spiritually sick and had eroded my faith in secularism. And when January 30 came in New York, dreams so tenderly kept alive turned into a nightmare. But for the voices of Jawaharlal Nehru and of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah one would have never had the vision restored. Thus at Lake Success, Kashmir became a symbol of hope and faith instead of being a Question inscribed on the agenda of the Security Council. All this is old history. I could not persuade myself to believe that the University had dug it all up and decided to honour me for whatever part I might have played. It was, in any case, a minor part. I was a junior functionary.

I would have gone on ruminating but an idea crossed my mind that the authorities of the University, probably, have affection for the prodigal sons of this Valley. And I am certainly one. But then I must truthfully say that this prodigal son of Kashmir has changed

* Address at Kashmir University.

in the course of his wanderings through life. He has become, as Iqbal would have said, a Hindi. And with Iqbal he often sings — *Hindi Hain Ham Watan Hain Hindustan Hamara*. This might be regarded as an act of treachery on my part, made more heinous coming as it does so soon after being honoured with the Doctorate of Laws Honoris Causa. But I owe it to my new Alma Mater to speak the truth. As I stand here speaking to you, moved by a deep sense of gratitude, I do so as a Hindi or, if you like, as an Indian. And I do not feel any conflict within myself. Should I explain? Perhaps I should.

Some time in the early part of the nineteenth century, the ancestor of mine of whom I am the direct descendant bade farewell to the Valley. Why he left, I do not know. But he left. It is laconically recorded in Mattan that Sita Ram — that was the name of my ancestor, "Hindustan Gaya". Since that fateful day, he, his children, and grandchildren, and great grandchildren and those born thereafter have been wandering over Hindustan in search of an honourable living. They had no assets except those which their genes gave them.

After leaving the fair Valley, Sita Ram's first home was Delhi. And from there my ancestors wandered to Indore; some went to Gwalior and some to the old Central Provinces. And from my mother's side, they settled in Punjab. One of them — Raja Dinanath, earned fame and fortune as Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Finance Minister. All this would explain why I was born in Gujranwala and brought up in C.P. However, it was in U.P. that I was mostly educated.

In the course of their search for a living in the wide expanses of the plains of India, Sita Ram and his descendants had to adapt themselves to their new environment. Instinctively, they followed Darwin's law of evolution. They adopted new languages, new clothes, new food habits, new codes of conduct and new ethics of work. They became Kashmiris of the plains, forgetting even their language but acquiring new ones with meticulous care. It was Urdu and Persian and then English. And yet they clung to their identity as emigres do. There was nothing larger to identify oneself with. However, things began changing and by the time I became conscious of the world around me, the First World War had just ended.

I grew up in the midst of a vast turbulence. Gandhi had appeared on our horizon. And he grew larger every day, until he covered the

entire sky. Simultaneously, Jawaharlal Nehru appeared as a luminous star. Our minds opened up. And our hearts too. Our vision got enlarged. India began taking shape. I came out of the cocoon, took wings and fluttered in the fresh winds which were blowing about me. I began wandering over the sufrace of Hindustan.

I stood at our land's end; I saw waves upon waves of the Indian Ocean eagerly rushing to meet the Arabian Sea. I canoed over the transparent back waters of Kerala between Kottayam and Alleppey and smelt the fragrance of cardamom and pepper; I saw the graceful arecanut and coconut palms swaying in the gales; I saw the lush green coffee, tea and rubber plantations. And then wandering from Thekaddy to Coimbatore, then to Mysore and Mercara, contemplating the beauty of the Nilgiris I became possessive about the southern part of our country as I was of its Northern, Eastern, Western and Central. India thus became a reality and not an abstraction.

On this mother earth of India, our ancestors had laboured and created a fabric of civilisation weaving together its various threads. The monuments alone which they built and carved and chiselled kept me enthralled. The temple at Martand, the mosques, the forts, the city at Fatehpur Sikri, the caves and frescoes at Ajanta, the Temples in Konarak, Khujuraho and Madurai, the Taj at Agra, the ruins of Hampi — all showed the creativity of our forefathers. And I feel possessive about them as I feel about the entire land so laden with gifts of Nature.

I respond to the songs and dances, the music and the folk rhythms of our country. I am moved by Tagore as by Iqbal; I am moved reading Kural and Vallathol, even in their translation. The chanting of Vedic hymns and of Zend Avesta stirs my soul as does the haunting call of a muezzin's *azan* at the dawn.

Thus the descendant of Sita Ram returned to the land of his forefathers transformed. I first set eyes on this Valley in 1968. And I came here to attend a meeting of the National Integration Council. And though I could, even with my closed eyes, see Kanyakumari from Dachigam and feel the restlessness of the waves of the Indian Ocean pining to meet the waves of the Arabian Sea, the mountains of the Valley blocked the view for many. And I said to myself: Oh! So much remains to be done. And it remains to be done all over this land of ours. So many still see reality distorted by caste and creed, region and language.

By custom, convocation addresses in our country must groan under the weight of good advice. But I do not know what advice to give. I am not even certain if good advice helps. We all have to learn from life. And I do not know, if your University and your teachers have equipped you mentally and morally to cope with life and its problems. You might ask: Why I should entertain any doubts on this score? I should not, really. It is a fine University. Your teachers have apparently a sense of calling. You have an experienced Vice Chancellor and a distinguished Chancellor. But then I cannot help observing, as I look at you, that as you came up to receive your degrees and as you are now seated, your backs are turned towards the majestic ranges of the mountains which I see from where I stand. Shouldn't you be facing them? Perhaps, the idea was that you would start facing them as you go out after your graduation. That of course you will do. But the question is: How?

Would you have the curiosity to explore not only the foothills of the mountains but also its peaks? Would you be satisfied only by exploring the ranges, or would you be led to explore what lies beyond? Would you be looking at life with unending curiosity or would you be happy being a caged bird — secure and fed by others? Would you be striving for something beyond your immediate reach or would your major obsession be with yourself? I have asked so many questions. Life too will pose these questions. On the answers you give would depend whether you prefer the life of a bird in a cage or fly and flutter in open skies and face its hazards.

Man's humanity, his courage, his knowledge, his wisdom and his yearning to reach out for something larger than himself are abiding sources of mankind's strength and of hope. I said, larger than oneself. The continuing strength of religions is that each postulates a God. And God is larger than oneself. Religion goads man on to attain something larger than himself, surrender to it or to merge with it. But supposing one's God is called Bharat or India or Hind or Hindustan. Then what happens? A new religion will be born — a secular religion devoted to service of fellow men. That religion and God would not contradict each other. That religion will not make one lay an assassin's hand on a fellow human being but to have love and compassion and a striving to create society permeated by humanity. Only a society so structured and motivated will overcome the baser instincts of human beings — brutality,

greed and selfishness.

How do we reach the new society? Obviously, we must understand the reality we wish to change. We should know our country. And we should know the world around us. Knowledge is a powerful instrument of change. And Knowledge comes from unceasing questioning. It does not come by accepting the conventional wisdom of our forefathers. At one time, the conventional wisdom told us that the earth was flat, that the sun went round the earth, that earthquakes, sorrows and sufferings were caused by God's wrath, that mankind was created, and so on. We know now that all these beliefs were wrong. However, the beliefs which persist about our society are more difficult to cope with. For, in the realm of social sciences proof is difficult; so is experimentation. And yet social evolution is as much a fact as evolution of Nature. Both have a history.

Our country too has been evolving. We do not have dynasties any more though images of the dynastic era persist. We have democracy. This is ensured by the consciousness of our people, of their rights. But as Iqbal said :

> Jamhooriyat Hai Ek Tarze Hukoomut
> Jis Men Bundon Ko Gina Karte Hain
> Tola Nahin Karte
> (Democracy is a kind of polity in which men are counted but not weighed)

Now, counting is necessary. For all men are equal. And so far we have certainly learnt to count. The day, however, we learn collectively to weigh, we shall have made a qualitative advance. But weigh against what? Against what values? That is a difficult question.

We must learn to weigh every person as a fellow human being whether he lives in Kashmir or Kerala, in Nagaland or in Gujarat. When we have achieved that we shall come into our own. But to generate that consciousness we must create a social, economic and political order inspired by equality and motivated by cooperation. Cooperate or Perish — that is the message of our contemporary times both for India and the world.

It is now late in the evening. Soon night will fall on this beautiful and majestic valley. But there will be the dawn. And you

will wake up with parchments in your land. And I too will carry the additional responsibility of being Doctor of Laws. Shall we then together begin a new life? And begin it by singing together Iqbal's immortal song :

Mazhab Nahin Sikhata
Apas Men Beyr Karna
Hindi Hain Ham Watan Hain
Hindostan Hamara

Thus fortified we shall face the challenge of our times which is much harder than overcoming the mountain ranges and the peaks with which we are surrounded.

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Chapter - 97

WE, AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

Dr. A.N. Raina

Our Kashmiri *Biradari* (community) shines as a living being throughout the history of India. Small numbers though, the members of this community could not create a mass impression, but lead the masses in war and peace. The fact remains that wherever the members of this community settled, they served to guide onto the path of peace progress and harmony.

A synoptic review of the role of this community will help us to understand the potential of these people whose story of life, better still living, begins long before Kalhana Pandit wrote his "Rajtarangini" towards the middle of the twelfth century. This first historical work in Indian literature by this Kashmiri Pandit formed a good guide to posterity for historical research. For the first time history separated itself from the legend and the myth.

Remarkable as it seems, these inhabitants within the Himalayan girdle evolved an excellence of culture that enriched civilization. What is more, the spirit of India was enlightened when Kashmir

Shaivism reconciled the dualism of Sankhya with the monism of Vedanta "This is in itself an achievement of very great spiritual attainment infusing the concept of the Being, Shiva.

With the spread of Buddhism, after 250 BC, Viharas were built and learning spread. The new faith could not drive Shaivism out of this land about which Max Muller wrote : "If everything of India perished but one discovery of her's remained that alone would keep her immortal in history; this is the discovery of the unity of all things in the Atman,"

Steadily though Buddhism suffered a change to suit the land where Tantrism from Shaivism interacted with Buddhism. While developing a sacred pantheon, Buddhism was served by the Kashmiri Brahmins towards a harmonious fusion. This is an example of spiritual integration to suit man for spiritual and mental progress without creating any bitterness or rivalry. In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "None has ever doubted that Kashmiri Pandit as a community, are very intelligent. In fact this intelligence and adaptability is the secret of the existence of this small community".

In Kashmir hospitality was rewarded by a coupe when Ranchen Shah, a Tibetan Prince, who had been granted refuge, succeeded in over throwing the ruler. Thus Islam spread with the authority of the rulers. For over a century troubled times were followed by the peaceful reign of Badshah, (1423—1474 AD) when this great monarch afforded an opportunity to his subjects to contribute for the development of this land. The Kashmiri Pandit played a distinct part enriching literature, philosophy, art, craft and culture.

Kashmiris, wherever they live, look up to their Himalayan home with longing eyes. Their mind is shadowed by everything beautiful in Kashmir from natural landscape to its spiritual depth sung by Abhinavagupta, Lalleshwari, Mulla Mohammad Tahir Ghani and others; Such saints, philosophers and poets have kept alive the traditions of harmony through ages. A history of having passed through a period of suffering through various ages binds this community together there. It is this dignified longing of a glorious past that knit the Kashmiris outside in India, preserving thus their identity with customs and rituals, even though the mother tongue has been forgotten. The rituals and customs prove of satisfaction to the peopld and claim the cultural grandeur of the ancestral home. This became clear when some Kashmiris left their homeland under historical stresses from time to time.

It may be recalled that Kashmiris crossed the borders of their mountain home spreading spiritual education in Tibet. A great intellectual Shyam Bhatt (now Swami Thumbuta) gave script to the Tibetans where he is worshipped even today.

In the Buddhist times many Kashmiri Brahmins spread the message of Gautam in the remotest tracts establishing the spiritual contacts. Shak Jashri Bhadia, a scholarly Brahmin went as far as China to preach the new doctrine. Ratanjiva may be mentioned for his stay at Bodh Gaya where he enlightened himself with the changing outlook of the new faith. The tradition of learning, practicsing and a comparative study continued with these men of divinity till the beginning of the modern times.

With the Muslim rule in Kashmir, Persian became the language of the Government and its offshoot Urdu became the language of the elite. Kashmir with its adaptability and quest for knowledge owned Persian to which the admirable contribution has been that of Tahir Ghani. Religion never stood in the way of knowledge. Those Kashmiris of our community who settled in India (Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad) contributed admirably to this language. One needs hardly emphasize the role of Ratan Nath Dhar 'Sarshar', Brij Narain 'Chakbast', Daya Shankar 'Naseem', Brij Mohan Dattatriya 'Kaifi', and a number of others who enriched Urdu. In the field of art and music there are many names remembered for their devotion to literature and art for the sake of knowledge.

The British provided the western type of education. The Kashmiri Pandits took this type of education eagerly. It was the intention to learn and adopt the genius of the English people. The highly qualified took to law to serve the country; Bishan Narain 'Dhar' whose writings in English appeared in journals in London when he was still in teens, is well known. The role of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in establishing equality of man before law was the beginning of a crusade for justice. The role of Pandit Motilal Nehru in framing a constitution for a free dominion of India was an eye opener for the British constitutionalists. With the appearance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the stormy scene of Indian politics, the Indian National Congress organized itself with vigour and inspiring zeal.

A Kashmiri Pandit has a deep sense of history. Local environment means much less to him. His perspective is national, may be because of his numbers he cannot form an effective

community in a region. But forces other than the local engage his sensitive mind. The ideology of a wider perspective was advanced by Jawaharlal Nehru who brought in internationalism into play while fighting for independence. Advocacy for freedom in English speaking world necessitated the establishing of the National Herald—and English daily under the editorship of Sri K. Rama Rao with an eminent journalist Sri M. Chalapathi Rao who edited this paper for about three decades. True to the tradition of a wider perspective, Pandit Motilal Nehru had already started the Independent, an English daily at Allahabad. All the Swarajist associates had supported this move. With Jawaharlal's "Herald", internationalism and socialism made people think afresh, and offer constructive criticism with courage. "Herald" educated the British against fascism. The foreign edition of the Herald was hailed as an intellectual piece. Kashmiris contributed from religion and philosophy to politics. Students of history are aware of the pressure of internationalism resulting the British to grant India independence. Nehru's constant effort to liberate African colonies where Mahatma Gandhi had visualized a free India, is a story of great statesmanship. With this background, let us see where this community stands at present when revolutionary changes have completely altered our Socio-economic conditions.

We ask ourselves what is going to be the future of this community in the closing decade of the present century, and beyond. It is difficult to predict the nature of change that the community shall undergo.

The strings of culture have loosened, It may not be possible to preserve the splendid identity maintained so far. The reasons are not far to seek.

It is the mother tongue that binds a group of people. Whatever be the economic disparity, tongue ties minds and the spoken word signifies a unity deeper than any other thing in life. It has an appeal to one's heart, sentiments and impulses. Our mother tongue Kashmiri is disappearing as a binding force. Considering the age group of our community after 1950 the mother tongue echoes in our households outside Kashmir in the most senior age groups only. Even in Kashmir, Persian rooted Urdu words that imparted sweetness to Kashmiri as in poetry of Habba Khatun, Rasul Mir, Mahjur, Azad, Zinda Kaul, Nadim, Rahi and others are on a decline. English words have already invaded the vocabulary in Kashmir.

One has only to listen to dialogue in an average Kashmiri household to determine the magnitude of this type of influence.

With tongue goes the script. Kashmiri has been unfortunate in this respect. The Devnagri script is not acceptable to the majority population of Kashmir. The Persian script has been in vogue for quite some time. The Kashmiri Pandits use this script in prepairing their almanac. Even religious prayers including vedic hymns of the coita are written in this script. This practice has not diminished the religious fervour of the community. On the contrary, it has made the Hindu scriptures popular among the masses of our community. Keeping in mind the wider perspective, the Roman scropt could be an ideal one. But, due to political exigency the choice has fallen on the Persio-Arabic script. The Devnagri script could make Kashmiri popular among the Indian masses and enable it to get widely read and appreciated for its richness done so to Dogri, spoken in the Jammu region of the J&K State. The Kashmiri Pandits have settled in different parts of India. The Kashmiri language in Devnagri script keeps them informed about the social and religious activities of our community. But as a service to the language it is not of any considerable value. Here too, only a few senior members of our community who have been educated in Kashmir are benefitted. The conclusion sounds a pessimistic note. The Kashmiri language among the members of our community who are scattered all over may last a decade or so.

Kashmiris have made tremendous contributions to many other languages. They have enriched Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit. But we have failed to enrich our own language. This is most ironical.

Women preserve and perpetuate customs and traditions. They pass them on to the next generation. But modern education has changed the attitude of our girls. So the revival of our cultural heritage seems impossible within the present framework of education.

Marriages is modern life have provided choice of life partners from other communities. This in itself brings a new cultural aspects.

Kashmiri Pandits are not like Parsis. They lack in capital. Investment is not possible for them. The members of this community cannot afford the risk invoved in big business that could absorb the educated youth.

The younger generation evinced great interest in their ancestral

homland. Certain festive occasions provided them opportunity to visit Kashmir. But these opportunities are getting fewer & fewer because of time and money factor involved. Secondly, the charm of beauty of nature has lost its appeal for us. To compensate for this loss social gatherings are arranged. Those gatherings are good so far as the social aspect of life is concerned. But they cannot be a substitute for our cultural moorings which are deeply embedded in Kashmir.

The rituals are a part of our culture. But, nowadays they are observed for the sake of observance only. The sancitity associated with rituals is on decline. The Kashmiri Brahmins, associated with the performance of rituals are getting fewer in number. They consider their occupation as something thrust upon them. Modern education has opened new avenues for them. They take more lucrative jobs. Besides, the number of Brahamins well grounded in the religious lore of Hinduism is appreciably low. It seems, that the rituals in our community are bound to suffer corrosion in future.

The only place where a cultural centre for Kashmiri Pandits is possible to develop is the Pamposh Enclave in the neighbourhood of Nehru Place in New Delhi. This enclave is the creation of the Kashmiri Co-operative House Building Society with the definite objective of maintaining and perpetuating their culture and traditions. Registered in 1950, the society purchased land at Kalkaji where modern amenities (Colleges, Schools, Market, Cinema, Play Grounds, Underground drainage, water, electricity) are available. The development of Nehru Place to the east of this Enclave has immensly added to the locational, commercial and cultural importance of this settlement.

Delhi is the only place where such a centre could develop. Besides the capital, Delhi is the only meeting place from all over India where our social moorings could be strengthened to save our existence as a community with its glourious past.

The settlement is blooming like a lotus *Pamposh* under the divine auspices of Mata Kalkaji and the good wishes of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The undulating contour to the south and west is a boon for this site with bracing wind from the north. The following table needs a study.

Pamposh Enclave

(1)	No. of Plots for residetial purposes...	154
(2)	No. of Units housed at Present...	over 1000
(3)	*Land plots* (Area wise)	
A.	700 sq. yards	20
B.	450 sq.	36
C.	300 sq.	50
D.	200 sq.	50

Area for cultural Activities

Area for School...	2.5 acres
Area for Temple...	0.246 acres

(Now with shiva temple, lawn, garden for religious & social functions)

Parks...	0.27 acres
Area for housing service Personnel...	0.094 acre
Residential land area...	400.00 sq yards

(At Shakti Nagar, Delhi to be used for a community House for Biradiri who will stay in it while at Delhi.)

The Kashmiri Samiti Delhi is the centre of activity for the Kashmiris in the capital. The "*Koshur Samachar*" is now the recognized official organ of this association with its excellant publications in its special Numbers (Lal Ded and Zinda Kaul) besides the monthly appearance of the socio-cultural life of the members through out the country. The Calcutta association is actively engaged in consolidating the community and so are the similar associations at Bombay, Allahabad, Agra, Banglore and other places too.

All that is needed now is to develop the Pamposh Enclave for consolidating work done at other centres like our counterparts who speak other Indian Languages like Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Kankani, Assamese, Bengali etc. These languages have socio-cultural centres of their own where members from all over India have facilities to stay, study and converse with their brethren. Such a cohesive centre is urgently needed for the community for which the 2 1/2 acre land close to Nehru Place (New Delhi) is a logical choice.

The society has recently made some long term and some short

term educational and creative programmes which would meet the needs of its members.

The society has made a small beginning with the establishment of a primary school and a library. A research group of scholars is engaged with some research projects concerning Kashmiri Pandit cultural heritage. These include subjects like monuments, spiritual places in Kashmir. A felicitous volume on eminent Kashmiri Pandits is being contemplated, with the first volume on Professor P.N. Pushp.

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Chapter - 98

CREATIVE ROLE FOR KASHMIRI ASSOCIATIONS

Professor T.N. Madan

Being 'modern' or becoming 'modern' has been known to be the ambition of every society or community in the last two centuries or so. In effect, this has meant being like Western society—borrowing its institutions, imitating its life-style, acknowledging the superiority of its value orientations, and making use of its science and technology.

Whether we like it or not 'modernization' has meant 'Westernization'. Wherever and whenever a society has not done well, the process of slow or halting 'modernization' has been attributed to the obstructive role of its own culture. The loss of political independence and economic exploitation, which were the most visible parts of Western colonialism, did not, perhaps, corrode the human spirit and creativity as much as had been effected by the erosion of cultural traditions round the world—languages, arts, festivals, crafts all suffered grievous damage. In many parts of the world the subordinated countries and communities came to look upon their own cultural traditions with a sense of shame if not also of guilt. Thus when Western scholars said that Indian art and architecture were monstrous, many educated Indians concurred.

The death knell of Western colonialism in the 1940s and 1950s, ending political dependence and seeking economic reconstruction,

was not immediately accompanied by the recovery of cultural pride. The 'old' societies were judged to be in need of drastic sociocultural change to transform them into 'new' states. Asian, African and Latin American cultural traditions were generally dubbed as 'premodern' and efforts were set afoot to modernize them. In other words, the ending of political and economic dependence hastened rather than terminated cultural imperialism. The newly independent nations went in for massive educational and cultural innovation programmes which aimed at world-wide diffusion of a universal modern culture within the boundaries of nation-states.

Within these states, subnational cultural traditions came to be looked upon with suspicion as internal threats to the newly won independence. One recalls in this context the resistance to the linguistic reorganization of states in India. Complaints began to be voiced that 'Indians' were the most pitiable minority in India pitted against the proponents of regional cultures, whether the Assamese or the Bengalis or the Punjabis or whosoever.

Gradually, however the value and power of cultural traditions has begun to be recognized. The emergence of Bangladesh was a major success for those seeking the legitimacy of diverse cultural traditions and protesting against political domination and cultural monism. This process was hastened by the worsening of the internal crisis in the Western civilization, characterized by a runaway consumerism, a mindless materialism and the perversion of science and technology.

In such a context, the efforts of a community like the Kashmiri Pandits to try to preserve their cultural traditions in and outside the Valley must be seen as a healthy trend about which no one need be apologetic. But the many Kashmiri Associations that have sprung up all over the country and abroad must realize that the task they face is difficult because the preservation of a culture away from its historical habitat is not easy. It is also difficult for it could isolate the Kashmiris from their new cultural settings. Thus a community of Kashmiris in Calcutta which fails to establish a creative dialogue with Bengali culture would in the end only impoverish itself.

Not everything in a cultural tradition is worth preserving, least of all exclusivism and hubris. We must, therefore, seek to not only preserve Kashmiri culture but also learn to be innovative and also to live in creative cultural intercourse with other communities. The Kashmiri community must also learn to recognize the richness of its

own *internal* cultural variety and also the limitations of this cultural heritage. Confidence and humility do indeed go well together and are much needed to achieve the constructive tasks ahead of us.

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Chapter - 99

KASHMIRI PANDITS THROUGH THE AGES

Ikbal Kaul

Kashmiri Pandits have a place of pride in the long and chequered history of India. They have not only withstood the strains and stresses of time and man, but theirs has been the lot somewhat like the Jews. Yet, despite several calamities, they have emerged stronger as a community. The exemplary courage and determination shown by them in the face of grave odds and trying conditions through the ages is indeed an eloquent commentary on their character, merit and the intrinsic qualities of head and heart.

Great Genius

The primal point of their surprising success of self-preservation seems to be their great genius and ability to adapt to the fast-changing circumstances and environments. They have meticulously preserved their unique culture and philosophy, all their own, to the present time. In spite of the tyrannies and persecutions, their high intellectual standard and sharp intelligence has been unimpaired, and is in its pristine purity.

Although the history of Kashmir shows the adverse conditions faced by the Pandits, they were politically a power to reckon with. The fact is that the Pandits have had the courage to stand up in adversity. All this is prominent in the pages of the '*Rajatarangini*' and other chronicles. Instances are in galore when hunger strikes were resorted to by the oppressed Pandits for purging the state of corrupt ministers and for other social and political purposes.

It is true that rulers were seldom benevolent. The Pandits have been terrorised, tyrannised, tortured and tormented by the monarchs.

However, the thespian tale of the Pandits' miseries and misfortunes begins from the sixth century A.D.

Sanguinary War

When Mihirakula, the white Hun ruler of the north-western India, was defeated finally by the Gupta king, Baladitya Narasimha Gupta (around 520), he sought shelter in Kashmir. Mihirakula, who seized the throne treacherously, had to fight a sanguine war for over three years with the king and people of Kashmir. Kalhana compares the elephantine Hun with the god of destruction and narrates heart-rending tales of his curelty.

Glorious Rule

The glorious rule of Lalitaditya (699-736) was defamed by his tyrant and debauch second son, Vajraditya, and his grandsons, Prithivyapida and Jayapida. Jayapida (751-85) at first attempted to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious grand-parent. But towards the end of his reign he degenerated into a cruel and rapacious tyrant. For three successive years, violence and lawlessness was the order of the day. He even appropriated the whole produce, even the farmer's share. The Pandits were his particular target and they left the Valley in large numbers. Numerous Pandits went on fast unto death. Ultimately, the Pandits of Tulamula (Kshir Bhawani) cursed the king who succumbed to injuries sustained by a sudden fall in his palace.

The golden reign of Avantivarman (857-84) was followed by a deluge. His son, Sankaravarman (884-903), was a narrow-minded, avaricious and stern monarch. His rule was characterised by oppressive fiscal impositions. He looted 64 temples and resumed temple lands. He started the system of forced labour, usually for transport purposes, and rigorously followed it. Hypothetically this system was in vogue in the Valley till the beginning of this century.

The famed marshall sect of the Valley, the Tantrins, (modern Tantrees), the Praetorian Guards of Kashmir, became a force to recken with in the early tenth century. They played havoc with the destinies of the kings and commoners of Kashmir. Thereafter, anarchy reigned supreme for about 125 years, and Kashmir was torn by bloody strifes and internecine wars. The rulership changed hands not less than 20 times.

King Harsha (1089-1101), rightly called 'Nero of Kashmir', ransacked the temples and confiscated the temple lands and did not spare the Pandits even from forced labour. But he had to exempt the Pandits from forced labour after they underlook a fast. In the reign of Rajdeva (1213-35) the despotism of the royalty touched a new high. He ordered a general plunder of the Pandits. It was during his reign that from the Pandits the cry was heard: *Nabhattoham*—"I am not a Bhatta!"

Up till the early twenties of the 14th century, Kashmir was shielded from external aggression by the high Himalayas. Invaders like Mohmud of Ghazni (in 1015) had to eat the humble pie at the hands of the people as well as nature. But this shield could not last long and Kashmir had the experience of alien invasions.

Foreign Invaders

The first foreign invader who successfully penetrated the Himalayan barrier in 1320 was the Mongol condottier Zulqader Khan, whom Jonaraja calls Khan Dalcha. For eight months Zulqadar plundered, slaughtered, set Srinagar on fire and took 50,000 Pandits slaves. He tried to return through the passes of the south by the Narawao Valley before the onset of the winter. But while negotiating the Devasar Pass, he was overtaken by a severe snow-storm and his soldiers and slaves perished. This place is since called Bata Gajan, which means "*the Brahmans' death-oven*".

Muslim Kings

Islam was implanted in Kashmir around 1339, when Shah Mir, the Swati swashbuckler, usurped the throne of Kota Rani, the last Hindu ruler. Like his predecessor Mihirakula and others of his ilk, he was received with open arms by Sahadeva (1301-20) but proved untrue to his salt. Nevertheless, for about 60 years, the swapping of the kings made no difference and the Valley felt no impact of the change in royal religion.

But with the succession of Sikandar (1394-1413), the sixth ruler of the Shahmiri dynasty things suddenly started changing. The precious heritage of Kashmir, embodied in profound treatises, both metaphysical and secular, and cultural institutions were destroyed and people forcibly converted. In this destruction and conversion, he

was aided and instigated by about a thousand fanatic Sayyids who had fled from Hamadan in Iran at the onslaught of Taimur and taken refuge in Kashmir. Sikandar rightly earned the notorious name of Butshikan, i.e. the Iconoclast. He even disallowed the Pandits the use of the *Tilak*.

However, apart from the fanatics, Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70), the second son of Sikandar, stands out prominently as a most tolerant and benign Sultan. It is noteworthy that the Pandits, who had perforce fled their homeland, were invited by the kind Sultan to return and resettle in Kashmir. This pious and peace-loving Sultan gave the Pandits their due. Indeed, the Sultan's rule was epoch-making and an era of renaissance for Kashmir and he is rightly called Badshah (Great King).

Dark Days Again

But after Zain-ul-Abidin's death, there was a regression to the dark days. The situation became so bad that a communal clash occurred in Srinagar during the time of Hassan Shah (1472-84). In the turbulant reign of Fateh Shah (1486-1517), 24,000 Pandit families were converted to Shiaism. It was around this time that the Chaks, a warrior tribe of the Lolab Valley, professing the Shia faith, came into their own and later became the king makers *a la* Tantrins. Seventy-five years later, they started a dynastic rule. The founder, Ghazi Chak (1561-63), was the worst bigot. He spared no pains to force the Pandits to embrace his faith. This reign of terror ended in 1588, when Yaqub Shah, the last Chak ruler, was defeated by Akbar's army.

Kashmir's integration in the Mughal empire lifted the gloom that had loomed large over the fair Valley for nearly 250 years. One of the first kind acts of the Great Mughal was to abolish *Jizya*. The exaction was first imposed by Sikandar who realised it at the rate of 275 gm. of silver. Zainul-Abidin, however, reduced it to about one gm. It continued to be collected in kind under various Shahmiri Sultans, though the Chaks levied it in cash. The *Jizya*, it may mentioned, was number two head of revenue during the Sultanate.

Guru Tegh Bahadur

Aurangzeb, however, undid the work of Akbar. In his reign, the Pandits were in sore straits, coerced as they were by one of his governors, Iftikar Khan, to accept Islam. Consequently, about 500

Pandits went to Guru Tegh Bahadur at Anandpur for guidance. The Ninth Guru advised them that death was preferable to conversion. And the Guru set an ennobling example by sacrificing himself in Delhi (November 27, 1675) for the protection of the Pandits. The place has since been consecrated as Gurdwara Sisganj. The repercussion of the martyrdom was far-reaching. The Sikhs were transformed into the fighting force, the Khalsa, by his son, Guru Gobind Singh. And thus Kashmiri Pandits have a direct hand in the creation of the Khalsa.

The worst period, however, was the rule of the Afghans, when Kashmir was conquered by Ahmed Shah Abdali. During this period of over 66 years, from 1753 to 1819, the Pandits were almost extirpated. Due to the iron rule of the Afghans, it is said, only 11 families of the Pandits escaped extermination. Surreptiously sheltering themselves in Muslim houses, they kept their integrity intact. It is to the lasting credit of those noble and courageous Muslims that they gave refuge to the suffering Pandits despite heavy odds—the penalty for giving refuge to a Pandit was death. It is said that during those days, five maunds of Sacred Threads were immersed in the Dal Lake at a place which has come to be known as the Batamazar, the '*Graveyard of the Bhattas*' or Kashmiri Pandits.

But the insurmountable odds as these were, the Pandit's spirit was not broken. With steel determination and high degree of fortitude, they bore the brunt of the Durani tyranny. But not for long. Around 1818, Birbal Dhar of Srinagar, the revenue officer of the last Afghan governors, persuaded Ranjit Singh to annex Kashmir. In 1819, the Sikhs defeated the Afghans in Kashmir. The Kashmiris were given a little relief by the Sikh rule of 27 years, though the administration of their ten governors was also bad.

The Dogras

General peaceful conditions in the State continued with the advent of the Dogras in 1846. But like the rest of the Kashmiris, the Pandits were not allowed to join the Dogra army. Also, they could not hold high civil posts till the early twenties of this century. Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the second Dogra ruler, tried to reconvert the Muslims to their original faith. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has mentioned this in '*The Discovery of India*'. But the Pandits of Banaras and Kashmir refused to countenance any such reconversion

incidentally it may be stated that many Kashmiri Muslims still have the surnames of the pandits, like Kaul, Bhatt, Pandit, Dar, etc.

With the accession to throne of Hari Singh in 1925, the State was given a 'new look'. Some sort of constitutionalism was granted to Kashmir. The Pandits had a nominal representation in the Praja Sabha. But the so-called 'enlightened' rule of Hari Singh was marred by some ugly incidents, reminiscent of the past, which occurred in 1931. On July 13, a serious communal riot broke out in Srinagar and other parts of the State. This sorry episode strained the communal concord in the State and was the prelude to the Glancy Commission instituted by the British.

Bread Agitation

The recommendations of the Commission were highly unilateral, and, as such, were unacceptable to the Pandits. This touched off the popular movement of the Pandits, commonly known as the '*Bread Agitation*'. This agitation was as ruthlessly suppressed as any other popular movement in Kashmir. But certain unacceptable proposals of the Commission were deleted. The State, however, returned to normalcy by June 1932.

With India's independence, Kashmir found itself in the doldrums. Subsequent Pakistani aggression brought in its wake complete ruination of the Pandits, as well as of the other inhabitants. This wanton aggression reduced Pandit families to utter destitution.

Paradoxically, the Pakistani invasion bestirred the Pandits from their age-old apathy and lethargy. It made them dynamic. Over 400,000 members of the community have since bidden adieu to the 'Paradise on Earth' for pastures new. It is estimated that there is an yearly 'exodus' of over 2,000 individuals from the Valley. This tendency is growing—the motive force being purely economic. Their old indifference to seeking employment in hotter climes has completely waned.

Indeed, it can safely be said, that Kashmiri Pandits are at the present juncture at their social and economic crossroads. And this smallest Brahmin community of India, is facing the danger of disintegration.

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Chapter - 100

THE LOTUS IN BLOOM — PHOLWAN PUMPOSH

D.K. Kachru

My mind goes back to the early fifties. Dr. Kailash Naik Katju was then the widely respected and popular Governor of West Bengal. Earlier he had held, with great distinction, the gubernatorial chair in Orissa, and he loved dearly. He paid an official good will visit to Bhubaneshwar & Puri late in 1950. Deeply religious minded as he was, a visit to Orissa's famous temples was a must specially the temples of Lord Lingraj at Bhubaneshwar and of Lord Jagannath at Puri. I was then posted in temple town of Bhubaneshwar--the upcoming new Capital of Orissa. The pleasant duty of taking Dr. Katju around the Lingraj Temple was entrusted to me. Dr. Katju's name was then a legend in Orissa. The people of Bhuneshwar gave him a rousing & warm welcome. I conducted him round the temple. The temple visit over Dr. Katju departed from the official programme and came over to our residence nearby. He spent almost an hour with us & got particularly engrossed in conversation with my father, Pandit Damodar Dass, who had joined us in Orissa a few months earlier. He asked him eager questions about the conditions in Kashmir, the fate of those staying behind, & of those that had come out. I was a deeply interested listner. The picture that finally emerged out of this conversation seemed rather grim. But Dr. Katju was not pessimist. He said that over the centuries Kashmiris had been the victims of many vicissitudes. The present one seemed to be the latest in the series. The sons and daughters of the Land of Kashyap had never gone under. He was confident that with their innate intelligence, their infinite capacity for hard work & above all, their keen sense of adaptability, the Kashmiris would again prove true to their history, make more than good & come on the top as of yore in various walks of life in the greater & wider fields of India. He said this was a matter as best of a decade or so. He was confident that he would love to see the day.

The prophecy has come true, Kashmiris have again distinguished themselves in various and varied walks of life in the post 1947 era, not only in India but also in distant lands abroad against keen competition. None of us, of the out-going generation, could have imagined this thirty years ago though we may have prayed for it. Today Kashmiri doctors, engineers, educationists,

men-of-letters, artists, administrators, scientists, defence services officers, businessmen, industrialists and business executives—and this is not the full list—have won their spurs throughout India and in many far-flung parts of the world. One of them even out-Onassised the late Onassis in the world of shipping. One might aptly quote a great Kashmiri, the poet-philosopher, Iqbal :

"Kuchh bat hai ke hasti mittee nahin hamari"

History has repeated itself; for the earlier migrants from Kashmir also generally did exceptionally well whereever they settled down.

To quote what Jawaharlal Nehru said in his well-known article on "Kashmir" in July 1940 "A handful of them (Kashmiri Pandits) who migrated to other parts of Northern India during the last two hundred years or so have played an important part in public life, and professions and services in India, out of all proportion to their small numbers". Earlier he strongly exhorted Kashmiris to "play a brave part in the mighty happenings of today, in the joy of taking part in the great movements which are changing this old world of ours". The later migrants have more than lived upto the exhortation of their great and noble compatriot. They have brought further glory to their ancient mountain home-land and to the rest of the country.

The wide dispersal of the members of the community in post 1947 India has brought about a mini-revolution in the old social ties and the time honoured sets of values. The joint family, once an impregnable castle of social security and stability, is in a shambles. The old and once cherished sets of values have under-gone a sudden metamorphosis. Thousands of young Kashmiris, exiles from the loved home-land of their fore-fathers, are utter strangers today to all that gave meaning and content to the lives of the older generation, however crippled and confined these might have been; a heavy price indeed. The old moorings, both social and cultural, are being lost. We must not however lose our identity. How best to ensure this is of vital importance to our cultural and social survival! The best part has to be redeemed, re-developed, and gorged afresh into a living link that binds us together and does not stifle.

Outside Kashmir, Delhi has the largest concentration of Kashmiris. Next come perhaps Calcutta and Bombay, in that order. There is hardly any part of India where Kashmiris are not to be

found today. From Simla in the far north to Trivandrum in the farthest south.

Abroad also there is concentration of them in the United Kingdom and Ireland, in other parts of Europe including the Scandinavian countries, in USA and Canada. Kashmiris have also settled down in Australia and Mauratius. I understand that in UK and USA Kashmiri Associations are already in existence. The development and maintenance of some cultural links is imperative though, at the face of it, a seemingly uphill task. How best this can be achieved is again a question that merits urgent thought and attention on the part of Kashmiri Associations both in India and abroad. An action oriented plan is urged.

During the earlier centuries of migrations from the valley, the migrant Kashmiris settled down mostly in the then Panjab, the then Rajasthan States and in Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. A few went as far as Cuttack and distinguished themselves there. They generally stayed together in what came to be known as Kashmiri Mohallas. In Delhi the Sita Ram Bazaar area was the hub of the old Kashmiri world. Similarly Lucknow and some other North Indian towns had their Kashmiri Pockets/Mohallas. But ever-changing present day conditions make this difficult, particularly as the dispersals no are on a larger scale and in a very much vaster area, in a terribly congested and costly urban context. It therefore, goes to the great credit of that far-seeing small land of Kashmiri youngmen in Delhi who had the capacity to look into and think of the future. They conceived and put into practical shape the idea of constituting a cooperative house building society. These few dedicated youngmen joined together and ultimately succeeded in securing and developing a 26 acre site in South Delhi for the Kashmiri Co-operative House Building Society. It took the colony almost a quarter century to come up. The young founding fathers of the early fifties are grey—haired old gentlemen today. The Pamposh Enclave is today the pride of us all : a "Pholwan Pamposh" indeed. It houses about 200 Kashmiri families. Pamposh, the famed Lotus of our old home land-has really flowered into a mini-Kashmir in Delhi. For those of us who live here, it is a small little Kashmir away from Kashmir sans, of course, the loved mountains, the chinars, willows and poplars, the streams and rivulets and the salubrious climate of the valley of the Gods. The dream that the few farseeing Kashmiri imigrants dreamed thirty years ago has

become a beautiful reality : an achievement we can justly be proud of.

Delhi has been the capital of India from time immemorial. It is so today also. Pamposh therefore, has a special significance and connotation in this context. It can most appropriately become the centre of the cultural and social life of migrant Kashmiris. Luckily a valuable piece of land, about 2 acres in area, in Pamposh enclave stands earmarked for a school. First preference in the allotment of this site had to be given to the Pamposhians. The Kashmiries Co-operative House Building Society approached the concerned authorites for allotment of this plot of land some time ago. They were advised to set up an Educational Society for the purpose. The Kashmiri Education Society, Delhi already stood constituted from early years as a registered body. It was therefore, inducted into the field by the Kashmiri House Building Society. The land has since been allotted to the Society by the Delhi Administration. The terms of allotment are under settlement. A Nursery School is already being run at the site, a humble beginning of expectedly great things ahead.

Pamposh Enclave happily provides a cross-section of the community, distinguished army officers, administrators, scientists, educationisits, doctors, engineers, business executives and so on. These constitute a bank of multi-faceted talent on which the community can count to further its plans for developing the school site into a Kashmiri Cultural and Social Centre : an All India and global international link. Some distinguished Kashmiri youngmen are already giving thought to the preparation of an outline scheme for the purpose. Proper planning and finance are essential. The various Kashmiri Associations in the country and even abroad, and the all-India body formed recently, can appropriately consider the matter in all its aspects so as to give the idea a practical shape in the greater and better interest of the community at large. For where-ever we remain our Kashmir, with its hoary past and ancient culture embodying love and harmony as propounded by Lal Ded and Nund Rishi and in recent times put into practice by men like, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, and Pandit Anand Narain Mulla should be there to inspire us.

The migrant Kashmiris who dreamt of a mini-Kashmir in Delhi three decades ago had all the odds against them. Their vision

and determination have ultimately won the day for us all. The youngmen who dream today of a Kashmir Cultural Centre on a global basis in Pamposh will have many hurdles to cross. But their vision and determination, coupled with the co-operation of members of the community elsewhere in India and abroad should make this greater dream a reality in the not too distant a future : a greater and bigger *Pholwun Pamposh.*

Enclosure :

It is proposed that we set up a "Kashmir Cultural Centre (KCC)" an autonomous body under the sponsorship of Kashmir Education Society, but with independent membership and limited objectives.

This organization needs to be run by professionally competent full time staff who can devote themselves to the task of making the activities financially self-generating.

Why is it Required?

(i) Kashmiris as a cultural entity are fragmented and geographically scattered throughout the world. Being physically a small community, the probability of losing communication with the community and for the new generation to maintain its links with its heritage, a catalyst is requlred—KCC can bring our culture to your door-step.

(ii) Recognized works of past masters-KCC can synthesize, analyse and translate for you.

(iii) Culture in the form of dance, music, paintings, handicrafts-KCC can bring them to you.

(iv) Works of creativity need to be promoted-KCC can try to help out. Organize with agencies, governmental and non-governmental, for financial aid, research grants, help in publication etc.

(v) For scientific Research, KCC can plan to create facilities, library, living accomodation, financial help, liaison with national and international agencies. Travel and other supporting functions.

Why the Head Quarters at Delhi?

(i) Because Kashmiris are geographically scattered throughout

the world, Delhi as the capital of our country has a high traffic of Kashmiris.

(ii) Extremely good Communications with all parts of the country.

(iii) Facilities are available at Delhi; Universities, Central Government offices and Foreign Embassies etc.

(iv) Largest local population of Kashmiris outside Kashmir.

Membership Drive

Objective : To build up a secular membership that reflects the many facets of Kashmir culture :

1. All Kashmiri Societies Countrywide,
2. Important cultural bodies in Jammu and Kashmir State.
3. Important institutions/universities, who would be interested in Kashmiri studies.
4. All important researchers on Kashmir.
5. All prominent artists of Kashmir.
6. Prominent members of the Baradari.

Fund Collection

Most potential area for fund collection-Kashmir itself and other areas.

Activities Proposed

Publications - Some example are given below :

A. - Collected Works of Masterji
- Collected Works of Mehjoor
- Collected Works of Lal Ded
- Collected Works of Habba Khatoon.

Prominent Kashmiris - series

1. Nehru's - a. Motilal
   b. Jawaharlal
   c. Indira
   d. Vijay Laxmi
2. Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah
3. Sadiq Sahib
4. D. P. Dhar
5. H. N. Kunzru
6. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru
7. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju

8. Bakshi Gulam Mohammed
9. Zinda Kaul
10. Mahjoor
11. Anand Narian Mulla
12. Mir Kasim
13. D. N. Nadim
14. Ravi Tikoo

- Kashmiri Grammar
- Dictionary

B. General Books

1. Kashmiri Travelouge
2. Kashmiri Landscapes
3. Kashmiri Painters
4. Kashmiri Carpets
5. Architecture and Monuments
6. Kashmiri Cuisine

Music (Cassettes)

- Folk Songs
- Santoor
- Popular songs.

Cultural Programmes

(Collabrate with ITDC/other marketing organizations)

- Kashmiri cultural week
- Drama groups
- Movies

Other Activities

- Art Gallery
- Club facilities/recreation
- Commercial centre
- Sales counter etc. for Kashmiri handicrafts.
- Rooming facilities
- Library
- Auditorium

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Chapter - 101

REMINISCENCES AND LOOKING AHEAD

Dr. R.K. Bhan

We are already aware of the contribution made to our culture by our ancestors who bequeathed treasures of philosophy, religion and language. These would remain enshrined in our annals for all times to come. We may however look not to the hoary past but to the immediate past when hordes of our brothers and sisters left Kashmir and settled in the rest of India. We have no realiable record of the conditions under which they left Kashmir but the conditions must have been none too congenial. Obviously the lack of educational facilities and opportunities for manifestation of their talents were significant. They got obsorbed in the mainstream of the country but maintained individual cultural identity. This is more true of those who settled in North India. Kashmiris who went further south broke the barriers of marital ties and got assimilated with other north Indians who had similarly migrated. I happened to visit a Kashmiri family in Hyderabad about 25 years back. They retained their family surname which was Kashmiri (Bhan) and the oldest member of the family indicated her previous cultural traits of Kashmir but for all practical purposes they had got absorbed into the north Indian Hindustani speaking community as distinct from the Telegu, speaking population. It is a matter of pride for the Kashmiris that some of those who settled in Punjab, U.P. etc. rose to great heights in various walks of life but neglected the Kashmiri language.

In March 1939 when I had an occasion in London to address the East India Association, a non-official organisation of Britishers occupying high positions of life as members of Parliament and retired civilians from high offices in India, on the economic potentialities of Kashmir, some of the retired Governers of provinces and executive counsellors from India paid rich tributes to the natural and potential resources of Kashmir and evinced interest in its development. A retired Governor of Punjab, Sir Louis Dane, remarked that while I had spoken of exports of Kashmir I had not mentioned the most valuable export from the State. i.e, the Kashmiri Pandit. According to him, Nehrus, Saprus, Katjus, Kunzrs, Kauls etc. had distinguished themselves in various professions and politics. The members of our community, settled outside the state of Kashmir,

had carved out a place of honour in the minds of our alien rulers even though they differed from them in their political views and policies.

The first exodus of Kashmiris had stopped by the time our first generation of forefathers began to profit from modern English education. It was in the sixties of the last century that some Christian missionaries started a school for teaching the English language and allied subjects, through this medium. Reverend Doxie came first and was followed by Rev. Knowles and later by Rev. Biscue. I have seen an old photograph of 3 of 4 Kashmiri boys in their old style Kashmiri 'Pheran' and 'Dastar' with reverend Doxie. Two of them were Pandit Anand Kaul who was President, Srinagar Municipality and distinguished himself as a writer and my father Pandit Shiv Ram Bhan who retired as Chief Suptd. Accountant Generals' Office and worked with distinction under many European officers. Later, members of our community availed themselves of higher educational facilities at the Hindu college (subsequently S.P. college) at Srinagar as also outside the state and obtained distinctions in their respective disciplines. There was however little encouragement from the Government since the bureaucracy was dominated by people from outside the states. Even against these disabilities in the early past of this century a talented and dynamic young man L. Zutshi obtained higher training in Mining and Geology in the U.K. but for want of encouragement in his own state, he settled in London.

It was on 31 Jan. 1937 that Maharaja Hari Singh's Govt. issued orders for the recruitment of Govt. servants from among heriditary state subjects only. This gave an opportunity to qualified youngmen to occupy places of honour in the official hierarchy on the basis of merit. The partition of the country in 1947 accompained by the invasion on Kashmir by hordes of tribesmen and Pakistanis gave a great jolt to the Kashmiris. It however opened new vistas and wide horizons for our qualified aspiring young men and women who imigrated from Kashmir to different parts of India and outside the country. Our young men and women during the last 30 years have created records and brought dignity and honour to our country. It is hoped that this export of the Kashmiris which the old British Indian civilians referred to in 1939 as quoted above, will achieve greater heights in a wider world of opportunities.

It was at this crucial period in the history of Kashmir that I took a bold decision. I left Kashmir for Delhi crossing on foot Baininal

under heavy snows in mid January, when all roads from and to the valley were closed, and joined the Government of India. I remember the year 1948 and 1949 were particularly very worrisome to Kashmiris who desired to settle in Delhi. With the help of a few friends I organised the Kashmiri Co-operative House Building Society, which in spite of some initial setbacks has now taken a proper shape, much to the delight and satisfaction of not only the residents of Pamposh Enclave, but also to those who live outside, since it has become a focal centre for our social and cultural activities.

Those of us who have settled outside the state are indeed emotionally integrated with people with whom we live irrespective of caste, creed or language but our individual cultural identity has to be maintained. In this connection it may be very important to bear in mind that the most important link between our past and present is the Kashmiri language which at no case should be neglected. We should make sure that the second and the third generation of Kashmiris who have settled in various parts of India and outside, religiously encourage the use of the Kashmiri language in their respective homes. Attempts should be made to ensure that written materials are available to sustain and enrich the language.

It is obvious that we should not make the same mistake that the earliest migrants from Kashmir committed in neglecting the use of Kashmiri language and we should take steps to maintain the status of this medium in our homes as a basic factor in our cultural package.

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Chapter - 102

ORGANISING OUR SOCIETY FOR A BETTER WORLD OF TODAY AND TOMORROW

Prof. S. Bhatt

There have been rapid and widespread changes in the fabric of our society during last four decades. Sometimes these changes have caught us unawares. Life style has changed drastically. Human settlements have spread out to far corners of the world. Old cultural institutions have almost disappeared and no new ones are to be seen to keep on the continuity of our past. The All India Samaj therefore has met to create a new vision, a new hope, for all our members from various parts of the world, awakening in us new feelings of kinship and a sense of belonging to each other, and assuring us that we shall continue to play some useful role in society by creative and dynamic programmes. The Samaj, I am sure, is keen to look back and forth and chalk out the frontiers of progress for us. We are called upon to offer our reflections on the kind of intellectual and spiritual baggage we would possess at the turn of the century, on the nature of human settlements we have now or would have in future, on our life-style in general, on our social and cultural customs, on our creative ventures in education, science and culture, and above all, on the kind of contribution we would make to the progress and harmony in our national society, and international society.

Samaj's Reflections on Future

The Annual Convention in 1980 held in Calcutta by Samaj was an important landmark in its short history. Some of the participants and writers have subsequently contributed articles to the Annual Number 1980 on an important subject : 'Kashmir in Year 2000'. These papers provide a rich intellectual feast to our problems of present and future times. Most of these eminent writers have deliberated on the issues facing our society with a long-term perspective. They wrote on our culture and traditions, lyrics, folklore, novels, drama, dowry issues, poets, philosophers, and on our social responsibilities in the context of national life. One would like to analyse some of these issues as they are most relevant to our progress and future programme of Samaj.

We Kashmiris have a universal mind. This gives us an advantage

in sofar as we can see through things in totality. Shri D.K. Kachru a former member of IAS and former editor of *Koshur Samachar* refers to the advice of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that we should help change the old and redundant world. Shri Nehru was a visionary and he saw scientific progress of the West and took steps to bring India on par in science and technology with other countries. As the Nobel laureate Professor Abdus Salam predicts, India will be a scientific super power in the year 2000. There can be no better tribute to Nehru's efforts than to transform India into a creative and progressive society. Nehru's vision was to utilise science for progress and harmony. This synthesis of scientific research and world harmony is the major goal of present day world society.

We cannot any more afford to have a divided world with the stockpile of nuclear weapons. We are living in a world where survival is common. After meeting our social and cultural objectives, the predominant goal of our small society is to strive for the harmony of mankind as we have done so in history. This is the most creative task before us. In this way we could carry forward our cultural heritage further along new dimensions.

Our music, art, lyrics, mysticism and spiritualism give us adequate support to propagate world harmony. No one shall call us selfish, while working for the cause of unity and prosperity of all men. And if we get together to strengthen universal peace and happiness, we are only pursuing the path of creativity. It is a scientific and spiritual endeavour also. It will be a response to the call of contemporary history as well. And we shall be fulfilling the dreams of our ancestors, and of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Organising is Our Main Creative Task

It is, indeed exciting to be organising for a great creative effort and to dream of a better world of today and tommorow for us. The Samaj is aware of these challenging tasks. It has already achieved the task of linking various social and cultural organs. This federal linkage is important as it provides for independence to these organs to meet local adaptations. We need, however, to have a research committee to standardise our social and cultural practices. We could have uniform marriage procedures, and a few festivals celebrated in the year, uniformly. The new cultural centres may be opened in places like Calcutta, Bombay, Agra, Lucknow, Allahahad, Jaipur etc. and the old ones in Srinagar and Delhi updated and

improved. So, also we could have sub-centres in London, USA and Canada in the years to come.

Those who are called upon to be leaders in our social and cultural organs should be men of high calibre and proven ability. A harmonious group of people with dedication and functional responsibilities could make a great contribution to the progress made each year by the Samaj. To support the work of our society, we need to have some publications. *Koshur Samachar* issued from New Delhi gives us news and small articles about our heritage with emphasis on the developments in the Valley of Kashmir. *Bahar-e-Kashmir*, the quarterly journal of Samaj, would carry more extensive and analytical articles on our cultural heritage along with social and cultural news from various centres in the country and outside.

Our problem is to get funds to develop some educational and cultural centres. Apart from individual collections, we could mobilise donations from our philanthrophists. This is the time when our eminent business friends can help in these creative ventures.

Samaj's Role For Integration

A major social objective of Samaj is to unite all generations of Kashmiris. We have to close the gap of history. Language is no bar to integration. Our basic qualities are the same the world over, and these include our intellectual and creative skills, a sense of harmony, love of nature, love for the mystical philosophy of science and spiritualism, and our great sense of nationalism and internationalism. I think these values are so invigorating and suit us eminently in the modern times. Santayana, indeed lists these qualities for all geniuses. They are the people who combine personal development with external circumstances.

Our links with our ancestral heritage have to be strengthened through our cultural and social centres, and creative activities. A few occasions celebrated uniformly all over during the year will be useful. New management systems are required to provide interesting programmes. These social occasions will facilitate marriages of our boys and girls. We have practically no social contact with one another. How can our youth be prevented from marrying outside our fold? The centres could be stocked with books on our heritage. Variety of sub-cultures only gives us a cause to love each other more. Someone from New York, visiting Habba Kadal in Srinagar

after a long interval gets reminded of his simple but great ancient folks. Rene Dubos, a biologist of repute says that visiting old places reminds him of the people. These facts of global environment movement reveal that people have the inborn instinct of yearning to look back with wonder and love to the ancient sites and the hearth and home of their ancestors. The old streets in Srinagar or in other parts of Kashmir bear witness bear witness to our bygone days. They remind us of our history.

You can see therefore how much the Samaj has a role if it re-builds in the time to come the cultural centre in Shetalnath in Srinagar with enough rooms where our visiting members could stay and visit cultural places in the valley. This is the time to think ahead. It may be of interest for our readers to know that Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin in Kashmir took pains to settle down Kashmiri Pandits in various places. He was a visionary.

In the present times also those of us who were living there in recent generations cannot give up our links. We may be serving outside Kashmir, but we have urge to visit our homes on leave as we often do and when we retire from services. One or two new settlement colonies may be needed since some of the old houses are lying dilapidated. The joy of living in the far off corners and in the beautiful valleys of Kashmir such as in Safapora, Manasbal, Bandipore, Bejbehara etc. is most exciting and we should not lose that joy. All this is possible when we maintain a purposeful contact with our cultural centres in the valley and other places in India. Indeed, while visiting Kashmir, one gets a fresh taste of our heritage which leaves in us a feeling of joy for ever.

Bright Future

By every account, it seems clear that there is a bright future waiting for our efforts. Since the awareness has dawned on us to join together for progress and creativity, and promote world harmony, the action to organise will follow. We have sufficient intellectuals and material resources to be able to achieve a better world of today and tommorow. We can even impart a touch of harmony to the national and global society. Let us therefore think how best we should organise ourselves, our institutions, and our programmes.

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Chapter - 103

KASHMIR SABHAS AND THEIR ROLE

M.K. Orga

To me, the main aim and objective of any Association, Sabha or Samiti unconcerned with politics is to foster and preserve cultural and social ties and above all, help one another and strive for upliftment of society or community as a whole. Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta, and other Sabhas and Samities of Kashmiris in the country came up as a matter of necessity for obvious social, economic and cultural reasons after 1947 exodus from the Valley.

Recollecting what led to the formation of Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta, we are reminded of untimely and sudden demise of first wife of late Pt. Srikanthji Khar in 1954, which perhaps aroused the feelings for an Association in Calcutta. This aspiration for a Kashmiri Association in Calcutta was rekindled in early 1955 when Navroz/ Navreh get-together was organised at the residence & Shri S.K. Handoo of Theatre Road at the initiative of a sub-committee of which Smt. Subhadra Haksar was the convenor. The hectic activity that followed resulted in the first get-together of some Biradhari, members at the Howrah residence of Pt. Jagan Nathji Munshi, now living in Bombay. Later on, framing and adoption of the constitution was completed in 1955 itself and the Sabha took a formal shape. Elections under the supervision of Returning Officers strictly guided by the constitution used to generate a mass interest and involvement. Celebration of festivals like Navreh, Shivratri and Janam Ashtami and an Annual Hawan started in 1960, became regular features. In the beginning, most of our functions excepting Navroz used to be on contributory basis. Children function became yet another regular annual feature. Community outings once a year for the first few years also received mass response. Publication of Monthly News letter as a community news media was started in 1959 on August 15th. A small booklet '*Rituals and Festivals of Kashmiries*' with an explanatory note for each festival was published in 1957.

The first annual number of News letter came out in 1960 with the main idea of collecting funds for the Sabha. Pada Yatras were undertaken to the residences of all the Kashmiri residents during the presidency of Shri Motilal Ji Zutshi. The foundations thus laid are quite strong and most of the activities still continue. Some other laudable objectives like a Co-operative Society, a Community Hall

and a temple have been planned. A community hall has been constructed recently.

In recording these events, one cannot help remembering the important roles played by Shri Shyam Sundar Raina, the first Secretary and first Editor, late Pt. Kashinathji Razdan, late Shri Chunilalji Wattal, Shri Somnathji Wali, now in Baroda, Shri M.L. Zutshi, Smt. Subhadra Haksar and Dr. B.K. Moza. By mentioning a few names here, I am not belittling the contributions from other members, but in any organisation, some members have to play a pivotal role. In recent years, the role of Lt. Col. P.N. Kak as Sabha-President has been commendable and to put it briefly, the Sabha was reactivated under his guidance.

Achievements have been commendable. The community is closely knit. We have associations of Kashmiris all over the country. No doubt much more is still left and wide scope exists for more meaningful activities. General involvement of community members is required for more productive and purposeful ends. Youth involvement is necessary, for the future responsibility of the Sabha and the Samities have to pass on to them.

The tendencies of making things complicated and rigid, coupled with inflexibility of attitudes on vital issues where community interests are involved in general has to be controlled and checked, for such signs are unhelpful and cause decay of foundations. Marriage and employment bureaus have to be developed for preserving community-links and heritage. For a sustained and more meaningful purpose a regular organisations such as All India Kashmir Samaj (AIKS) at national level is necessary. What is more important and need of the day is that all Sabhas and Samitis or associations including those in Kashmir are linked to help our community come closer and chalk out policies and programmes for national integration.

The formation of AIKS is a step in the right direction. This All-India body apart from being a linking organization must frame national policies on various urgent issues like dowry system, marriage and employment problems, preservation of our cultural heritage and propagation of Kashmiri language and, last but not least, prepare an All India Directory of Kashmiris, publish news and views for the benefit of the community. Vocational and information centres at Srinagar, Jammu, Amritsar, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and other places for our youth are needed so as to provide them guidance in the selection of training and education they need for employment and

face competition for securing jobs.

Gone are the days when leaders like Kashyap Bandhoo and late Jialal Kilam kept the community together. They launched laudable programmes for reforms and upliftment. This aspect also needs to be given attention and the associations do owe a responsibility to their brethen to bring them together and render them advice and guidance. Yuvak Sabha and Martand in the good old days, as all of us would recollect, enjoyed popular support and were pride of the community as a whole. Reactivating the Martand and Yuvak Sabha to serve as a link with our old heritage could also be a step in the right direction.

What we need today is a leadership for mass involvment, sincerity and dedication to give a practical shape to various thoughts for our rightful existence and maintenance of our national image left behind by great leaders of our community over past centuries.

Kashmir Sabha Calcutta has many of its main objectives to fulfil. A Kashmir Bhawan at Calcutta, being the long felt need & desire to serve as a centre for our community activities and a symbol of brotherhood has been a must. This task has been achieved. Monthly News Letter (Vitasta) appearing only now & then has to be a permanent feature. This News Letters should be thoughtful and useful, promoting link with our past, present & future.

Dr. Brij Kishen Moza has done a yeoman's service to the community as a whole with publication of two very informative volumes of Annual Vitasta. Compilation of a complete directory of the community members residing in eastern part of the country is yet another important work to be accomplished. Last but not least is youth involvement. It is the most important task to make the Sabha see its future through the aspirations of our talented youth. I recollect how usefull some of us, then in our twenties were in 1955 when the Calcutta Sabha was formed. Now after four decades, when our youth have fortunately better opportunities in life they can lead the Sabha to the fulfilment of its objectives and keep the community closely knit.

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Chapter - 104

PRESERVATION OF KASHMIRI CULTURE IN VARANASI (BANARAS)

Professor B.B. Dhar

Introduction

Varanasi, being one of the oldest cities in the world has always contributed to the development of Indian culture in general and Hindu culture in particular. The religious significance of this holy city of Lord Vishwanath is well known all over the world. People of deep religious faith travel all the way from far off places to have a holy dip in the mother Ganges followed by a darshan at the famous Vishwanath Temple. It is perhaps due to its significance that today, Varanasi is more or less, a multi-cultural society without any bias against other religions.

Kashmiri Pandits have been no exception to this power of attraction of the city and as a result, a few families have always gradually settled in here since ages. This number kept on increasing over the years but never reached a significant number. The location of famous national educational institutions like Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.) and Raj Ghat foundation trust, at all times kept on attracting Kashmiri Pandits/students/teachers from time to time,

However, there was no unified effort to have a common platform where the Kashmiri Pandits of Varanasi could meet except on social functions within the Baradari.

The History

In 1946, or so, there were great floods in Kashmir. Those days a large number of students used to come for studies to Banaras Hindu University from Kashmir for various courses, since no such good facilities were available in Kashmir. Because of floods in Kashmir, these students got held up in Varanasi with no money flowing from their homes in Kashmir. Because of this extraordinary situation, the idea of starting a Kashmir Association was mooted out by some Kashmiris. And thus was born the Kashmiri Pandit Association at Varanasi, with the help of local and well-established Kashmiries both within and outside the Banaras Hindu University, mainly to help students in the hour of need. This association proved all the

more important when the country was partitioned in 1947 bringing more problems to Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir.

The Roots of Foundation

The Association was founded by eminent persons like Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu, then pro-vice chancellor, Banaras Hindu University who also was the first President of the Association. Other important founder members were Pt. Raghunanand Lal Dar (A.D.M. Varanasi), Sri B.K. Zutshi (Asstt. Registrar, B.H.U.), Pt. K.K. Kitchlu (Head Master Hindu School), Dr. P.K. Razdan (Teachers Training College, B.H.U.), Pt. K.K. Shah (Teacher), Pt. S.L. Dar (Department of Philosophy, B.H.U.), Pt. Ram Narain Bhadur (who used to work for Maharaja Banaras at Ramnagar), Pt. Pretam Lal Raina, who also was the first Secretary of the Association and many others.

The first meeting of the Association was held at the residence of its founder president, Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu in L.D. Guest House, B.H.U. in 1946. At that time there were about 20-25 students in the College of Engineering, College of Mining and Metallurgy and Science and Arts Colleges. Subsequently the meetings were held at the residence of Mr. P.K. Zutshi and Pt. S.L. Dar in the University Campus. The activities of the Association were carried on by the small group until its roots got strengthened gradually. Some of the names who got associated deeply with the Associations activities since its inception and had the previlage of serving it in the capacity of President after Pt. I.N. Gurtu are: Pt. R.L. Dar, Dr. P.K. Razdan, Pt. P.K. Zutshi, Pt. K.L. Kitchlu, Pt. S.L. Dar, Pt. M.B.L. Dar, Pt. P.N. Kaula, Pt. D.N. Kaul, Pt. B.B. Dhar, and Pt. V.K. Raina, etc.

The foundation of the Association in Varanasi is strong and it has stood well the test of time and has rendered useful socio-cultural service to the Kashmiri Baradari of (Banaras) Varanasi for the last over 40 years.

Kashmiri Association in Varanasi is perhaps the oldest such Association in India, outside J&K that came into existence just before partition. Subsequently, with large-scale migration of Kashmiri Pandits from Kashmir to other parts of the country since 1947, many such organisations have come into existance. These associations such as in Varanasi have proved of great help for the socio-cultural activities of its members. They have helped to keep alive among members the most valuable and cherished traditions of

Kashmir. The Varanasi Association is known by the name of Kashmiri Samaj Varanasi, the name was changed in 1983.

Sustained Survival

It may be necessary to recall the significant role played, and untiring efforts made, by one of its most promising founders, Pt. Shivnandan Lal Dar. In late sixties he was the Registrar of Banaras Hindu University. His involvement in the activities of Samaj have been unique. Every Kashmiri who came to Varanasi either in search of a job, or in pursuit of knowledge, used to become a part and parcel of his family. The credit for his work also goes to his loving wife, Smt. Subhadra Dar, daughter of a former Governor of J&K (1921-24), Sri Manmohan Lal Langar. The ultimate result was that the Dar family as a whole got involved in the activities of Kashmiri Samaj and most of the social gatherings used to be held at their residence. The guidance and the encouragement this family has been giving, is perhaps one of the basic reasons that the Samaj is still holding itself together without any problems. Today Pt. Dar is the patron of the Samaj.

My own association with the Samaj started as early as 1956 when I joined Banaras Hindu University for my engineering degree. Coming from far off Kashmir at a tender age, one gets encouraged after one receives an affectionate welcome at the hands of an elderly person like Major Dar. As a result of Sri S.L. Dar's long association with N.C.C., he was awarded life long rank of Major. Destiny played an important role, while I came as a student to obtain my B.Sc. Mining Engineering degree, I joined subsequently Banaras Hindu University as a member of the faculty in 1960 after graduation. I have continued to be associated with our Samaj since 30 years or so, except for a period of six years (1964-70) when I was abroad for higher studies in Canada. This association is equally true for my wife Krishna (Bhan) Dhar who joined me here in 1963. This type of association perhaps is equally true for most of us who came to Varanasi in fifties and sixties. To name a few who still continue to take active part in the Samaj are - Prof. P.N. Kaula, Dr. P.K. Tikoo, Dr. N.N. Pandit, Pt. D.N. Kaul, Dr. R.L. Khosa, Pt. M.N. Wahi, etc.

Today the Samaj has a meaningful group of people and families dedicated to its cause. This group renders help to meet the socio-cultural needs of the Baradari at Varanasi.

Samaj's Role at All India Level

At the all India level, the contributions of the All India Kashmiri Samaj has been quite significant compared to its size and resources. It was formed by members from Allahabad, Calcutta etc. in the year 1979 at Allahabad under the dynamic leadership of Justice P.N. Bakshi. Justice Bakshi was also the founder member of U.P. Kashmiri Samaj, that held a conference in 1983. Since the inception of AIKS, I have actively participated in its annual General Meetings held at Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Jodhpur and Lucknow.

Some time ago, the Kashmiri Samaj, Varanasi also hosted a two-day AIKS Executive Committee Meeting with delegates from Allahabad, Agra, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Faridabad and Varanasi etc.

The Continued Commitment

The Samaj in Varanasi with such history and growth can well claim to have helped maintain the Kashmiri Pandit Culture. At the all India level, the impact of Varanasi Samaj may not have been the same as that of Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta. Nevertheless, the Varanasi Samaj has played its part in the development of Kashmiri culture and helped Kashmiri Community on the whole.

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Chapter - 105

THE FUTURE OF THE KASHMIRI PANDITS

Z.L. Kaul

There is a striking parallel between the history of Jews, and that of the Kashmiri Pandits. The Jewish migration started long ago, when Christians persecuted them, and the Jews dispersed all over the world, in search of the promised land.

The history of the exodus of the Kashmir Pandits is not that old. With the advent of the Islam in the valley in the fourteenth century, the Kashmir Brahmins started on their long journey to the planes of India, and this migration has continued to our own times.

But there is a difference between the old emigration, and the recent one. While the Kashmiris who came out six hundred years ago, lost all contact with the base, at home, the present day migrants have retained their links with the "mother state".

In the old days, it was difficult to go back to the valley, because of the difficulties in communication. Now, that the world has shrunk, with the tremoundous developments in communication, it is possible to visit one's kith and kin in the valley, and keep alive the relations.

The old Kashmiris when they came to India lost in a single generation all the contacts with the valley. In one generation, they forgot their mother tongue, and learnt the language of their new habitat. The remarkable powers of adjustment to new surroundings came as a handy tool, and Kashmiris excelled in Urdu, and Persian. The brought them lucarative jobs, especially in the Indian States, and under the British, they changed over to English, getting places of honour in the British Raj.

The older generation did not speak the language of their ancestors. However, in marriages they still retained some Kashmiri rituals. This was due to the old women, who handed from generation to generation, some old Kashmiri ceremonies.

The Kashmiris, who have come out since 1947, still speak Kashmiri, and do maintain link with the valley. They are still traditional Kashmiris, but the same cannot be said of their children. The children learn Hindi, and English, and like old Kashmiries lose their cultural moorings.

The absence of a written Kashmiri language is a great handicap in developing Kashmiri community into a single cohesive force. Without language, we lose respective identity. This does not apply to other communities in India, like Tamils, Bengalies or Punjabis etc.

What can be done to make a Kashmiri retain his identity in this sea of Indian humanity? It is like a stream, losing itself in the Indian ocean. The children can only learn oral Kashmiri, which is of no use to them, in either correspondence with their old relations or in their studies.

When the language is gone, the Kashmiri loses interest in the Kashmiri music, folklore, and literature, and partly loses his Kashmiri heritage. But there is nothing unusual. The same has happened to Jews. They have lost knowledge of Hebrew and

adopted the language of their land of adoption. There are American Jews, German Jews, and so on. In the same manner, we are Indian Kashmiris, American Kashmiris, etc.

The present generation of Kashmiris in India can still stop the errosion, by talking at home in Kashmiri with their children. But unfortunately, I find that many Kashmiris converse, in Hindi or English, instead of Kashmiri.

Another trend that is making its deep onslaught on the Kashmiris is the inter-marriage. The Kashmiris are now marriying their boys and girls with those of other communities. It is true that some inter-caste marriages cannot be prevented. But the general tendency is to go in for a different community. This poses threat to our future indentity.

Confronted with these two features, namely the loss of the language, and the inter-caste marriages, I only visualize, the shrinking of the Kashmiri Pandit population in 2000 A. D. The trickle that is coming out of the vally is disappearing in the sands of India and outside India. The Kashmiri population (Pandits) in the valley is also dwindling, as all the eligible youngmen are migrating.

Like the Parsis, who have lost in numbers, the Kashmiri Pandits, will also reduce in number in the years to come.

In the vally itself the Kashmiri Brahmin is faced with heavy odds. Only old people, and those who have some interests have clung to the vally. The Kashmiri Pandits are squeezed out, and in the process much less population is left behind in the valley.

I do not want to sound pessimistic. Individually the Kashmiri Pandit is still brilliant, and has enormous powers of resilience. In today's India, and the world at large young Kashmiris, both boys and girls are doing a magnificient job. There is hardly any walk of life, where they have not made spectacular performances. But that is on the individual level.

The Kashmir Brahmin is a great survivor. He has weathered many challenges. He will continue to do so but to imagine that in 2000 A.D. he will be a force to reckon with, is wishful thinking, unless we take steps to ensure protection of our heritage, our habitat in Kashmiri valley and our social and cultural life in general.

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Chapter - 106

A PLAN FOR FUTURE

by Convenor, Kashmiri Pandit Welfare Group in Anantnag

There comes a moment in the life of an individual, in the history of a group, of a community, of a nation, of a country, when there is need to take a long and hard look back and forth and decide how best to help shape the future destiny of the social unit concerned. Such a moment has, here and now, come in the history of Kashmiri Pandits living in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The crucial moment, or the turning point in the history of this community, demands from each of its members to think of our future destiny realistically, calmly and coolly taking into account, all the past and present social, economic, political and cultural factors involved.

The Kashmiri Pandits must think collectively as Kashmiri Pandits and not get overcome by the struggle for existence individually.

With practically no employment opportunities available to us in the State, what are we, as a community, to do here and now, in order that the future of our grandsons and grand-daughters, and, in many cases, of our sons and daughters, may become secure and bright here in our own homeland? We request all our brethern and sisters to think and ponder over this very intimate and immediate problem of ours which, ultimately, will touch each one of us wherever one may be. We invite all kinds of suggestions from all Kashmiri Pandits who care to think about it. The approach should be positive, realistic and optimistic.

If the past history of ours in this land is any guide and witness, we have always survived all crises and there is no reason why we cannot survive the present one. For this, we shall have to change our thinking pattern, our old attitudes, our old norms and try to break new ground. Is it always necessary for us to make our young men and women write applications and make them appear in interviews, finally to get rejected everywhere, which demoralises them later on? Shall we suffer misery and wait for death sitting in lazy despair? No, there are always alternatives and solutions available, provided we think realistically.

Just think of our achievements. No Kashmiri Pandit doctor has ever claimed how many incurable patients he has cured. No Kashmiri Pandit engineer ever says what engineering feats he has accomplished. No Kashmiri Pandit professor ever says how many books he has

written. We generally boast of how many sons and daughters we have got married and with what pomp and show, Kashmiri Pandits seems to be absorbed in marriages alone.

We are living like irrational social beings in this land. Our living is ostentatious though each one of us knows in his heart of hearts that we are poor.

Again, there is much truth in the old adage: "Money makes the mare go". Could it not be possible for each earning Kashmiri Pandit, man and woman to part with 1% (or whatever percentage you like to fix by common consent) of his or her income every month, wherever he or she may be? The individual may be a government servant, a pensioner, a shopkeeper etc. Yet he or she could give this 1% of his or her income every month so that we could build up, slowly an "All Kashmiri Pandits Future Economic, Social and Cultural Security Fund". Of course, we could leave out the unemployed Kashmiri Pandit youth who would not be asked to contribute. A sizeable fund can be collected over a period of time.

Such a sizeable Fund will give us self-respect and self-confidence. The present sense of helplessness, individual selfishness and cynicism may, perhaps, leave us for good. We may be able to think collectively as a group about our problems and forget about our obsessions.

We may, also think and decide that our ultimate destiny is more important than immediate peripheral needs. We could think of helping widows, orphans, etc.

Apart from Collection of funds, we could make a start in the field of social customs. Lord said long back:

"यद्यदाचरित श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरी जनः।
स यन्प्रमाणं कुरेते लोकस्तदवनुर्तते"

Thus a change in our social customs must start from those Kashmiri Pandits who are at the highest rung of the social ladder. They must do so just for the sake of "लोकसग्राह" or "सर्वभूतहिते रतः" i.e. guidance and good of the common men and women of the community. So let all of us, Kashmiri Pandits - wherever and whatever we are, think over the impending problems. This is a humble invitation to all our brethern and sisters to think and come out with better and realistic solutions and to join in this common endeavour to plan the future for our children. Let them not say they were born of unworthy and shortsighted parents.

We end with the Lord's words:"सर्वारम्भाहि दोरेण आवृता:"

(Bhagvad Gita XVII, 48)

i.e. "All beginnings are imperfect", but when the intentions are pure and honest and the work is done in the spirit of "कर्मण्येवधिकारस्ते" then the Lord has promised that all actions are fulfilled with the help of the Lord Himself. "दैवम् चैवात्र पंचमम्"

(Bhagvad Gita VIII, 14)

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Chapter - 107

ON KASHMIRI YOUTH MOVEMENT

Vimal Bhan

Of late, there has been a resurgence in the youth activities of the Kashmiri community in India. This is particularly noticeable in the background of a rather long period of inactivity that the time preceding this resurgence had marked. The older generation that should have guided the youth and imbibed in them our cultural values were so engrossed in their vocations that they could find neither time nor zeal to do the task. It is elating to find the Kashmiri youth are taking the challenge, and fulfilling it creditably.

In various metropolitan cities small groups were formed. They met at regular intervals and discussed various aspects of their social and cultural life. The lead in this direction was taken by Delhi. In 1972, a few students of the Delhi University organised a "*Koshur Youth Club*" which grew into a well-knit, formidable organisation by 1974. The Club was a youth organisation of Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims both, and had Sayeed Akhtar as its president. Even during this short span, it had the credit of organising a number of social and cultural programmes which were a great success. The activities of this organisation, however, came to an abrupt end by the middle of 1975. Like Koshur Youth Club in Delhi, in Bombay, Poona, Chandigarh, Agra, Dehra Doon, Calcutta and in many other major towns, the youth have formed many formal and informal groups to maintain, and in certain cases, to revive our common culture.

Elders watched these diversified movements with keen interest. Whenever asked for, they helped the youth organisations, both morally and financially. They rightly saw in these organisations embryos of positive development towards cultural renaissance. But most of these groups have not remained in existence for long. They enjoy brief spans of life despite the fact that these groups have some very dedicated boys and girls who work very hard for it. An attempt has been made here to highlight some of the lacunae that resulted in the dissolution, in a rather short time, of most of these bodies, and to provide some tips and suggestions on how to overcome these. These may be useful for the youth organisations as well as for the parent bodies.

Participation and Involvement

The key words in the organisational aspect of any social body are involvement and participation. Members of the group have to identify themselves with the organisation and this is not a task easy to achieve. In every organisation there are small informal groups or pockets of friends. It is the task of the people at the helm of affairs to identify these groups and involve them in management. Specific posts or responsibilities can be given to the 'opinion leaders' of these small groups. The involvement percolates down to the rank and file of the organisation. The involvement of one 'opinion leader', takes care of the involvement of many others who are under his 'sphere of influence'.

In order to be successful on a long-term basis, the decision-making in the organisation has to be democratic. By being democratic in this context, I mean participation or at least the 'seeming' participation of each and every individual of the organisation in the decision-making process. Sometimes, due to certain exigencies, it becomes imperative for the office-bearers to take a decision before consulting the mass of members through a general body meeting. It may be due to paucity of time or the immediacy of the issue that cannot brook any delay. But in the very next meeting, the issue should be put before the body and should be so handled that the decision is seemingly taken at this very meeting. All the members should get a feeling that the decision has been theirs.

Work Orientation

The best way of fostering friendly ties and understanding among members is by involving each and every member in the planning and execution of one programme after another. The basic idea is that they meet one another with a purpose or a programme. Under the work environment, different groups form liaison and then follow closeness and intimacy. They form their own code of conduct and rules. While ensuring that members are kept reasonably busy in such programmes, the activities should be so spaced that they do not become too demanding in terms of the time of students who always form a majority of the members in a youth group.

In the initial stage, a picnic could be organised. This picnic in which the participation of members is maximum, provides them with an opportunity of knowing each other, come closer and establish fraternal ties with each other. Once this working relationship is established between members, programmes like a Cultural Show, a *Biradari* picnic or a group discussion on a specific topic could be arranged, and then the group may take up some constructive programmes like a book bank, vocational guidance, employment bureau etc.

Role of Elders

In some cities, the elders of the *Biradari* show keen interest in the youth organisations. While moral support and encouragement is welcome, very often this takes the form of direct interference in the activities of the youth organisations. For instance, a 'representative' of elders' organisation is present in the meetings of the youth body. Over the years, the dependence on the elders becomes so acute that for each activity or decision, the youth have to refer back to their elders. This is a sorry state of affairs. It kills the initiative and the confidence of the young people who have ultimately to bear the social responsibility on their shoulders. It is not surprising that often the youth revolt against the domination and the day-to-day interference of the elders in their activities. The right way is to let the youth loose completely, so to say. They will themselves learn and gain experience through the trial-and error method. Let them form their own code of conduct, their rules and their constitution, and let them put these into action.

At Bombay, the Kashmiri Pandits Association has set an example

in this direction of harmonious relationship between the elders and the youth, by taking a decision that in every meeting of the Kashmiri Pandits Association, the president of the youth wing will be a special invitee.

In short, the renaissance of the youth movement in our community has to be understood and guided in proper perspective. This is the only way to save our culture and language from extinction. Besides, it will train the youngsters in the various social responsibility that they have to undertake in their lives. It is good that at this critical juncture in the history of our small community, the youth have awakened to their responsibilities. There is no doubt that with time and hard work, these isolated movements in different cities will get welded in one single national movement that will bring credit to our community.

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Chapter - 108

ALL INDIA KASHMIRI SAMAJ CONFERENCE : A REPORT OF A CONFERENCE

Col. D.N.Bakaya V.S.M.

The first ever, but massive and promising All India Kashmiri Samaj Conference was held at Allahabad on 8th and 9th March, 1980 at the residence of Mr. Justice K.N. Katju, 19 Edmonstone Road, Allahabad, in which more than four dozen delegates from Agra, Ahmedabad, Bhopal, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Dehra Doon, Hardoi, Kanpur, Varanasi, Lucknow and Srinagar (Kashmir) participated. This conference was convened by Kashmiri Samaj Allahabad, a registered organisation which took its birth in 1974. Delhi was represented by Col. D.N. Bakaya, VSM, Secretary, and Shri P.N. Dhar, Executive Member of the Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi.

Saturday, 8th March, 1980

After Puja and Hawan in the morning, the pre-Lunch session on 8th March, started with the Presidential Address by Mr. Justice P.N. Bakshi, Kashmiri Samaj, Allahabad, who introduced the Chief Guest, Shri A.N. Mulla, Judge, High Court (Retd.) and Ex M.P. In

his forceful address, Mr. Justice Bakshi stressed the need to bring the entire Kashmiri *Biradari* underone umbrella, cement out cultural ties, eradicate social evils and find solutions to our economic porblems. This was followed by the inaugural address by the Chief Guest, Shri A.N. Mulla, who felt that the interest of the country should be foremost and the interest of the Samaj should come next. The pre-launch session concluded after delegates from various cities gave a brief account of the activities of their Associations.

Post-lunch session of the conference was more or less a business session in which social, economic and other allied problems were discussed. All outside delegates were given the opportunity to air their views. Discussions mostly centred on the following matters :

(a) *Social*

1. Ills of the dowry system.
2. Marriage problems and curtailment of ceremonies and expenses on marriages.
3. Kashmiri language and need to keep it alive.

(b) Economic

1. Ways and means of rendering economic aid to less fortunate members of our Community.
2. Assistance to members of our Biradari in securing employment.
3. Scholarships to the deserving/ needy/ poor boys/ girls of our Community.

(c) *Allied Matters*

1. Formation of one All-India Kashmiri Samaj with affiliated bodies in the States and union territories.
2. Publication of All-India and international directories.
3. Publication of Magazines.

In the evening, on 8th March, all the delegates were entertained to a cultural programme. Light instrumental music, songs, dances and a drama (one-act play) were the main features of this cultural programme. The credit for such an impressive show goes to the organizers of Kashmiri Samaj, Allahabad, in general and to Mrs. Mala Tankha, Director of the programme in particular.

Sunday, 9th March, 1980

The outstation delegates were entertained to picnic and sight-seeing programme in the pre-launch period, on the 9th March. The delegates were taken round to Sangam, Allahabad Fort, Anand Bhawan, Alfred Park and finally to the Museum, where lunch was laid for the delegates.

The afternoon, on the 9th March, was the concluding session and the following were some of the highlights of the consensus reached and decisions taken on various issues :

(a) All India Kashmiri Samaj was formed with its headquarters at Allahabad and Mr. Justice P.N. Bakshi was elected as the President of the said Samaj. The President was given the powers to elect or choose a working committee to give a start to the organisation and frame its constitution.

(b) A resolution was passed condemning the present system of dowry with an appeal to the members of the *biradari* to refrain from giving and accepting dowry.

(c) A resolution on propagation of Kashmiri language in Devanagri script was also passed.

(d) Preparation of an All-India directory by All-India Kashmiri Samaj in consolutation with Kashmiri Associations of the States and those now existing in major cities all over the country.

(e) A resolution was passed seeking assistance from all Kashmiri Associations throughout the country for the preparation of lisits of prospective boys and girls seeking life-partners, giving their complete bio-data. Such lists will be forwarded to the All-India Kashmiri Samaj, Allahabad which will circulate such list to other states with a view to arranging suitable matches.

(f) All K.P. Association throughout the country are being requested to prepare lists of those who are in need of employment, giving their bio-data. Such lists, as and when prepared, will be sent to the All-India Kashmiri Samaj, Allahabad, who will also maintain a confidential list of those

who are in authority to provide jobs to the job-less youngmen and thus be able to render service in providing employment to the needy members of our *biradari.*

Before the close of the Conference, all delegates from the outstations asked Col. D.N. Bakaya to propose a vote of thanks on their behalf. Col. D.N. Bakaya, on behalf of all the delegates and indeed on his own behalf, thanked Mr. Justice P.N. Bakshi, President, and all members of the Executive Committee of the Kashmiri Samaj as also the organizers and volunteers of the Conference for having made excellent arrangements for reception and housing of all delegates and for a smooth running of the deliberations and finally, a gainful conclusion of the conference had, indeed, succeeded in bringing together Kashmiris from North, South, East and West at the historic Sangam, to discuss, to talk, to differ and then to resolve in one voice their future programme of action for a better cause of their community.

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Chapter - 109

KASHMIRI PANDITS IN EUROPE

Dr. S.N. Ganju

Introduction

Kashmiri Pandit families have been residing in the UK for the past 30 years where they form a community of approximately 100 families. In addition there are a further 25 families in Europe (Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Germany). They have mainly followed the professions of medicine, science and technology and business.

A Kashmiri Association was first formed in the 1950's with Mr. L. Zutshi as its founding president. Since then Dr. S.N. Ganju (1975-1985), Dr. G.L. Bhan (1986-1992) and Mr. B.L. Kaul (1993-) have served as Presidents of the Kashmiri Pandit Association of Europe.

In the period 1975-1985 the emphasis of the association was mainly cultural. Four festivals were organised with Kashmiri singers,

musicians and dancers coming from India to perform in U.K. More recently, the holocaust in Kashmir has caused the Association to adopt a more charitable role with respect to the migrants displaced form the valley. To achieve this, the members of the Association have organised meetings and seminars in Copenhagen, Wembley and Ilford to highlight the plight of the migrants as well as to raise funds for their relief and rehabilitation. Two further organisations that have developed from the Association are the Kashmir Welfare Trust (Mr. P.K. Kaul) and Indo-European Kashmir Forum (Dr. D. Durrani). The former aims to provide a permanent cultural, social and religious centre for the community, whilst the latter organisation aims to mobilise political opinion in support of the minority rights of the community in the Kashmir valley.

Despite the small size of the community in the UK, a determined effort is made to retain a cultural identity and members meet each other on average once a month in someone's home. Such social gatherings take place in and around London, the midlands (Birmingham) and the north of England (Manchester/Leeds). Furthermore, the entire community tries to meet twice a year to celebrate the Shivratri and Diwali festivals.

A new generation of Kashmiri Pandits is growing up in Europe, either having been born in the West or having moved here at a very young age. These younger members of the community often speak, think and dress in the western fashion (with respect to music, social behaviour and moral values), but are also part of the Kashmiriyat and Indian culture which may confuse them at an early age until they strike a balance between the two cultures and develop an international and multicultural outlook.

At these social gatherings the cuisine is strictly Kashmiri-rogan josh, yakni, kebab and hak together with added dishes depending on the continental influences on the host family. Men folk talk mostly Kashmiri politics whilst the women exchange new recipes and family news and the children keep busy playing computer games.

Political and Religious Attitudes

As we are so few in number, we have a low political profile as a group and our voting patterns are highly individualistic-Labour, Conservative or Liberal Democrat. Similarly our religious affinities are equally wide-Sai Baba, Hare Krishna and some families have small temples in their homes. The religious views may be either

liberal or ritualistic but our thoughts or actions are alike. As most of the Kashmiri Pandit families belong to the professional classes-medicine, science, engineering, accountancy or teaching, they are very busy, and so whenever time permits they take holidays and visit India, Europe or the USA.

Cultural Identity

The question is, shall we maintain our identity as a Kashmiri minority, a linguistic group with distinct culture, creeds and rituals and cuisine, or, will the western culture absorb us completely with intermarriage and international views on food and thought?

It is very likely that some erosion will take place especially nowadays, when we have no homeland to go to, no common meeting place like Hari Prabhat and Kher Bhavani to worship in, and no one to recite Akanandoon, Lal Ded, Mahjoorr and Master Zinda Kaul to our community. We may end up like the wandering Jews scattered around the world.

Yet our roots are ancient and our culture so rich that we will maintain our distinct individuality, no matter where we are. As a community, we believe in the importance of education and knowledge. Though we respect Lakshmi as the goddess of wealth, we really worship Saraswatti the goddess of knowledge. Our recent holocaust in the Kashmir Valley bears ample testimony to that. We left our homes and hearths in Kashmir worth crores of Rupees (of course temporarily and not for the first time in our chequered history) to protect our ancient religion and honour and to educate our progeny. The importance which we attach to education is demonstrated by the financial support that has been given by the families in the UK towards the education of the uprooted children of the Kashmir Valley.

The future of the Kashmiri Pandit community in Europe is full of challenges but our plans to establish a centre for the Community in Shropshire shows that we are looking ahead with confidence and optimism as we are a cultured, highly intelligent, good looking and secular minded group.

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Chapter - 110

KASHMIR PANDITS - PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Dr. R.K. Bhan

Every Kashmiri Pandit has a reason to look back to his past with a sense of pride. The cultural heritage of the community is rich and diversified and has weathered storms of upheavel through centuries. It is incumbent on the present generation to revive and maintain it and follow it in harmony with the modern developments of science, technology and general expansion of knowledge in all fields.

Our classics in Sanskrit (mostly in Sharda script) have to be salveged as they are the fountain head of our ancient knowledge and afford guidelines for our future conduct. Art and Sculpture inherited from old times have to be preserved. Language is a dominant part of our ancient heritage and it has to be sustained and enriched. While the writings of our old Kashmiri poets and saints have to be made popular, modern writers in Kashmiri should receive respect and recognitions not only by the Government but by people at large and by people's organisations. The Kashmiri language should be promoted as our vehicle of communication.

The members of our community who left Kashmir a few centuries back and got settled in different part of India under very difficult times, rose to great heights in manifold areas of life and brought everlasting lustre to the talent of the community. As early as 1939, when I addressed a meeting of the East Indian Association in Caxton Hall, London on the Economic Potentialities of Kashmir, some of the top retired civilians of the Government of India (retired Governors and Executive Counsellors under the British administration) paid rich tributes to the achievements of Kashmiri Pandits in administration and public life. A few of the extracts of their remarks are quoted below:

Sir Louis Dane (Ex-Governor) Punjab "you may have been surprised to hear such a learned and excellent lecture. I am not in the least surprised, because I have had to deal with very efficient Kashmiri Pandits in the Punjab......

Chairman (Sir Edward Blunt) "Sir Louis Dane has been reminding us of one of the most important products of Kashmir, the Kashmiri Pandits. It is also a product which is frequently exported.... The U.P. is full of them, Saprus and Nunzrus, Furtus, and Nehrus". The one lacuna in their life styles was however potent. It was the neglect of

the Kashmiri language. The customs, usages and religious practices and even marriages within the community were maintained. But they absolutely neglected their old time mother tongue 'Kashmiri'.

Some of the Kashmiri who have gone further South have had intercaste marriages with other north Indian Hindus, calling themselves Hindustani. They still maintain a few traits of Kashmiri culture but not the language. It is very essential that the families domiciled in out side Kashmir or outside India should strongly dencourage the use of Kashmiri language among the newly born children and grand children.

A few years back when I was in USA and addressed a small private gathering of Kashmiris in Chicago, I was asked to give them a message. I urged on them to develop the use of Kashmiri among their family members, especially the younger children and to celebrate our socio-religious festivals like Shiv Ratri, 'Nav Reh' etc. and also foster a sense of distinct identity, while developing social and economic relations with all types of people.

Looking forward to the future of the community one should not feel disheartened, provided its members forge ahead in the pursuit of various careers and professions and also develop a keener sense of cooperation, mutual help and communal integrity. The old social practice involving expenditure on dowry has to be given up. Our women who have received the benefits of modern higher education have not yet developed a keen sense of modern social values and seem to be as earnest as their uneducated mothers and grand parents in continuing with the outmoded dowry system. Even if the economic position of the community improves considerably, the social evils and practices are bound to erode the basic fabric of the society. The problem has to be tackled by persistent propaganda through various media like Kashmiri papers, periodicals, and by mobilising a voluntary corps of workers at different centres who will watch and control this useless practice.

It is a matter of regret that Kashmiri Pandit young boys and girls do not get their due share in the various sectors of higher education, services or professions in Kashmir. Those of us who are settled outside the valley should not be mute observers of the fate of our people. We should provide facilities for the information of young boys and girls give and advice on academic and vocational training at different levels outside the state and also mobilise financial resources to help meritorious young persons. Some steps have

already been taken on an organised basis.

The Kashmiri Samiti in Delhi and All India Kashmiri Samaj and other associations in other parts of India are expected to play a leading role in this behalf. Immediately, there is a need to set up a vocational and educational guidence Bureau manned by competent and knowledgeable people, who will collect from time to time all available information from manifold resources and feed the people in need of this information in an organised manner.

It may be possible to issue a special brochure on educational, professional, employment and business avenues in India and outside the country for the benefit of our boys and girls. As early as in the thirties when unemployment among our younger became visible some of us started a Trades Advisory Bureau in Srinagar. The organisation helped some Kashmiri young men to stand on their feet. But, with subsequent changes in Kashmir the organisation came to a halt Our Kashmir community settled in India and outside should not forget the roots from which we have all grown. We should feel proud of Kashmir with its natural beauty, its people and the holy shrines we have inherited from ancient times. It is essential that those who are well settled in Kashmir should not, at all think of moving out and settling outside Kashmir but be prepared to face and overcome the difficulties that confront them.

In the context of many sweeping changes that have taken place in the fate of our community it is most essential that we should build up unity, social and fraternal links, whereever we are placed. It is a happy augury that in addition to our organisation in Delhi we have our social organisations in several parts of India and even in U.K. and U.S.A. A common medium of communication among all of us, may be a newsletter or an annuual publication, which should be very informative and helpful for exchange of news and notes among the members in India and outside.

In the end I make hold to assert that our community has over centuries shown resilience and vitality, and there is no reason to develop pessimism, though we should not be complacent. Let us be ever on the alert to tackle problems as they arise, both at the individual and the community level. May God· bless the rising generation who will carry forward our hopes and aspirations to the future.

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Chapter - 111

ROLE OF KASHMIRI PANDITS IN NATIONAL AND GLOBAL SOCIETY

Col. (retd.) P.N. Kak

Q.1. **Prof. S. Bhatt** What do you think of the future of Kashmiri Pandits?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** It is my considered opinion that as a cohesive community and people as we were up to now, we can never be the same. But otherwise we have inbuilt strength or tenacity with an extraordinary intellect and we will progress and prosper in course of time as we have done through generations of tyranny and blood-shed. We have suffered - *Baja Mazar* is still a living example!

Q.2 **Prof. S. Bhatt** How shall Kashmiri Pandits preserve culture and heritage?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** We have to endeavour, each one of us, to organise, create "Kashmiriat" among our groups of settlers in different parts of India and abroad. Conditions have been created already and examples are many known to all, but we have to take interest and devote time and effort to take part in organising our community associations to keep "Kashmiriat". Living in India the most outstanding such effort or performance is Kashmir Sabha of Calcutta, and its monument, Kashmir Bhavan, which followed similar effort of our Kashmiri Pandit Sabha of Bombay. The Vitasta, Milichar Publications make us feel proud. In Calcutta all the members are active and dedicated. There are no doubt other associations following the suit, but we have to strengthen the All India Kashmir Samaj, the apex body which is putting in all efforts to establish Samaj's Sabhas and associations under its banner. Bahari Kashmir, its publication, the oldest such one has further improved.

Q.3 **Prof. S. Bhatt** What is our role in national and global society?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** I personally feel Kashmir overseas organisations have done a wonderful job in awakening our

problems in other countries and we have to organise similar efforts with its fountain head in Delhi under active devotional leadership - I see Shri Gautam Kaul could perform a great role to organize our All India forum.

Q. 4 **Prof. S. Bhatt** How can we keep in touch globally?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** Through our Apex body and individual efforts.

Q. 5 **Prof. S. Bhatt** Where shall we have Sharda Peth, our university of learning and enlightenment?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** This is only possible in the centre of the country - I mean Delhi, where we have concentration of our displaced people - I do not recommend Jammu for its location.

Q. 6 **Prof. S. Bhatt** Shall we develop a cultural and heritage centre in Pamposh Enclave?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** This is essential and here in again Shri Gautam Kaul could be a great asset.

Q. 7 **Prof. S. Bhatt** Please say something on the history of Kashmiri Pandits?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** We will never be extinct, through our numbers like Parsis would decrease due to our education and present concept of family planning. Earlier we never took to business. But now our people have started to enter into commerce and industry which is a very good omen. With our extraordinary intellect we are sure to do well and advance in any profession we put our hands through. Unfortunately the Government of India is not at all kind and helpful to us due to political reasons and low numerical strength.

Q. 8 **Prof. S. Bhatt** Please say a few words on your life's experience in general?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** I have been a great lover of our people - both the Kashmiri Pandits and Muslim brethern and in fact I have still some of the latter who love and like me. They

and we lived so closely and in true fellowships in my earlier days. I am perhaps one of the oldest Kashmiris alive who have had the opportunity to be fully involved in national life of Kashmir right from 1927, rather from 1931 onwards. I had the privilege and unique opportunity to have been in confidence with the then Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir followed by even his son Yuvraj Dr. Karan Singh, Sheikh Sahib, Bakshi Sahib, Sadiq Sahib, Mir Qassim as well as of the then Ist Commander in Chief Field Marshall K.M. Carriapa, followed by other army chiefs and particularly with late General K.S. Thimayya who had greatest regard, confidence and affection for me. I also enjoyed confidence of the Government of India through almost all the Secretaries then starting from late Shri K.P.S. Menon, Shri H.M. Patel etc. I am perhaps the only person alive today who has knowledge of some of the inside story of earlier events of Kashmir which are the cause of present turmoil and turbulence in Kashmir.

In my personal life, I have always been proud of being an old Biscoe Boy which in my earlier days carried a lot of weight in one's dealings. Cannon Biscoe was a great man who incalculated in his teachers rather masters and boys character building. Kashmiris owe a lot to this noble soul.

Q. 9 **Prof. S. Bhatt** What do you think are the factors for greatness of Kashmiri Pandits and what are our weaknesses, if any?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** I think as in past generations we Kashmiri Pandits have in-built intellect and character which will reflect in us throughout as amongst our earlier ancestors who migrated from Kashmir under most difficult circumstances like the recent exodus.

We have always shined everywhere. There are such instances even now among our settlers in UK, USA and other countries. This brings to my mind one of our great Kashmiri, Shri Lambodar Zutshi, who blossomed to great heights in UK after going there. He was one of the greatest ambassadors from our community and helped every-one in his days.

Q.10 **Prof. S. Bhatt** Please describe the role of Kashmiri Association?

A. **Col. P.N. Kak** We have to strengthen our Apex body which in turn have to be given all support to inspire, guide and supervise all our associations in different parts of India. I see no particular weakness in our people which is hindering our progress. People do magnify ordinary human weakness which really is of no consequence.

Notes and References

Chapter - 95

1. See Koshur Samachar Annual Number, 1979, p. 19.
2. See Swamiji's article on Shaivism in Koshur Samachar, Annual Number 1979, p. 1.

Appendix - I

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Souvenir issue, 1980, issued by Kashmiri Education Society, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi.
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Appendix - 2

SPIRITUAL PUBLICATIONS COMMON TO KASHMIRI PANDITS

Written and edited by Prof. Janakinath Kaul 'Kamal'

I. PUBLISHED WORK

A. BOOKS/MONOGRAPHS

(i) English:-

1. *Awakening of Supreme Consciousness*, Edited with an introduction, Delhi, 1974. (based on the lectures by Swami Lakshman Joo on "Vatulanatha Sutras", rendered into English by the editor).
2. *Pilgrimage to Amarnatha*, Sri Parmananda Research Institute, Srinagar, 1986.
3. *The Vedanta Dindimah (Drum-beats of Vedanta,* Utpal Publications Srinagar/Delhi, 1990. Translated into English and edited, with a supplement on Trika (Kashmir Saiva) and Vedanta Pursua. Foreword by Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan.
4. *Bhavani-Nama-Sahasra-Stuti, A page from Rudrayamala Tantra,* Pub. Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Srinagar, May 1991 pp.528.

   Foreword by Sri M.P. Pandit, Pondicherry. The book attempts an elaborate exposition on the one thousand names of Bhavani, with commentary and exhaustive notes in english besides the introduction.

(ii) Hindi :-

5. *Mukundamala,* edited with translation into Hindi. Pub. Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Shivalaya, Srinagar, 1963.
6. *Gayatri-mantra-bhasya (of Sankaracharya),* An old Sanskrit

Ms edited by Swami Nilakanthananda Saraswati (Rishikesh), Translated into Hindi (by Jankinath Kaul), Srinagar, 1975.

7. *Mukundamala*, of Raja Kulashekhara & *other precious stotras*, (second enlarged edition of the work listed as item 5 above). Revised and edited.
   Pub. Sri Ramakrishana Ashrama, Srinagar, 1977.
8. *Adi Shankara aur unka Adivaita*, Pub. Shiva Seva Samiti, Srinagar, 1979.
9. *Vikshipta Veena*, pub. seemant Prakashan, New-Delhi, 1980. A compilation of poems in Hindi.
10. *Siva-Sutra-Vimarsha*, Edited with a critical commentary in Hindi.
    Foreword by Swami Lakshman Joo. Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984.
11. *Kshirbhavani*, Samsar Chand Kaul (Bird watcher). Translated from English into Hindi and enlarged. Pub. Utpal Publications, Srinagar, 1988. Second edition 1993.

(iii) English-Hindi :-

12. *Brahmi Vidya*, Translated from Vedic Sanskrit into English and Hindi with introductions.
    Pub. Sri Ramakrishana Ashrama, Srinagar, 1981.
13. *Amareshwara Mahatmya (The glory of Amareshwara)*, A leaf from Bhringisha Samhita. Ms text in Sanskrit translated with exhaustive notes into English & Hindi; and co-edited (as Chief Editor).
    Pub. Sri Paramananda Research Institute, Srinagar, 1986. A detailed account of the piligrimage to Amarnath Cave, in eleven chapters around 400 pp.

(iv) Kashmiri :-

14. *Shraddha Posh (Flower of Faith)*, Trust Publishing House, Srinagar, 1942. Devotional poems in Kashmir (Devanagiri transliteration).

B. Papers & Articles

1. "Purnahanta Vimarsha", *Saraswati Sushma*, Sampurnananda Sanskrit University, Varanasi, 1965.

(A paper in Sanskrit presented at all India Tantra Sammelanam, Varanasi in 1965, organised by Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi).

2. "Purnahanta Vimarsha", *Kalyan*, (Upasana ank), Gitapress, Gorakhpur. (Hindi translation of the paper listed as in item 1. above).
3. "Kashmir main Shaiva Darshana ka avirbhav", *Malini*, Kashmir Shaiva Pathika, Srinagar, 1970, (Research Journal).
4. "Utpal, A Kashmiri Mystic", *Bhavan's Journal*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1979.
5. "Utpala's Pratyabhijna Philosophy & Sangrashastotra", *The Vedanta Kesari*, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, June 1980.

   (The article incorporates 20 popular shlokas of Utpaladeva, translation by me into English and explained in detail).
6. Shankaracharya's Hymn to Gauri (Parvati)", *Sarada*, a souvenir of Sri Ramakrishana Ashrama, Srinagar, 1982.

   (The article incorporates an English translation of the 11 Sanskrit verses of Shankaracharya together with short commentary and an elaborate introduction).
7. "Fundamental Aspects of Vedanta & Kashmir Shaivasm", *Glimpses of Kashmiri Culture* (Series-v), A research journal, Sri Parmananda Research Institute, Srinagar, 1982.
8. "On The Parallel Developement of Vedanta and Saiva (Trika) Philosophies in Kashmir", *Indological Taurinensia*, Torino, Italy, 1984.

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C. **BOOK REVIEWS**

1. *Ascent of Selt*, by B.N. Parimoo. Published in Prabuddha Bharata, Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, Sept. 1982.
2. *Siva-Sutra*, (Translated into English) by Jaidev Singh. Published in Prabuddha Bharata, Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, Sept. 1982.

II. Papers Accepted for Publication

1. "Saktipata", A paper in English presented at the Seminar on "Mysticism in Saivism and Christanity" held at Christan Retreat and Study Centre, Rajpura, Dehradun in Nov. 1990. Pub. Prabuddha Bharata, April 1992. (The proceedings of the Seminar are being published soon).
2. Three articles in English, Hindi and Sanskrit on Saivism and Vedanta accepted for publication in the *Felicitation Volumes* being brought out in honour of Mahamahopadhyaya Mahakavi Dr. Shashidhar Sharma, D.Litt, Recipient of honour, Co-ordinator, Department of Sanskrit, Directorate of Correspondence Courses, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

III. Manuscripts Ready for Publication

1. *Lectures on Kashmir Shaivism*, English translation of the lectures on Kashmir Shaivism (Shaiva Philosophy) delivered by an erudite Saint, Philosopher Swami Lakshman Joo in Kashmiri.

2. *Dvadasha Mahakali,* Exposition in Hindi with an introduction.
3. *Rupa Bhavani Vakyamanjari,* Hindi translation of the terse Kashmiri Vaks (quadruplets) with an introduction and short life history of the Saint poetess of Kashmir.
4. *Shraddha Posh,* Enlarged edition of the original Kashmiri poems composed during 1933 A.D. to 1989 A.D.
5. *Panchastavi of Dharmacharya,* English translation with commentary and annotations of five hymns of Bhavani. Revised Sanskrit text followed in Roman script as well. Elaborate introduction.
6. *Indraksi Stotram,* Eulogy of the Goddess of numerous vital energies. Translated and annotated in English.
7. *Purusa Sukta of Rg. Veda,* Translated and annotated.
8. *Invocation in Lament,* A hymn in Sanskrit to Lord Shiva. Translated into English and an elaborate introduction to the 20th century unknown writer Pt. Shiva Kaul.

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